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Wright, Thomas

The history of Scotland  
from the earliest  
period

to the present time.

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duced one of those angry letters from the king to his sister, in which the "bluff" monarch was not very choice of the phraseology in which he expressed his anger. Magnus gives us a striking account of the interview in which he delivered this dispatch, at which also he gave the first intelligence of the defeat of the French army at Pavia. "After communication openly had of these premises, I required the queen's grace that I might speak with her apart; and so I did, in a privy chamber, all folks avoided but only her said grace and myself. And there I delivered to her said grace the king's most honourable letters, which her grace received in full honourable manner. And after her grace had overseen and read five or six lines of the same, she altered her countenance in such manner, that it was an hour after ere her grace could sober herself from weeping; and long it was, and with much pain ere that her grace could bring the said letter to an end. In the meantime some words were between us; and, as it appertained for my party, I armed me with patience, some deal combed to make answers. Howbeit, when I saw the queen's countenance proceeding either for sorrow or displeasure, and rather in mine opinion for displeasure, insomuch as her grace said such a letter was never written to any noble woman, I required her grace with patience to note every part of the said letter, and to be as well content with the same as the king's highness, my master, was with her letter, and a letter written also from the earl of Arran by her advice and commandment, to the king's said highness, containing sundry menaings, with many haughty and high words, little regarding the king's high honour, declaring none ambassadors to be sent into England, if that the earl of Angus should be suffered to come into Scotland; which letters the king's highness did lightly overpass without any displeasure or making matter or question for the same. I showed also the effect of the king's said letter past not without sundry other occasions; that is, to wit; the king's highness, at the putting to large and liberty of the young king, for his erection to his estate and dignity royal, was content to spend his goods and money for the weal and surety of the said young king, and for the maintenance of her grace in her authority, and to be in much higher estimation than she was afore; trusting therefore to have had her most benevolent mind and favour for the conjoining and knitting together of

these two realms in perfect peace, favour, and amity, upon many and sundry most loving advertisements, as well shown to her grace by many writings, as by the report both of me and of Mr. Ratcliffe; sounding ever to the most singular weal, surety, profit, and great advancement of the said young king, and for the common weal of this his realm of Scotland; yet her grace, without any special remembrance had of the premises, and of many other sundry great kindnesses shown by the king's highness, when she had the whole authority within the realm, neither would follow the good advice and counsel of the king's said highness, for the better fortifying and maintaining of her said authority, nor send the ambassadors of this realm into England with any favourable commission for the good entertaining of firm peace and amity to be between these two realms, but as was in the most light and most slender manner; so that hitherto no good resolution nor effectual matter succeeded thereby. Over this I touched the intelligence supposed to be between her grace and France, and her favour borne and had to the same, and the mind she beareth to have a divorce between her grace and the earl of Angus. All which matters I besought her grace to consider, and to remember; and, if her said grace had not been so favourable nor circumspect in the said matters, as her grace could or ought to have been, that yet it might like her grace to have good respect to the same, specially for the weal and surety of the young king her son, and of this his realm, and for the pleasure of her most assured friend and most loving brother, the king's highness."

The remainder of Dr. Magnus's report is equally characteristic. "Her grace," he continues, "excuseth herself that she beareth no favour neither to France nor to the duke of Albany, and reporteth her grace to the young king her son; whose grace will say as shall stand with her pleasure, and I doubt he followeth her instructions and commandment too much, as doth appear after. If any thing will reform her grace, and induce her to some better order, the king's most honourable letters, now delivered to her grace, are most effectual to that purpose, though at the first motion everything work not as I trust it shall do hereafter. For undoubtedly were it not for dread of the king's highness, Scotland would favour her grace in right sober manner; and therefore her said grace, conceiv-



ing the same, and that the king's highness would withdraw from her his gracious favour if she apply her no better to his high pleasure, will in mine opinion reform herself, and consider the most wholesome advertisement and counsel given to her grace by the king's highness and your grace at many times past. Howbeit, I conceive her grace beareth her bold upon the young king her son in such wise, as if he were at full age she would procure his grace to as much business (*trouble*) as he should be able to fortify or maintain; so as it is thought to the lords of the council, if the young king be not otherwise educated and brought up than yet his grace is, it will turn to business (*trouble*) when he shall come to age. For it is doubted (*feared*) his disposition will be much inclined to cruelty; for when the queen's grace taketh displeasure with any the lords or other, then her grace procureth the said young king to be sad, heavy, and pensive, to look down and 'glowme' upon them, and to have unto them some sore and sharp words. The earl of Angus contenteth his grace right well by means of pleasure done by his hawks and hounds; and yet of late the said young king, upon information given by the queen, moved right specially the said earl to be divorced from her grace, and required him to agree thereunto for the pleasure of his grace, promising to do many things for him, accomplishing this his desire. This motion the said earl hath avoided, and will do, not concluding upon anything without the king's high pleasure and consent be had to the same. The queen's grace was not a little moved at me for bringing unto her of the king's most reasonable letters, showing in manner that much of the matter proceeded of the information of me, and of such other to whom better credence was given than unto her grace. Her grace said also she would make no answer to the king's letters, because her grace doubted (*feared*), if she should do so, some part thereof should be too sharp; neither would she receive any letters from the king's highness, but if she knew before the contents should better please her grace; for such another letter would be her death."

The queen, in spite of her declaration to Magnus, did write a reply to her brother, in which she assumed a far more submissive tone than that she had threatened. One desire lay at this time nearest to the queen's heart, that of obtaining a divorce from her

husband, that she might marry her paramour, Henry Stuart. In her eagerness to effect this object, she is even said to have snatched at an absurd report that James IV. had outlived the fatal battle of Flodden three years, to put forward a plea that as she had married the earl of Angus during the lifetime of her first husband, their union was illegal. Angus, on the other hand, was anxious to be reconciled to the queen, that he might enjoy her large estates; and king Henry promoted his designs in the belief that a reconciliation between him and the queen would establish the English influence in Scotland. The matter, however, dragged on slowly, and it appears not to have been till 1527, when Angus was tired of opposing it, that the divorce was finally obtained. Negotiations for a peace between the two kingdoms dragged on in the same slow and unsatisfactory manner; for French influence was still exerted in Scotland, and queen Margaret continued to intrigue with both parties, throwing difficulties in the way of peace, in the hope of forcing her brother to consent to the divorce. In the midst of these intrigues, the position of Henry's ambassador appears to have become more and more disagreeable, until he could hardly pass along the streets of Edinburgh without being mobbed. On one occasion a scene occurred which, as told by Magnus himself, gives a remarkable picture of the ignorance and superstition of the populace in Scotland at this period. "Since my last writing unto your grace," he says, to Wolsey, "here hath been right ragious winds, with exceeding rain, wet weather, and great waters, to the dangerous getting and inning of their corns in these parts. Whereupon there is an open slander and murmur raised upon me, not only in this the town of Edinburgh, but through a great part of the realm, surmising (*charging*) that I should be the occasion thereof; and that, as I have done in France, Flanders, and other countries, where I never was, nor without the realm of England, but here in Scotland, I will not depart from hence till I shall procure all this realm to a destruction both in their corns, fruits, and otherwise, as is said chanced by my means one year of the vines in France. Insomuch that I, nor my servants, could nor might pass of late in the streets, neither to nor from the court, but openly many women banned, cursed, waried (*cursed*), and gave me and mine the most grievous maledictions that could be, to our faces. Whereupon



there are nigh about half a score persons, all women, taken and put in prison, and as yet do remain there for condign punishment, and to be example to other like offenders. And also the friars observants have preached sore against them that first procured and continue this false, untrue, and detestable saying and opinion. This ungracious demeanour hath been put in execution here, for the most part, all by women. The be-

ginners hereof cannot be known, but it is supposed to be by Frenchmen, or by some other favouring their causes, not being content with this peace and the manner thereof to be concluded; nor that Englishmen do come at all times, at their pleasures, and when they lust, to the young king's presence, and seeing the Frenchmen not entertained as they have been of late."

## CHAPTER V.

ANGUS'S USURPATION OF THE SUPREME POWER; BATTLE OF LINLITHGOW, AND DEATH OF THE EARL OF LENNOX; THE HIGHLANDS; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

QUEEN MARGARET had now lost the confidence and respect of all parties, and as she saw her friends and supporters falling off, she became suspicious of those who surrounded her, and sought to protect herself by planning new intrigues. A parliament was called in Edinburgh, one of the most important objects of which was to establish a truce with England; but it required the presence of the queen, as president of the council of state. Under pretence that her person was in danger, the queen refused to proceed to Edinburgh for this purpose, and it was resolved to omit this formality. This proceeding threw the power into the hands of the council of state, over whom the influence of the earl of Angus was very great. Margaret felt that this proceeding implied that she was deserted by the English party, and, resolving at once to throw herself into the arms of France, she attempted to open a negotiation with the queen-mother, who, after the captivity of the French king at Pavia, had assumed the regency of that kingdom. But at this moment a peace was suddenly concluded between England and France, which paralyzed the French faction in Scotland, and overthrew all Margaret's hopes.

The queen, who was no longer respected, now only retained a nominal authority, while the whole power of the kingdom fell into the hands of Angus and the chancellor, archbishop Beaton. Under their influence the negotiations with England proceeded more rapidly, and a truce of

three years was concluded. An unsuccessful attempt at resistance was made by the earl of Arran, who raised a body of five thousand men, and advanced to Linlithgow; but they retreated and dispersed before the troops led against them by Angus, who carried the young king to the field. The success of the earl of Angus still further stimulated his ambition. He soon afterwards strengthened himself by effecting a union with the earl of Argyle and his party; and by establishing a close alliance with the earl of Lennox, and holding the high office of warden of the marches along with his place on the council of state, he now exercised an authority which had no rival but the secret council, the power of which centred in the chancellor Beaton. Of this rival he soon contrived to rid himself.

In the month of April the king completed his fourteenth year, when, by the law of Scotland, he had attained his majority, and might take the sovereign power into his own hands. As soon as the parliament declared this, the secret council concluded its existence. It was near the period when, by the law which had placed the custody of the king's person in the hands of certain lords by rotation, it became the turn of the earl of Angus and the archbishop of Glasgow to assume the guardianship of the king; and Angus artfully fixed the period of the meeting of parliament so that it should fall after he had assumed this office. The consequence natu-

rally was, that, when parliament assembled, and, in the month of June, pronounced that the king had attained his majority, the consequent dissolution of the secret council threw the whole power and authority of government into the hands of Angus, who at that moment had the custody of the king's person. To mask his intentions, he caused a new secret council to be appointed, and it was arranged that the custody of the king's person should be alternately entrusted to the care of the three earls, Angus, Argyle, and Lennox. But the secret council was composed entirely of the friends of Angus, and the latter, who came first in turn of rotation to be the king's guardian, soon showed that he had no intention of relinquishing the advantage which the possession of that office gave him.

One of the first uses that Angus and his friends made of their power, was to obtain for themselves a remission for all crimes, robberies, or treasons which they might have committed during the last nineteen years. They then began to portion out the offices of state. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy was made high treasurer; Erskine of Halton, secretary; Crichton, abbot of Holyrood, privy seal; and Angus, having taken the great seal from Beaton, himself assumed the office of lord chancellor. Within a short time there was scarcely an office in the kingdom, the emolument or influence of which made it a prize worth grasping at, which was not conferred on a relative or adherent of the house of Douglas; and the country was soon filled with the same disorders which had always followed the ambition of that house. Argyle and Lennox were soon disgusted with the selfishness and pride of their colleague, and the former withdrew from his alliance. The first animosities among those who, nominally at least, shared the government, are said to have arisen from disputes about the division of ecclesiastical preferment. The bishopric of Dunkeld having become vacant, was given to Crichton, abbot of Holyrood. But all honest men were disgusted, when Angus's brother, William Douglas, who had forcibly intruded himself five years before into the abbey of Coldingham, made vacant for him by the murder of its last abbot, Robert Blackadder, and had held it ever since, was promoted to the lucrative abbacy of Holyrood. Patrick Blackadder, a cousin of the murdered man, had also been unjustly persecuted and de-

prived of his patrimony by the Douglasses and their adherents the Humes, and, having commenced an action at law against John Hume, a steady friend and adherent of the earl of Angus, he had found it necessary to seek safety from their vengeance among some of his distant relatives. Angus, now in the plenitude of power, caused proposals of reconciliation to be made to Patrick Blackadder, by which the latter was to relinquish part of his claims; and, confiding in the earl's promises, he proceeded to Edinburgh with only a few attendants. At a short distance from the gates of the capital, he was waylaid by John Hume with a strong body of followers, who put him to death. The alarm was given in Edinburgh, and the assassins were vigorously pursued; but when the pursuers came in sight of the perpetrators of this outrage, and saw among them the earl of Angus's brother George, and others of the Douglasses, they turned their horses and made the best of their way back. Nevertheless, the treacherous murder of Patrick Blackadder was a subject of great scandal, and stood foremost among the crimes and outrages which soon cast a shade over the earl of Angus's government.

Before he seized the government, Angus had gradually gained an influence over the affections of the youthful king by administering to his favourite amusement of hunting; and he now sought to secure his hold, not only by ministering to his amusements, but by pampering his vices, encouraging him in the premature indulgence in pleasures which tended, by rendering him weak and effeminate, to draw him still more under his control. But James soon became tired of the watchful and irksome restraint in which he was now held, and he found friends in the court who lent no unwilling ear to his griefs. Among these was the earl of Lennox, who still remained outwardly in alliance with Angus, in spite of his secret disapprobation of his conduct. It was no sooner perceived that the king was discontented, than many of his attendants, who, by some unaccountable oversight, were enemies to the Douglasses, urged him into absolute hatred of his keepers by bringing him reports of their tyranny and of the outrages committed by their adherents and followers. Lawless violence was indeed raising its head in every part of the kingdom; and the borders especially were the scene of unrestrained turbulence.



After many threats of executing justice on the borders, at length, in the middle of the summer of 1526, Angus marched thither, provoked by some new outbreaks of the Armstrongs, and he took the young king with him. While the court was held at Jedburgh, James had contrived to send a private message through the earl of Lennox, to one of his powerful adherents, the laird of Buccleugh, Walter Scott, complaining bitterly of the tyranny of his keepers, and intimating a wish that he might be rescued from captivity. Scott at once undertook to make the attempt; but it is said some intimation of the design had been carried to Angus, who immediately broke up the court and hurried back to Edinburgh by way of Melrose. As they approached the latter place, they came in sight of the laird of Buccleugh, who, at the head of a thousand of his followers, had thrown himself in their way so as to intercept them in their march to the capital. Angus had not a very numerous escort, but it was formed of some of his best troops, led by men like Fleming, Home, and Ker of Cessford, who were reckoned among the best knights of the day. He drew up his force, and immediately sent a message to Scott, ordering him, in the king's name, to dismiss his followers. The border chief replied, that he knew the king's mind better than the proudest baron among them, and that he should remain as he was, and do obedience to his sovereign, who had honoured the borders with his presence. Angus, who naturally took this as a defiance, placed the king under the charge of his brother, George Douglas, with the earls of Maxwell and Lennox, and, while they stood aside on an elevated spot near at hand, dismounted, and with levelled spears bore down upon the borderers. The latter soon gave way, and the laird of Buccleugh was glad to make his retreat, with the loss of eighty of his followers, who were slain in this short struggle. Angus had to lament the death of one of his best and bravest knights, Ker of Cessford, which gave rise to a long feud between the Kers and the Scotts.

The earl of Lennox is said to have behaved so ambiguously on this occasion as to lead to the belief that he was acquainted with the laird of Buccleugh's designs, and becoming more and more an object of suspicion, he found it prudent to absent himself from court. While Angus strength-

ened himself by a strict league with the earl of Arran and the Hamiltons, Lennox allied himself with the queen and the chancellor (Beaton), and having secret encouragement from the king, he soon raised a considerable force, with which he declared his intention of delivering him from the faction who now held him in captivity. Angus had also collected a powerful army, and when he heard that Lennox was at Stirling at the head of an army of ten thousand men, he immediately sent the earl of Arran, with a superior force, to occupy Linlithgow, and so intercept his march to the capital. Arran is said to have had a conciliatory mission, but it was in vain, and Lennox declared that he would go to Edinburgh and rescue his king, or die in the attempt. When he arrived at Linlithgow, he found that Arran had seized the bridge across the river Avon, about a mile to the west of the town, and he was obliged to pass the river at a difficult ford opposite the nunnery of Manuel. Meanwhile Arran, when he was assured of the determination of Lennox to advance, immediately sent word to Angus, who marched from Edinburgh with the king and the rest of the army to strengthen him. It is said that the young king, aware of what was going on, and anxious for Lennox's success, proceeded so slowly and unwillingly, that Angus, impatient of the delay, hurried forward, leaving his brother, George Douglas, to bring James along with him. The prince and his keeper had reached Corsorphine, when the distant sound of the artillery announced that the battle had begun, upon which George Douglas, in a tone of brutal threat, warned the king against hoping to escape from them, for, said he, "if the enemy should be too powerful for us, rather than give thee up, thou shalt be torn to pieces, and we will at least keep a part." The threat sunk deep into the king's heart, and the behaviour of George Douglas, on this occasion, was never forgiven.

Lennox, meanwhile, was anxious to engage the troops of the earl of Arran before Angus came to their assistance, and he ordered his men to pass the river and drive them from the high ground they occupied on the other side. The men dashed bravely through the water, but they moved forward with difficulty, galled by the severe fire to which they were exposed, which threw them into so much disorder, that they had

already begun to give way, when the terrible war-cry of "Douglas" announced the arrival of the army from Edinburgh. The troops of the earl of Lennox now fled in every direction, and were slaughtered without mercy by the victorious Hamiltons and Douglasses. Lennox himself was slain, it is said, by James Hamilton, bastard son of the earl of Arran, who murdered him after he had surrendered. Arran himself wept over the dead body of his uncle, whom he lamented as the bravest and wisest knight in Scotland; and even Angus is said to have regretted his death; although he treated with contempt the message of sir Andrew Wood, who had been sent by the king to beg that the life of the earl, who was reported to have been captured, might be spared.

In the moment of his triumph, Angus determined entirely to crush his enemies, and, regarding the queen and the chancellor as the main promoters of this attempt, he made a rapid march to Stirling, in the hope of taking them by surprise. But both had fled, and sought safety in concealment. Archbishop Beaton was pursued so closely, that he was obliged to take refuge in the mountains, where for some time he concealed himself under the disguise of a shepherd. Angus soon after assumed a tone of greater indulgence towards the queen-mother, it was said, at the entreaties of her son. She was invited to Edinburgh, where her son came to meet her with a splendid retinue, and she was courteously received by Angus. But Beaton found more difficulty in making his peace with the victorious Douglasses, who in revenge had already taken and dismantled his castle at St. Andrew's. He only purchased his pardon with large gifts and the surrender of the rich abbey of Kilwinning, and he found it necessary to live at a distance from court. Other barons who had joined the banner of Lennox were proceeded against as traitors. Among these was Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis. Perhaps Angus was apprehensive of the result of the trial of this nobleman, for we are told by Buchanan, that James Hamilton the bastard urged him to seek safety by putting himself under the protection of the Hamiltons, on which the high-spirited chief is said to have replied indignantly, that in the ancient league entered into by their ancestors, his grandfather, as the most honourable, was always

named first, and that he would not now so far forget the dignity of his family, or so far degenerate from his forefathers, as to place himself voluntarily under the patronage of those, whose chief, when entering into a bond on equal terms, was accustomed to take the second place. Hugh Kennedy, one of the earl's relatives, appeared for him on the day of trial, and made answer to the charge, that the earl had not appeared in the battle against the king, but in obedience to his commands; and he offered to produce the royal letters ordering him to join with Lennox in the league for setting him at liberty. This bold plea seems to have disconcerted the judges, and Cassillis was allowed to escape; but it was only to fall a few days afterwards by the hand of an assassin, Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, who was said to have been employed to commit the murder by the bastard Hamilton. The earl's son saved himself and his family by seeking the protection of the treasurer, Archibald Douglas, whose daughter he was to marry, and Hugh Campbell was obliged to fly the kingdom to avoid a judicial inquiry. But the earl's lands, as well as those of lord Evandale, were seized and given to the earl of Arran. Sir George Douglas received, for his share of the spoils, the lands of Stirling of Keir, who was slain in the battle. Angus took for himself the extensive estates of lord Lindsay, with the lands of all the eastern and northern barons who had supported the earl of Lennox.

King Henry still looked upon the triumph of the earl of Angus as that of the English party, and he wrote to congratulate him on his success at Linlithgow, and to advise him to strengthen himself, while he had it in his power, by the destruction of his enemies, advice which he showed every inclination to act upon. He was now left with undivided power in the state; for the earl of Arran, seized with remorse for the death of his uncle Lennox, had retired from court to shut himself up in one of his castles. The pride and tyranny of the Douglasses were now exhibited in their worst colours. Every act of violence and injustice was committed with impunity under their name. In the very centre of the capital, during the sitting of parliament, one of them, the laird of Lochnivar, murdered the laird of Bomby at the door of the church of St. Giles, and no one dared to bring him to justice. It was but a poor atonement for the lawlessness of his fol-



lowers, when Angus marched to the border, and hanged some of the Armstrongs for their robberies.

The death of the earl of Lennox did not pass by without an attempt at vengeance, which was made just as Angus was preparing for his progress to the border. There was, Buchanan tells us, in the stables of John Stuart, (the earl of Lennox), a man of very mean extraction, who was retained among the lowest for taking care of the horses. After his lord was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered about for some time in a loose unsettled state, till his mind became roused to a determination of executing a deed far above his rank or station, and he resolved to revenge the death of his master. With this intention he set out for Edinburgh, where by chance meeting an acquaintance of the same rank, and who had belonged to the same family, he asked him whether he had seen James Hamilton the bastard in the city? And when he confessed that he had seen him, "Thou most ungrateful of men!" said he, "and didst thou suffer the villain to live, who murdered our best of masters?—away, thou deservest to be hanged!" Having thus spoken, he continued on his way to the court. There were at that time in the palace-yard, in front of Holyrood-house, two thousand of the Douglas and Hamilton clans, armed, and prepared for the expedition to the border. Here the avenger of his master, overlooking all the rest, fixed his eyes and his mind upon Hamilton alone, then coming out of the area unarmed, with only a short cloak; and having watched him into the dark archway above the gate, rushed upon him and stabbed him in six different places, some of the wounds nearly reaching his vitals, while the others, more or less severe, had been warded off by the bend of his body and by the cloak. Having, as he believed, effected his purpose, the assassin immediately mixed with the crowd. A tumult instantly arose, and some of the Hamiltons, suspecting that this act had been perpetrated by the Douglasses, who had not yet forgotten the ancient feud between the two clans, a battle had nearly taken place between the two factions. At last, order being sufficiently restored, all who were present were ordered to draw up in single file along the wall, and the assassin was thus discovered, and seized with his knife, still bloody, in

his hand. Being asked whence he came and for what purpose, and not giving any satisfactory answer, he was committed to prison, and on being put to the torture, he confessed that he had undertaken the act to revenge the murder of his master, and only lamented that the wounds he had inflicted had not proved mortal. Although subjected to long tortures, he made no further confession. At last, having been tried and condemned, he was led round the city naked, and every part of his body was pinched with red hot iron instruments, but he neither changed countenance nor uttered a murmur; and when his right hand was torn off, he only said that the punishment was less than it deserved, because it had failed in carrying out the intentions of a brave mind.

The turbulence of the borderers was at this time by no means the only cause of disorder in the kingdom. The districts of Mar, Garioch, and Aberdeen, were the scene of a sanguinary feud between the families of Lesley and Forbes, which it required the whole influence of the government to appease. The highlands had been in a state of increasing disorder ever since the battle of Flodden, and while the Scottish government was paralyzed by the struggle of factions, the clans of the north had resumed their turbulent independence, and had returned to the practice of private war. The establishment of courts of law and justice among these wild clans had only been made the means of perpetrating greater crimes under the protection of legal cunning, and had as yet no permanent effect in bettering their condition. Lachlan Macintosh, the chief of the clan Chattan, had, it is true, exerted himself to hinder the excesses of his retainers, in return for which he was basely murdered by his near relative Malcolmson. The assassin fled to an island in the lake of Rothiemurchy in Strathspey, where he hoped to elude pursuit, but he was discovered by the clansmen and put to death. The heir of Lachlan Macintosh was a mere infant, who, for safety, was delivered to the keeping of the earl of Moray, while Lachlan's bastard brother Hector was allowed to assume the temporary command of his clan. The earl of Moray committed the young Macintosh to the care of his kinsmen the Ogilvies. Hector Macintosh had no sooner assumed the command of the clan Chattan, than he began to display the ferocity of his character. He began by insist-



ing that the earl of Moray should deliver up into his hands the young heir of the Macintoshes, and when that was denied, he collected his barbarous followers, invaded and ravaged the earl's lands, took and plundered the town of Dyke, and destroyed the earl's castle of Tarnaway, or Darnaway, on the river Findhorn. He then attacked the Ogilvies, and having stormed their castle of Pettie, slew twenty-four of their house, and marched away in savage triumph. This triumph, however, was of short duration; for the earl of Moray, having procured a royal commission, assembled an army, and attacking the Macintoshes just as they were going to renew their outrages, defeated them with great slaughter. Two hundred prisoners were executed; Hector's own brother was taken and hanged; and the chief himself, who fled and concealed himself, only owed his safety to the fidelity of the clansmen. He subsequently reached Edinburgh, and obtained the king's pardon for his crimes, but he was soon after murdered at St. Andrews by a monk, to revenge some feud with which we are not acquainted.

New intrigues were now working in the lowlands, but so secretly that we can hardly trace their progress. Margaret, as we have already seen, had returned to court, where she was apparently treated with the utmost consideration; and, after a temporary retirement, archbishop Beaton also entered into an outward show, at least, of reconciliation with Angus. It is said that sir George Douglas, who was a deeper intriguer than his brother, warned him in vain against the dangerous designs which might lay under the pretended friendship of a man like the archbishop. No suspicions, however, seem to have existed in the minds of the English ministers, who only saw in all this an addition of force to the government of the earl of Angus, who had hitherto shown himself devoted to the English party. Magnus, who was now in Yorkshire, but still watching affairs in Scotland, had said, in a letter to Wolsey, on the 14th of February (1527), that he had "specially written to the archbishop of St. Andrews, much like as I have done to the queen's grace, showing me to be right glad and joyous, both of the queen's repairing to the young king her son's presence, and of the coming in of the said archbishop; declaring that by the queen's good counsel and faithful assistance to be given to the same by the said archbishop, good likelihood is that the great discords,

debates, dissensions, and variances, that have of late been among the lords in those parts, shall be repressed, appeased, and reduced to good unity and concord, to the universal weal, rest, and quietness of that realm, and most specially for the weal, surety, and prosperous preservation of the king's person, their sovereign lord."

One of the first fruits of the revival of the archbishop's influence, was a case of religious persecution. Amid the scenes of political turbulence and intrigue which late years had witnessed, it appears that the doctrines of the reformation had been secretly and gradually spreading in Scotland. The parliament of 1525 had found it necessary to pass an act forbidding all merchants and foreigners bringing into Scotland any books or treatises put forth by Luther or the other reformers, on the pain of imprisonment and the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes; and all persons who publicly professed their doctrines were threatened with similar punishment. Among the latter was a young and noble ecclesiastic, Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, the son of sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincaivil, and of Catherine Stuart, sister to the duke of Albany. He had studied philosophy at St. Andrews under John Mair, the preceptor of Knox and Buchanan, and the freedom of his opinions and his known predilection to the doctrines of Luther, had caused him to be summoned before an ecclesiastical council; but he escaped the danger by flying to Germany, and at Wittemberg he obtained the personal friendship of Luther and Melancthon. He afterwards perfected himself in the doctrines of protestantism under Lambert, the head of the university of Marburg, and soon afterwards determined to return to Scotland to preach the true faith to his countrymen. With this design, he arrived at St. Andrews in 1527, where he preached openly the new doctrines, and exerted himself zealously to make converts. He was soon seized and thrown into prison, but his youth, and his high connexions, excited sympathy, and the most earnest exertions were made, but without effect, to persuade him to renounce his doctrines. A catholic priest, named Aless, who was employed to argue with him in his cell, became a convert himself, and perished at the stake. A scheme was organised for the rescue of Patrick Hamilton, but it was discovered and defeated, and he was soon afterwards condemned and put to death with excruciating tortures. The meek-



ness and courage with which he bore his sufferings produced a deep impression on the beholders, and did much towards spreading the faith for which he was a martyr. Buchanan tells us that another priest, a Dominican named Alexander Campbell, had listened to Patrick Hamilton's doctrines, and been partly converted to them, but his courage forsook him, and he was induced to seek safety and perhaps gain by becoming on this occasion the public accuser. Pro-

voked at the vehemence of this man's accusations, Hamilton is said to have cited him in a tone of prophetic eloquence to another bar:—"I summon thee, thou most aggravated sinner, who knowest the things which thou condemnest are true, and didst confess so to me only a few days ago, to take thy trial before the tribunal of the living God!" Campbell's mind was so disturbed by this appeal, that he became melancholy and moody, and not long afterwards died mad.

## CHAPTER VI.

ESCAPE OF THE KING, AND FALL OF THE DOUGLASES; HOSTILITY OF FEELING BETWEEN JAMES AND HIS NOBLES; FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THE power of the Douglasses seemed to be now so firmly established, that their feeling of security threw them off their guard. They were masters of the king's person, and could thus affix his signature to any act they pleased, while the offices of state which gave control over the revenue of the kingdom, and the law, the chancellorship and treasurer'ship, were in their own hands. They had thus the irresponsible and unchecked power of rewarding their friends, and of crushing their enemies under the charge of treason against the sovereign, whenever they offered open resistance to his keepers. The queen had now married Henry Stuart, a man who possessed neither talent nor popularity to make him respected, and who appears to have been thrown into prison whenever it was thought necessary to act upon Margaret's fears. Angus, in contempt of both, made an attempt to gain possession of the queen's dowery lands, which alarmed her so much, that she took her husband with her into the castle of Edinburgh, and closed the gates. Angus immediately unfurled the royal banner, and the king was obliged to accompany him to lay siege to the fortress in which his mother had thus taken shelter. Margaret knew that resistance was in vain, and she surrendered at once, and, delivering the keys of the castle on her knees, implored pardon for herself and her husband. The vengeance of Angus only fell on the latter who was subjected to a new imprisonment.

But the moment was now at hand when the power of the earl of Angus was to be overthrown. James appears to have been secretly a promoter of all the attempts which had been made to deliver him, and while each successive failure had rendered his chains more irksome to him, he gradually learnt to be more cunning, while he became more resolute to shake them off. He had completed his sixteenth year, and he had already begun to show a capacity which, if it had been rightly trained, might have made him a great monarch. Since archbishop Beaton had returned to court, the king had privately taken him into his confidence, and it appears to have been with him alone that he concerted the steps for making his escape. The crafty prelate had succeeded in making the Douglasses believe that he was entirely indifferent to affairs of state, and deceived into false security by their easy triumph over the queen-mother, they began to relax a little the confinement in which they kept the king. The important castle of Stirling belonged to the queen-mother, and James persuaded her to exchange it with him for the lands of Methven in Strathern, under the promise that they should be erected into a peerage for her new husband. The exchange was no sooner completed, than the king contrived to place in the fortress a captain who was devoted to his person. He then prevailed upon the earl of Angus to remove the court to the palace of Falkland, which was a

favourite hunting place, and whence, from its moderate distance from St. Andrews, it was easy to hold communication with Beaton without exciting suspicion. The latter acted his part with the utmost skill. He also had entered into some transactions with sir George Douglas relating to their estates, on pretence of which, while the earl of Angus was occupied with his private affairs in Lothian, and his uncle, Archibald, was gone to Dundee, he invited him to pay him a visit at St. Andrews. The king was thus left at Falkland with no other keeper but the captain of the royal guard, Douglas of Parkhead.

It was the latter part of May, in the year 1528, when these things occurred. On the night of the 22nd or 23rd of that month, James announced his intention of hunting early the next morning, and having sent for the keeper of Falkland forest, he gave him strict orders to have everything ready at an early hour. He then supped, and, dismissing his attendants, retired to his bed early, in apparent anticipation of the fatigues of the next day. The captain of the guard also retired, and no one entertained the slightest suspicion of the king's designs. In the middle of the night, when the whole palace was in profound slumber, James, having assumed the disguise of a yeoman of the guard, stole out of his chamber, locked the door, and having proceeded to the stable with two faithful servants, selected a fleet horse, and putting it at its full speed, succeeded in reaching the bridge of Stirling before daybreak. As he passed the bridge, which was secured by a gate and tower, he ordered the warden, at the peril of his life, to keep it shut against any who should follow him, and then proceeding to the castle he was received into it by the captain and garrison with the utmost joy. At Falkland, no one had observed the king's flight, and there was so little apprehension of any such design, that when sir George Douglas returned from St. Andrews, unexpectedly, as it appears, and was informed that the king had retired, he also proceeded to his own chamber without further inquiries. Early next morning, however, he was aroused by a loud knocking at his chamber door, and Carmichael, the baillie of Abernethy, rushed in and inquired if he knew where the king was? He replied that he believed he was yet in bed. Carmichael then told him that the king had been seen passing the bridge of Stirling. In the utmost alarm, sir George dressed himself and hur-

ried to the royal apartment, the door of which he found locked; and, when he had burst it open with his foot, he was overwhelmed with consternation on finding the chamber empty, and the royal robes thrown over the bed, in which nobody had slept. The household was immediately roused, and messengers dispatched to the earl of Angus and sir Archibald Douglas, and on their arrival, they collected as many of their followers as were at hand, and all three rode on towards Stirling, still believing that the power and authority with which they were invested might enable them to recover possession of their captive.

Meanwhile James had acted with the utmost vigour and resolution. Worn out with fatigue and anxiety, when he reached Stirling, he retired to sleep, while messengers were sent to bring together such of his nobles not of the party of the Douglasses as were within call. When the king awoke, he was surrounded by a body of influential barons devoted to his will, including the earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglintoun, and Moray, and the lords Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell, and Montgomery; and with these he held a council, and a proclamation was issued in the king's name forbidding any lord or follower of the house of Douglas to approach within six miles of the court under pain of treason. A herald, bearing this proclamation, was instantly despatched towards Falkland, and meeting the Douglasses on the way, he drew up his horse and read it to them. For a moment they hesitated, but on further reflection they thought it better to obey, and turning their horses' heads, they rode back, overwhelmed with rage and disappointment, and stopped only when they reached Linlithgow. Angus went thence to fortify himself in his castle of Tantallon, while the Douglasses and their partizans in all parts hastened to collect their forces.

While the kingdom seemed thus threatened with a formidable civil war, James acted with mingled vigour and prudence. He was joined at Stirling by the queen-mother, with her husband Henry Stuart, and he appears to have remained there during the month of June to mature his plans. On Monday the sixth of July, the king proceeded to Edinburgh, accompanied by his mother, and attended by the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Galloway, &c., the earls of Argyle, Arran, Eglintoun, Rothes, and Bothwell, and the lords Max-



well, Avendale, Seaton, Forbes, Home, and others. He took up his lodging in the house of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and issued thence a proclamation denouncing the pain of death against any Douglas found in the capital, or any others who should be found guilty of holding communication with them. The king's lodgings were strictly guarded every night, by the peers and their armed followers, and James himself is said to have taken his turn in commanding the guard, covered in complete armour. Nor was this precaution unnecessary, for sir George Douglas and his uncle sir Archibald Douglas, collecting a strong body of their followers, made several demonstrations against the capital, but they were defeated by the vigilance of lord Maxwell, who had been appointed as provost to the command there. One of the king's first cares after his arrival in Edinburgh was to supply the offices of state which had been held by Angus and his friends. The archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, the king's "schoolmaster," was made chancellor; the abbot of Holyrood was appointed to the treasurership; and the privy seal was given to the bishop of Dunkeld. Lord Maxwell was made provost of Edinburgh. A proclamation was next issued, summoning a parliament to meet at Edinburgh in the beginning of September; and the earl of Angus was commanded to keep himself beyond the Spey, and to deliver his brother and uncle as hostages for his appearance in parliament to answer to the charge of treason; both which orders the Douglasses treated with the utmost contempt. The king after a few days dismissed his nobles, and returned with the court to Stirling. An ambassador was at the same time dispatched to Henry VIII. to acquaint him with this sudden and extraordinary change; but the light in which these events were viewed in England is shown by the remarks of the young lord Daere, in a letter in which he communicated a part of them to Wolsey.—"The king," says he, "is ruled and advised by the queen, Henry Stuart, now her husband, the lord Maxwell, and the laird of Buccleuch, chief maintainors of all misguided men on the borders of Scotland, together with the sheriff of Ayr, that slew the earl of Cassillis, and now bed-fellow to the said king; with such like other murderers and misguided persons, which are now best cherished, and most in favour with the said king and queen.

I see no likelihood or appearance of any stay or good order to be had within Scotland for the causes aforesaid."

The state of Scotland at this time promised, indeed, little peace to the country; and though the king showed in the emergency both vigour and prudence, there were strong traits in his character, which had been fostered by his imperfect education, tending continually to counteract his better qualities. He appears to have suffered personal indignities from the Douglasses, during the period he remained under their control, which were never forgiven, and his unremitting hatred towards them and their partizans eventually weakened, rather than strengthened the authority which he had gained by their overthrow; for it led him into a contest with the feudal nobility, whom he had not the talent to conciliate, or the steady force of character to control.

During the autumn of 1528, the Douglasses were actively engaged in collecting their strength, and they soon assumed a formal attitude of defiance. In August, sir Archibald Douglas and sir George, with their relative whom Angus had made abbot of Holyrood, and a strong body of retainers, had taken possession of Edinburgh, with the intention of hindering the meeting of parliament, but towards the end of the month they were surprised by lord Maxwell. It was noon, and sir Archibald and the other chiefs were at dinner, while their followers were scattered over the town, when their lodgings were suddenly invaded by a small party of lord Maxwell's troops. It was with the utmost difficulty that they succeeded in escaping out of the town, and they all made the best of their way to the castle of Tantallon, where their prospects at this moment seemed so discouraging, that a messenger was dispatched to the border to prepare the way for their flight into England. Two or three days afterwards, the king and the lords who now supported him entered the capital, and the parliament met in considerable force on the day appointed, the 2nd of September. As the Douglasses refused to appear to answer to the charges brought against them, an act of attainder was passed without further delay, and the lands of the earl of Angus were divided amongst the lords who were now foremost in supporting the crown, the earls of Argyle and Arran, the lords Bothwell and Maxwell, the laird of

Buccleuch, and Hamilton the bastard of Arran, the king reserving to himself the powerful fortress of Tantallon. The lord Home was said to have refused the bribe of a share of the earl's lands to join against him; and Angus's friends complained that, instead of being proceeded against fairly in open parliament, the proceedings were carried on by a committee of lords, chosen for their zealous devotion to the young monarch's will.

The first step towards putting this act into effect, was to obtain possession of the estates which had been confiscated, and, having now collected at Edinburgh a well-appointed force of eight thousand men, he determined to march against his enemies, and lay siege to Tantallon, Douglas, and Coldingham. Angus, alarmed at these preparations, again meditated a retreat into England; but James already found the uncertainty of his authority over the aristocracy, which he was destined soon to feel in its full force. Under the pretence that they were unwilling at this time of the year to destroy the corn in the fields, the lords of the council refused to march, but, disbanding their men, promised to reassemble them as soon as the corn should be gotten in. The Douglasses looked upon the backwardness of their enemies as a sign of fear, and assuming new courage themselves, they sent a party of their followers to burn two villages in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, proclaiming that they did it to give the king a light in case he chose again to arise and depart before day-break in the morning. This scornful taunt on his flight from Falkland, joined with his disappointment at the disbanding of the army, still further embittered his hatred towards Angus and his house. A letter from one of the English officers of the border, Roger Lascelles, captain of Norham castle, gives an anecdote which, if true, shows us not only the resolute character of the king, but the feeling which appears at this early period of his independent reign to have existed between him and the lords. "Upon our Lady-day, (September 8th,) all those that had the earl of Angus's lands, then came in with their patents to have them sealed and signed, and so the king did; and when he had so done, he delivered them to a page of his chamber, and commanded him to keep them; and so, at afternoon, the lords that had the patents given came to the king, and desired to know his pleasure why that he would not

deliver their patents according as he had given them. And he asked his council whether he might revoke all that he had done or not? and his lords said, yes; and then he called for a notary, and revoked all that he had done, and bade them go and chase the earl of Angus forth of Scotland, and they should have their patents. And so they are not content with their part, for as yet they have gotten none of the earl's lands, and have lost the earl's favour."

Although evidently distrustful of the zeal and sincerity with which his nobles acted against the rebellious Douglasses, James resolved to persevere in his design. Placing his hopes now in the earl of Argyle, he raised the country belonging to that nobleman about Douglasdale, and, proceeding thither in person, undertook the siege of Douglas castle. While he was thus occupied in the vain attempt to capture this fortress, Angus and his followers burnt and plundered the country from Tantallon almost to the gates of Edinburgh. Compelled by its strength to abandon the siege of Douglas castle, the king returned to Stirling, to concert measures for carrying on the war against the Douglasses with more vigour, and he announced his intention of marching towards the border, where their strength lay, with a formidable army in the following month. At the beginning of October we find James at Dunbar, from whence, on the second of that month, he made a hasty march at the head of five hundred men to Coldingham, in the hopes of surprising and capturing the earl, who seems to have been there at the burial of his brother, the ecclesiastic. But Angus had received timely information of the king's design, and held himself at a distance with two hundred of his followers, while the king occupied Coldingham; the latter, having placed the lord Home and his brother, the abbot of Jedworth, in command of that strong house, returned without accomplishing his purpose. No sooner had the king turned his back, than Angus, whose force had quickly swelled to five hundred men, entered the abbey, drove out lord Home and his brother, and pursued the king nearly to the walls of Dunbar. At the same time he sent the lady Margaret, his daughter by the queen, to Norham castle, and prepared to follow her over the border on the approach of the king's army, which was summoned for the 18th.

The relations between Scotland and Eng-



land were at this moment in a very precarious condition. James had sent Patrick Sinclair as his ambassador to the English court, to explain the change which had taken place in the Scottish government. Sinclair appears to have been a man who was in some degree under English influence, and he certainly did not succeed in counteracting the impression made in England by the agents of the Douglasses. King Henry, who always assumed an authoritative tone towards his nephew, replied to his various communications by requiring him to pardon the earl of Angus, a request to which he refused to listen, and by complaining of the hostility of the borderers. The demand of favour for the Douglasses was not long pertinaciously persevered in, but the Scottish borders, since the commencement of the troubles, had fallen into the utmost disorder, and these, with the known favour shown by Henry to the faction of Angus, furnished at any time a sufficient pretext for war. It was not, therefore, without alarm that the English government heard that a Scottish army was approaching to the border, and orders were sent to the duke of Northumberland to summon the forces of the northern counties to be ready to assemble at the shortest notice to resist any attempt at invasion by the Scots.

On the 18th of October James assembled an army of twelve thousand men at Dunbar, and carrying with him the artillery of that fortress, as well as that he had brought with him, marched direct to Tantallon, and from that time till the 4th of November he ceased not to use every means in his power to reduce that formidable fortress, but in vain. The walls, almost impregnable in themselves, and on this occasion defended with desperate bravery, set at defiance his whole train of artillery, and the king, baffled in his attempt, retired on the day last mentioned, with the bulk of his forces, to Edinburgh, a distance of about sixteen miles, leaving a band of footmen and a company of horse, under David Falconer, a very distinguished officer, to convey home the artillery. As this last body moved off towards Edinburgh, Angus issued forth with eight score of his men, and attacking them furiously at night, defeated them and slew their commander. The whole train of the Scottish artillery fell into the hands of Angus, who, with a singular affectation of generosity, carried it himself till, as he expressed it, it was "out of danger," and then

sent it on to the king. It was on this occasion that James, mortified at his failure before Tantallon, stung to the quick by Angus's taunt in sending home the artillery, and especially grieved at the loss of his favourite officer, Falconer, declared, with an oath, that no Douglas should ever, so long as he lived in Scotland, find a resting-place in his kingdom.

A circumstance occurred, not long after the retreat from Tantallon, which gave further aggravation to the king. A royal ship called the Martine, laden with a very valuable cargo, was driven ashore on the coast of Lothian, and was taken possession of by some of Angus's plunderers, who carried off a part of the cargo. When they left it, the countrymen rose tumultuously, and completely stripped the wreck, and they are said in their ignorance to have carried off large quantities of cinnamon for fire-wood. Turbulent people in all parts of the country rose up to plunder under the name of Douglas, and the lowlands were soon thrown into a deplorable condition.

The loud demand of the English for redress of border outrages and the wish of James for peace on one side, and Henry's anxiety not to enter into a war at this moment on the other, led now to pacific negotiations between the two kingdoms. Dr. Magnus, joined with two other commissioners, was sent to Berwick to meet commissioners on the part of Scotland. They were directed in the first place to obtain redress for some outrages committed by the Scottish borderers on the English territory, to urge certain arguments in favour of the earl of Angus, and to furnish him a safe-conduct to England. These instructions were partly superseded in consequence of new intelligence, and before they reached Berwick they received fresh instructions, offering further arguments in his favour, directing that he should remain in Scotland, and ordering them to give him secret encouragement to do all the annoyance in his power until a treaty could be concluded to his advantage. They reached Berwick on the eighth of November, and found there the two Scottish commissioners, the abbot of Kelso and Adam Otterburn, one of the king's confidential ministers. Their commission, it appeared, extended only to asking for a peace for three years, in continuation of the truce which had already existed, while the English went to debate on the state of the borders and on the

affairs of the earl of Angus. This led to misunderstandings from the beginning. The Scots expressed their regret for the outrages committed by the Armstrongs of Liddesdale, but they said that that district was in a state of insurrection against the Scottish government, and that it was thus not in the king's power to give immediate redress. Magnus and his colleagues then urged that, if the Scottish king were not able to reduce the Armstrongs to order, he should allow the English king to proceed against them by force, without considering it a breach of the peace. The Scottish commissioners replied that they had no authority to treat on this subject, but they thought it reasonable that the "thieves" of Liddesdale "should be repressed by the power and consent of both kings." The English negotiators next demanded that the Englishmen who had been captured by the Liddesdale men and carried over the border, should be set at liberty, to which the same reply was made, that the king of Scots had not then power over the borderers to enforce this article. Magnus and his colleagues then proceeded to state Henry's wishes with regard to the earl of Angus, on which the Scots said that the earl's affairs were altogether out of their commission. "Nevertheless, knowing some part as they said, of their master's counsel, they inferred that it was no little marvel to his grace that the king's highness, his dearest uncle, should so largely labour or give any favour to that person, whom his said grace did take and repute as his rebel, supposing in such a case that his highness would rather persecute him for his sake, than in any wise to admit him so highly unto his favour; so that thereby, as they alleged, it appeareth that the king's said highness rather pretendeth superiority of Scotland, than otherwise."

"Conceiving these reasons and opinions," Magnus proceeds, in his dispatch to Wolsey, "thinking the same not to pass without reasonable answer to be made by us, it was alleged again (*in reply*), that it became right well the king's highness to write, move, and to be means for the said earl of Angus to the king of Scots, his dearest nephew, considering that, if he so rigorously in his youth should persecute his noblemen and peers of his realm, for none higher cause nor transgression that yet appeareth, finally by all likelihood it should tend and make to his own destruction, considering he is, totally and at the least, much more ruled

and advised by thieves and murderers, than by the noblemen of his realm. And at this point we remembered (*put them in mind of*) some of the said young king's counsellors, that is to wit, sir James Hamilton, who did slay the earl of Lennox; the sheriff of Ayr, who also did slay the earl of Cassillis; the laird of Buccleuch, who was cause of the death of Dan Kerr, warden of the east marches of Scotland; and the lord Maxwell, chief maintainer of all offenders, murderers, thieves, and others, daily procuring and seeking ways and occasions to the breach and rupture of the peace between both the realms; by means of which misruled persons, and of Harry Stuart, now married to the queen of Scots, the said earl of Angus is attainted, as consequently by all likelihood shall be other the noblemen of Scotland, for want of good counsellors about the said young king, to his own no little danger, jeopardy, and peril in conclusion, if that the counsel of his dearest uncle the king's grace be not better followed, proceeding more for the weal, surety, and favour that his highness beareth to his said dearest nephew, than for any other cause had towards the said earl of Angus. With these answers and others, we perplexed the said commissioners, so that they said they were desirous of peace; which if the king's highness would deny to his young nephew, it was not honourable, and contrary to the law of God and nature, the king their master being so nigh conjoined to the king's highness by proximity of blood; saying further, that if the king's highness should estrange himself so far from their prince and master, regarding more a stranger than his own blood, he was then enforced to seek and be means for further friends. To this it was alleged that the king's highness never intended nor thought any favour or bearing against the young king his dearest nephew, but only to give unto him his best advice and counsel for his prosperous weal and surety, and is content to continue with him in peace, and never thought the contrary, though many great occasions have been given to the same. Howbeit, we showed it was not convenient we should suddenly enter into the said peace, none other order nor direction taken for the heinous attempts done and committed to the king our sovereign lord's subjects, not yet redressed, nor authority committed to the said commissioners to treat, commune, and conclude for the same,



and specially till we shall know further the king our sovereign lord's high pleasure in this cause and others; declaring further, his said highness did mind none other thing, but as was reasonable, goodly, and natural, albeit his said highness made means, like a virtuouse prince, for a nobleman being in adversity, none other wise but as all good reason requireth. And, if hereafter any breach of peace shall fortune or chance, it shall not be by any occasion given by the king's highness, but in the default of the young king and his council, that will see none otherwise for the due order of justice to be ministered to the subjects of the realm of England, sore hurted and damnified by the lieges of Scotland."

The negotiation was now adjourned to the 9th of December, that each party might communicate with their several governments. Both sides seem to have felt the difficulty which was placed in the way of a treaty, by including the earl of Angus in it; and Magnus and his fellow-commissioners, in the dispatch from which the above account is taken, expressed their opinion candidly on the subject:—"And finally, we think, saving your gracious pleasure and reformation, it were not good to refuse peace for the earl of Angus, considering the war of Scotland is never to the profit of England; neither that peace should be refused, though the Scots will see no remedy for reformation of the thieves of Liddesdale. In which two causes some other remedy may be studied and devised, with far less charge than either to maintain war with garrisons or otherwise; the king's high honour saved in every behalf, the same notwithstanding." The same sentiment is expressed still more strongly in another dispatch to Wolsey, written the same day, after having received a communication from Angus himself. After reverting to this communication, which was merely a request for further support, Magnus proceeds to remark, "He and his brother George have moved me and my companions to rest still in calling for redress, and not to enter into any further peace with Scotland, alleging that thereby the said king of Scots and his council shall be enforced to grant and consent to anything that we will require or desire of them; the contrary thereof I esteem to be true, and so hither-toward I and my said companions have proved the same, by due experience, at this the time of our meeting with the commissioners of Scotland, who have demanded

of us what redress we had at any time made by the said earl of Angus, when he was warden of the east and middle marshes of Scotland by these three years past. Whereunto we could make no perfect answer; neither do the borderers of England laud, praise, nor commend the said earl in anywise for doing of justice in that behalf, the said commissioners imputing totally the default and blame therein to the said earl of Angus."

While the negotiation was at this point, the king of Scots had summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on St. Andrew's day (the 30th of November), and it was generally understood that one object of importance that was to be brought before it was a proposed marriage between James and a sister of the emperor. This continental alliance roused the alarm of the English monarch, and further instructions were sent to the commissioners at Berwick; while communications had been made between the commissioners of both monarchs and king James, which seem to have somewhat pacified the latter. The Scottish government had been further strengthened by the reappearance of archbishop Beaton at court, who, although he had no doubt been a principal means of bringing about the late revolution, had kept aloof ever since, perhaps wishing to see which party proved strongest before he committed himself too far.

At length, on the 14th of December, 1528, a treaty of peace between the two countries was concluded and signed by the commissioners. James agreed to remit the sentence of death against Angus, and to allow him to remain in England, but he insisted upon the confiscation of the estates of the Douglasses; accordingly Tantallon and their other castles were surrendered into his hands. Separate articles were agreed upon for repressing the disorders on the border.

As soon as the treaty of peace had been concluded, Dr. Magnus received new instructions, and was directed to proceed to the Scottish court on an embassy, the main objects of which appear to have been to ascertain the state of the proceedings with regard to king James's marriage, and to make a personal appeal in favour of the earl of Angus. His account of his proceedings, given in a long dispatch of the 13th of February, furnishes us with an interesting view of the state of politics at this time. Magnus arrived in Edinburgh on the 5th of January, twelfth-day-eve, and found that the

king was keeping his Christmas at Stirling. A fortnight passed before James arrived in his capital, but he had sent orders that the English ambassador should be treated with the utmost respect; and, as far as we can judge, the presence of an English envoy was not unsatisfactory to the bulk of the people. "The 19th day of January," says Magnus, "the said king of Scots came to Edinburgh, and the next day after I had presence, and was accompanied unto his grace by the bishop of Galloway, and the abbot of Arbroath, being privy seal. And after due salutation, and showing that, forasmuch as I was at the borders, and not far from Edinburgh, the pleasure of the king's highness my sovereign lord was, that, before I should return southwards, I should visit and see the prosperous estate of the said young king, to the intent that thereupon at my repair and coming into England I might make due report unto the king's highness his dearest uncle, not only touching the waxing (*growing*) and furnishing of his noble personage, but also of other his qualities and virtuous proceedings; and thereupon delivered the king's most honourable letters and your's (Wolsey's), which the said young king received right joyously, and with good countenance, demanding and inquiring for the prosperous estate and welfare of his dearest uncle the king's highness, and of your grace. After the said letters were read, and some deal considered, by the said king and his council, his grace, saying that I was right heartily welcome, desired me to have patience for a day or twain, to the intent that he might be the better advised of the effect, purport, and contents of the said letters; and then his grace showed he would be glad to hear my credence at large. Two days after, accompanied as before, I was sent for to come unto the king's presence, at which time his grace said to all his lords that, forasmuch as I was his old acquaintance, he would use me familiarly; and so caused me to pass with his grace into his privy chamber, none other being present but we twain."

A confidential conversation took place between the ambassador and the king, and Magnus began by touching on one of the most delicate questions that were entrusted to his management. "I showed," he says, "it was the mind and pleasure of the king's highness, my sovereign lord, his dearest uncle, that I should move him in anywise to follow the good advice and counsel of his

most honourable and most discreet, sad, and sage counsellors; and with much circumstance showed what surety the same should be to his grace, and what great honour and profit thereby might ensue, both to himself and to all and every the good subjects of his realm and maintenance of the same. Also, I showed how it was reported and said in England, that a private and light young counsel doth more rule about his grace than do the ancient and honourable lords of his council; and inferred thereupon, what great and high dangers might ensue in sundry wises. And at this point the young king said, he was much bounden to his uncle for these his good advertisements and counsel, and showed unto me of his own mind that young counsel was the destruction of the king of Denmark,\* and that therefore he would have the better regard unto himself to be advised, counselled, and ruled by wise, sage, and sad counsellors. And being glad to hear this to proceed of himself, I did laud, praise, and commend his grace, and showed unto him, that man was happy whom other men's dangers and perils make wise; and thereunto added the fall and destruction of king James III., his grandfather, in that time totally advised, ruled, and governed by a light and young counsel."

The next question discussed was the state of the border, of which the ambassador gives a melancholy picture. "Also, hearing that the Armstrongs of Liddesdale reported presumptuously that they would not be ordered, neither by the king of Scots, their sovereign lord, nor by the king of England, but after such manner as their fathers have used before them, I moved this to the said king of Scots, shewing that without justice and due correction to be had within his own realm, he could not continue and reign like a king, and thereupon inferred, how that the said Armstrongs avainted themselves to be the destruction of two-and-fifty parish churches in Scotland, besides the unlawful and ungracious attempts by them committed within England, wherefore the said king of Scots stood, and was bounden to make answer. I therefore moved the said young king to appoint and have good officers upon his borders, as be given to justice, making of redress, and repressing of theft; and thereupon declared how much more it was 'valuable' for Scotland than for England. I showed also it was not

\* Christiern II. king of Denmark had been de-  
throned in 1523.



possible that these two realms could or should continue together in due order, unless gratitude and kindness, with justice, were shown accordingly; and so induced, how oft the king's highness had made intercession for the earl of Angus, supposing that, if the matter had been of so great weight as is reported, the same should have been remitted at his request and contemplation. Howbeit, I said, it appeared that after the king's highness had written in the favour of the said earl, the more extremity had been shown against him. I also declared that, if the said earl had in anywise offended so largely as was laid unto his charge, or not; yet nevertheless the king's highness had exhorted, moved, and procured him, by special letters, to order himself in such wise, as he might obtain mercy and grace of his sovereign, and to take the same when he could attain thereunto. And upon this point, I moved the said king of Scots for some gentle and reasonable way to be taken with the said earl of Angus, at the request of the king's highness, his dearest uncle. As for having of justice within the realm of Scotland, making of due redress, and repressing of theft, as is afore said, the young king said, that all these things were fortified and maintained in such wise by the earl of Angus, and that it is not in his power to reform the same; inasmuch as the said earl did give so many remissions and pardons to offenders, and then did bind the same, being of all sorts, better and worse, to do unto him service, when he should call upon them; whereof warning was given unto him at divers times for his reformation in that behalf, and that yet in anywise he would not follow the same; so that thereby the said young king affirmeth, his subjects were so far, and yet are out of dread of him as their sovereign lord, that it is not possible, without help of his dearest uncle, to see reformation in that behalf. Howbeit, his grace and his council show themselves clearly determined to have better order, and have bound the officers of the borders of Scotland to see the king their sovereign to be discharged against the king's highness, our sovereign lord and master; and in like manner hath bound the earl of Bothwell, being lord of Liddesdale, to subdue that country to justice, and for making of redress, upon pain of forfeiture of all his lands there; the same to be done with all speed and diligence. Notwithstanding, the young king saith, that such bruits, rumours, and

avaunts are made in Scotland, that the said earl of Angus and his friends shall be borne and maintained against him by the favour of England, to the encouraging so far of the malefactors his subjects, that right hard and difficult it is, hastily to reduce them to due obedience, unless the said earl be otherwise subdued and corrected; as by the said king's letters, written at this time to the king's highness and your grace, more at large it doth appear." The king then went on to detail his griefs against the earl of Angus, on which Magnus observes, "perceiving the king of Scots to persevere and continue after this manner, I was at divers and sundry times with the archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor; the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran, the earl of Argyle, sir William Scott, and Mr. Adam Otterbourne, with sundry others, both spiritual and temporal; and by all the ways and means I could devise or persuade, I could find no remedy for the said earl of Angus, not so much as to have any his friends to come in and to make offer for his reconciliation. And, as I was required and moved from the said earl of Angus, I offered to the said king, to be given to his grace for reconciliation of the said earl and his friends, two thousand pounds; which in anywise would not be regarded, accepted, nor taken."

The next question was the marriage. "Upon this communication," continues Magnus, "I required the said young king of Scots, inasmuch as I was that poor man that did bear good love and favour for the firm entertaining of peace and perfect amity to be between both the realms, and had oft and many times for the same taken upon me pain and travel, that therefore it would please his grace to be content to permit me to be plain unto his grace in disclosing to the same some part of mine own mind, proceeding without any other authority. And thereupon I inferred and said, I could not a little marvel, how prone and ready his grace was, as is said in England, to hearken and hear unto new intelligences with such as perchance may be the king his dearest uncle's enemies, or at the least his suspect and feigned friends. And so I touched his suits, devices, ways, and means, procured to the lady Margaret in Flanders, as was said, to have in marriage the dowager of Hungary, being the emperor's sister; and declared further that, if it were his own mind so to do, I did not also a little marvel of the same, seeing



that in such a case his grace would proceed or attempt without the advice, counsel, or consent of his dearest uncle; considering that the said queen is far older and hath many more years than his grace hath, with small profits and dependences, but trouble, danger, and business, with hope of help and relief to be given by the emperor, being a far friend to trust unto, having many more things on hand and in charge than he is able to rule and govern. I induced also, what hurts, dangers, and damages might ensue to the said young king's grace, if in anywise he declined from the pleasure and favour of his dearest uncle; and, according to mine instructions, showed it was a ready way and mean to send into Scotland the duke of Albany, to take upon him the rule and governance, not only of the king's person till he shall come to more years of perfection, but also of his realm for the better ordering of the same. And also I showed unto the said king that, albeit there might chance some business (*trouble*) to be between the king's highness my sovereign lord and the French king on the one party, and the emperor on the other; yet I considered right well that the same could not continue for any season, but that there should in brief time good rest and peace be had amongst them, and that then by all likelihood, if the said young king of Scots should decline or take any such way as is afore said with the emperor, the wise counsel of England and France would not fail to provide that he should be utterly put apart and left alone, to his extreme danger and peril, if it so should chance. After these promises were purposed, with much more circumstance, it was hard for the said young king to make answer to the same. Nevertheless he said he was not minded in any wise to seek any new friends, but, as nature required, would clearly give him to have his whole trust and hope in his dearest uncle, in whom he did put his whole confidence, and never intended any other; albeit special motions had been made and moved unto him, not upon his own searching, but by the procuring of others. And upon this point conceiving the said young king to be perplexed, and desiring him to have some other thing to reason in his mind and conjecture upon, I showed unto his grace I marvelled most specially that his said grace, by the advice of his council, did none otherwise follow upon the marriage of my lady princess, remembering as far as ever I conceived, his

grace had no desperate answer in that behalf, either by his ambassadors or otherwise. Upon showing of this matter, his grace said unto me, that his council had informed him that the lady princess was promised to the duke of Orleans, son to the French king, which was the occasion that he called no more quickly upon that matter. Howbeit his grace said, he would by the advice of his council use and order himself otherwise to his dearest uncle, specially by sending more familiarly than he had done to his highness; alleging there is no marriage in the world that he is so desirous upon, as of the same. Saying also, there should be nothing in his realm, either men or other, but the same should be at the request of his dearest uncle, and desired me of my poor favour and good report. Wherein I can do none other, but show that the same should be to the greatest comfort that could come to Scotland; which I do not conceive only by the said king's grace, but also by the queen of Scots his mother, and by his most honourable and most discreet councillors, with whom I have had conference and communication at large, and am sure that neither the said young king nor his council be minded to lean to any other party, either for marriage, or any other intelligence, unless it be by the advice of the king's most gracious highness. And for the further surety in that behalf, the said queen's grace, the archbishop of St. Andrews, sir William Scott, laird of Balwery, and Mr. Adam Otterbourne, have firmly promised unto me, that no communication shall be had with no outward realms, till that the king's highness and your grace shall be made privy to the same; and most assuredly I trust to the words and promise made unto me by the said king of Scots, and doubt not that in anywise they will decline to the contrary; so that for this cause there is no doubt to be made for the party of Scotland."

James seemed at this time inclined to act up to the professions he had made to king Henry's ambassador. Henry and Francis I. were leagued together against the emperor, and the French king favoured the marriage between James and the English princess, while the emperor was anxious to prevent it. A proposal for a marriage into the royal family of France was met with discouragement; but the emperor was anxious to secure the Scottish alliance to himself, and pressed upon James a marriage, first with his sister the queen of Hungary,



and next, when this was not acceded to, with his niece, the daughter of Christiern king of Denmark; and so earnest was he to promote this match, that the king of Scots was encouraged to expect as a dower the whole principality of Norway. But none of these matches appear to have been popular among the Scottish nobility, who seem at this time to have been generally in favour of a closer alliance with England.

One of the most important questions that came before the parliament of 1529, was the turbulence of the borderers, which formed an equal obstacle to tranquillity at home, or continued amity with England. The youthful king had made up his mind that a strong example of rigour was necessary, and he determined to proceed to the border in person. Before he set out, he ordered such of the border chiefs as were attending at court to be arrested, and the earl of Bothwell (lord of Teviotdale,) with Home, Maxwell, Ker of Fernyhirst, Mark Ker, Buccleuch, Polwarth, and Johnston, were all thrown into prison. Two others, Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tushylaw, the latter of whom was popularly called the king of the border, were publicly executed. The king then marched with an army of eight thousand men through Ettrick forest and Ewsdale, and, guided by some of the borderers, who thus obtained a pardon for themselves, he penetrated into the wildest districts of Eskdale and Teviotdale. Among those who suffered the royal vengeance on this occasion was the most famous freebooter on the border, Johnnie Armstrong of Gilmockie, who, in an evil hour, trusting to the terror of his own influence, or, as it was said by some, allured by the false promises of James's courtiers, appeared before the king with an ostentatious display of thirty-six horsemen, arrayed in all the pomp of border chivalry. He expected to be received with marks of favour, instead of which the king looked upon him sternly, and, turning to his attendants, said, "What wants that knave that a king should hear?" ordering him, in the same breath, to instant execution. Armstrong made great offers to the king for his life, promising to sustain himself with forty gentlemen ever at the king's service, and engaging to be always ready to bring in, alive or dead, any Englishman the king should require, be he duke, earl, or baron. At last, seeing there was no hope of favour, assuming a prouder tone, he exclaimed, "It is folly to seek grace of a

graceless face; but had I known this, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of king Harry or you; for I know king Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold, to know that I were condemned to die this day." He and his companions were all hanged on a grove of trees, at a place now called Carlenrig chapel, about ten miles above Hawick, on the high road to Langholm. The fate of this notorious marauder produced no little sensation, and it was commemorated in after times by popular ballads on both sides the border. The Scottish borderers looked upon the Armstrongs as murdered men, and it was believed that, in testimony of the injustice of their sentence, the trees on which they were hanged withered away.\*

These acts of severe justice procured some degree of tranquillity in the south, but in the extreme north a new rebellion had broken out. The ambition of the earl of Caithness had led him to speculate on the embarrassments with which the young prince was surrounded, and to attempt to establish himself in the Orkney Islands as an independent prince. His strength consisted in his ships, but the population of the island in general remained steady in their loyalty, and the career of the pretender was soon cut short in a naval battle in which he was defeated and slain by James Sinclair, king James's governor of the islands. A new insurrection in the Hebrides originated in a private feud between Maclean of Dowart and the earl of Argyle. Maclean had married a daughter of the earl's, the lady Elizabeth Campbell, with whom he lived at variance, and in one of his fierce moods he caused her to be exposed on a desolate rock near the isle of Lismore which was covered by the sea at high water. The life of the lady was saved by a boat accidentally passing near, and she carried her complaint to her father. Maclean, meanwhile, procured letters of protection, with which he proceeded to Edinburgh, but he was there murdered in his bed by the earl of Argyle's brother, sir

\* One of the best known of the ballads alluded to is that printed by Scott in his *Border Minstrelsy*, and included in most collections of ancient Scottish ballads. The last stanza but one expresses the strong popular feeling on Johnnie Armstrong's death:—

"John murder'd was at Carlinrigg,  
And all his gallant companie;  
But Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae,  
To see so many brave men die."



John Campbell of Calder. The clan of the Macleans thought of nothing but vengeance, and joined with other clans, they ravaged the extensive territory of the Campbells, who were not backward in retaliating, and the north-western districts of Scotland were thrown into the utmost confusion. The earl of Argyle applied to the king for assistance against the men of the isles, as rebels to the crown, but the king seems to have distrusted his representations, and expressed his determination to proceed against the insurgents himself. But he first offered pardon to all such of the island chiefs as would repair to his court and renew their allegiance, and nine of the principal, with Hector Maclean, the chief of Dowart, came forward and accepted these terms. The lord of the isles, Alexander of Isla, soon after followed their example, and, repairing to the court at Stirling, made his peace with the crown. Thus the north also seemed for a while pacified.

While the king seemed thus to be gradually reducing the turbulence of his subjects, his nobles were becoming more and more hostile to him. The unrelenting hatred with which he pursued the Douglasses offended many who were secretly attached to them by sympathies or interest, or who looked upon it as the beginning of a persecution of the old feudal aristocracy; while those who had helped to relieve him from their sway, had been disappointed at not receiving the profits and favour to which they thought themselves entitled. Many of the occurrences at this time are extremely obscure from want of information, and we cannot fully explain why several of the noblemen who had appeared in favour at court are found suddenly in disgrace. The earl of Argyle was placed under arrest, and committed to prison; the earl of Crawford was deprived of a great portion of his estates; and the earl of Moray, lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton, were also objects of the royal displeasure. Their offences were probably resistance to those measures of reform which the king appears to have been now pursuing, with a view of strengthening the crown and diminishing the power of the nobility. He had been latterly leaguering himself more and more with the clergy, from whom he found a much steadier support than from the chiefs who had been corrupted by the misgovernment during his minority. It was partly for the purpose of taking power out of the

hands of the nobility, and placing it in the hands of the church, that James instituted in 1552 a new court called the college of justice. This court was to consist of fourteen judges, one half to be selected from the spiritual, and the other from the temporal estate, with a president who was always to be an ecclesiastic; it was provided that the chancellor might preside when he pleased, and the king reserved the right of influencing the decisions of the court by sending in three or four members of his privy council to vote when he pleased. Thus the king, as it has been observed, only changed the means of oppression out of the hands of one party into those of another.

For the last few years the foreign relations of Scotland had been in the utmost uncertainty, but they were becoming now more settled, in consequence of the establishment of peace on the continent. Henry, relieved from his continental enemies, now acted in a less conciliatory manner towards his northern neighbours, and was not backward in profiting by the discontent of the Scottish nobles. From various circumstances which have come to light, the English monarch seems to have been preparing to reassert the supremacy of the English crown over Scotland, and he was, perhaps, only hindered from doing so by affairs of greater moment which were now beginning to occupy him in his own dominions. Various attempts had been made to obtain a settlement of the disputes relating to the borders, but the negotiations were broken off in the October of 1531, in consequence of a dispute about a tract of land called Canoby, claimed by both parties. It was at this moment that the Scottish nobles began to offer their services to England. We have a difficulty in tracing the exact causes of their disaffection, but we find that several of them had been subjected to imprisonment and confiscation, and that some considered that their lives were in danger. Among these was the earl of Bothwell, who, in a paper dated the 21st of December, 1531, threw himself upon the protection of the king of England, by whose assistance he hoped that "the realm of Scotland should be brought into good state again, and not the nobles thereof be kept down as they are in thralldom, but to be set up as they have been before." On the 27th of December, in consequence of direction from the king of England, the earl of Northumberland held a private conference



with the earl of Bothwell and some of his friends on the border, for the purpose of ascertaining his intentions and prospects. The earl's report of this conference gives us a curious picture of the Scottish politics of the day, and seems to show that the king had been ripping up old sores to find excuses for breaking the power of his barons. Northumberland began by asking Bothwell the cause of his displeasure against his sovereign; "to which the said earl answered, that the giving of his lands unto the Kers of Teviotdale, from him and his heirs for ever by the said king, who would in no wise suffer him have his laws for recovering the same again according unto right; and also keeping him half-a-year in prison within the castle of Edinburgh, there purposing without cause to have put him to death, if his friends had not been bound in twenty thousand pounds to enter the said earl, whensoever the said Scottish king should command him; and moreover, that he is fully and credibly informed by the lords of the council of Scotland (being his friends), that if he may have the said earl and his colleagues together in Edinburgh, he will not fail to put them all to execution, and doth suffer the said earl but only unto the time that he may apprehend him and his adherents." The next question was, how far Bothwell was willing to go in his hostility to his sovereign, to which "the said earl doth firmly promise (your highness being his good and gracious prince, and helping him to his right, setting him forward and advancing him, as his service may deserve hereafter to be done in the realm of Scotland), he shall not only serve your most noble grace in your wars against Scotland truly, with a thousand gentlemen and six thousand commons, but also become your highness's true subject and liegeman. And, to know what likelihood of good effect shall ensue hereof, the said earl doth say, remembering the banishment of the earl of Angus, the wrongful disinheriting of the earl of Crawford, the sore imprisonment of the earl of Argyle, the little estimation of the earl of Moray and the lord Maxwell, the simple (*slight*) regarding of sir James Hamilton for his good and powerful service, he puts no doubts, with his own power and the earl of Angus (sceing all these noble hearts afore rehearsed be withdrawn from the king of Scots), to crown your grace in the town of Edinburgh within brief time." We learn further from this report, that the pretext for

stripping the earl of Crawford of his lands was, that he had entered upon his estates, "coming out of his nonage without the consent of the king his father, he being bound to the contrary." We learn also from the records of this period, that the earl of Angus had bound himself in allegiance to king Henry, and promised to acknowledge him as sovereign of Scotland. The secret of this conference appears to have been betrayed to king James, and in the middle of January, 1532, Bothwell was again arrested, and committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle.

During the whole of the year 1532, the relations between the two countries were extremely precarious, and the borders appear to have been in a continual state of warfare. The population of the debatable lands appear to have harassed the English borderers with continual incursions, aided probably by their Scottish neighbours, and James was perhaps not unwilling to let his "dearest uncle" feel his power of giving annoyance, while he is said to have acted in a more direct hostility, by sending a large body of men from the islands to assist the Irish chief O'Donnel, in his attempt to shake off the English yoke. The earl of Argyle had been deprived of his power in the north, and that nobleman, with a great part of the islanders, as well as the earl of Crawford, now offered to follow the example of Angus and Bothwell in transferring their allegiance to the crown of England. During the autumn, and towards the approach of winter, the letters of the earl of Northumberland, who had the command of the English border, are filled with accounts of inroads and forays upon the English border, to revenge which, early in December, the earl assembled a strong body of English fighting men, and, in conjunction with the Douglasses, made a destructive inroad into Lothian, burnt a number of villages and hamlets, and returned to Berwick laden with the plunder of that rich district, which they had taken by surprise. The Scots retaliated by a renewal of their predatory inroads, and the border warfare became every day more savage in its character. At the beginning of February, 1533, a foray was made with a strong body of the English borderers on the estates of the laird of Buccleuch. A letter from sir Thomas Clifford to Henry VIII., dated from Berwick, on the 9th of February, furnishes an account of other similar invasions, which

gives us an extraordinary notion of their savage and destructive character. "During the darkness of the moon last bye-past," he says, "I put forth your garrison of this your town, horsemen, by parcels, some one night and some another, by twenty, thirty, and forty, as the purpose required, so often as horse and men might well travel, into Scotland within the Merse; where they burnt, at divers times, in time of the said darkness, these towns and granges, with the corn pertaining to the same; that is to wit, Chyernside; the East Mains, a great grange of the lord Home's; Cawklaw, a grange of corn of the laird of Spottes; and the Crakewawes. And similarly on Saturday, the first day of this month, set forth my deputy of this your said town, with as well your said garrison, as parcel of this your late garrison remaining within this your town, sending to sir Richard Tempest for a part of his company; who forayed the said Saturday in Scotland within the Merse, at two of the clock at afternoon, and burnt three towns, called Whitsom, Newton, and Ramrige, with all the corns pertaining to the same, to a great quantity; got much goods, and took many prisoners. Certifying your highness that the draughts and purposes of the service done by me with your garrison unto your grace, in the setting forth of these your affairs, was principally by the means of my lord of Angus, his uncle, and brother; who always, with all their policy, wit, and power, are ready to the advancement of all your affairs in these parts, with full dilligence, to the uttermost of their powers.

"And on Friday the seventh day of this instant month of February, I with others your grace's councillors, the earl of Angus, his uncle, and brother, the inhabitants of Tyndale, Riddisdale, Northumberland, and Norhamshire; and the gentlemen of the same, met my lord of Northumberland your highness's warden here, upon former appointment made betwixt him and other your councillors in these parts, at midnight at Crewkamee; where as my said lord warden alleged, he was advertised of the repairing of three earls of Scotland with a great number unto the earl of Moray, and that they with their companies should at that instant time be with the same. And the earl of Angus, his brother, and uncle, alleging the contrary, sent forth immediately four of their servants into Scotland for due knowledge of the truth in that behalf, which met us

afore our entering into Scotland ground, verifying the former opinion of the said earl of Angus, his uncle, and brother. And so we set forward into Scotland into Teviotdale, casting off the forays, at the break of day, within Scotland ground, where we burnt these towns, that is to wite, Sesfurth, Dandlaw, Berites, Nether Whitton, Sesfurth Mains, Mows Mains, Cowboge, Otterburn, Caverton, Caverton Mill, Caverton Mains, Hootehouse, Mainhouse, the Newtown, Trokden, Dunnerlaws, Sharperige, Lynton, Lynton Park, Widdendenburnfoot, Crooket Shaws, and the Stankeford; with many other by-steadings (*farms*), and demesne places. And, as well all the corn within the said towns and steadings (*farms*), as a great substance which by the Scots inhabitants there had been removed forth of the towns for the more safeguard thereof, and made in the fields and fells thereabouts in stakes; and took the laird of Grawden and other Scotchmen prisoners. And so, burning and spoiling the country there, remained in Scotland the Saturday unto four of the clock at afternoon, and then returned homeward without any loss of your subjects, but only by reason of the sore handling of us at divers chases, the Scots acquitting themselves very sharply, that one of my lord of Angus's servants was slain, and one of mine taken. Nevertheless the Scots were always overthrown and put to flight, and we their masters at all times."

These inroads became so formidable, that it was necessary for James to take some decisive measures of resistance; and, having again taken the earl of Moray into favour, he appointed him to the high office of lord lieutenant of the kingdom, and sent him to take the command in person on the borders of England. He further directed that the whole body of fighting men of Scotland should be divided into four parts, and that each in rotation should undertake the defence of the marches. The king himself, on several occasions, went in person to encourage them, and thus the negotiations for peace seemed every day more difficult, and for months the borders of the two countries were the scene of the most cruel devastations, without any advantage to either party. The king of France, who again at variance with the emperor, was anxious to strengthen his alliance with England, attempted to interfere, and sent an ambassador to Scotland to mediate



between the two princes, but he was received with coldness, for James seemed for some time past to have been leaning towards the interests of the emperor, and carried back with him as the fruits of his mission, only reproaches to Francis for deserting the ancient alliance of Scotland. Another ambassador, M. de Beauvais, was subsequently dispatched on the same errand, and apparently with better success, for it was followed by a truce between the two countries, which was to be followed by new negotiations for peace, but which did not hinder repeated acts of hostility.

During the summer James made an excursion into the highlands, and was there received by the powerful earl of Athol in a style of unusual splendour. A timber palace of great magnificence, with a lofty tower at each angle, was raised in a meadow for the occasion. Its various chambers were hung with tapestry of silk and gold, and its windows were glazed with costly stained glass. The whole was surrounded by a moat, like a feudal castle. The bedrooms and sitting-rooms were richly, even voluptuously furnished, and every stimulant to luxurious enjoyment was provided in abundance. Here the king passed some days in the pleasures of the chase, and other amusements, and when he left, Athol declared that no subject should ever profane this gorgeous residence of royalty by using it for other purposes, and caused the building, with all its rich furniture, to be committed to the flames.

On his return from this excursion in the north, James gave his attention again to the state of the border, and he became convinced that the interests of his kingdom required peace with England. He made some expostulations on acts of hostility which had been committed during his absence, which seem to have been replied to by counter-charges, and then he determined to appoint commissioners to negotiate. Their negotiations commenced under the mediation of the French ambassador, M. de Beauvais, but it was not till after some time and many

difficulties, that the commissioners could come to any agreement. On the 1st of October, 1533, a truce between the two kingdoms for one year was concluded. The negotiations between the two courts did not end here. The bishop of Aberdeen and sir Adam Otterburne were sent as ambassadors to the English court, and at length a final treaty of peace, to last during the lives of the two monarchs, and one year after the death of him who deceased first, was concluded on the 12th of May, 1534. It was agreed that the Douglasses should surrender the castle of Edrington, of which they had gained possession during the recent troubles, for the Scottish king persisted in his determination that they should have no footing in his dominions; but he consented that the earl of Angus, his uncle sir Archibald Douglas, and his brother sir George, should be allowed to remain quietly in England as king's Henry's subjects, provided reparation were made according to the border laws for any enterprise that should be undertaken by either of them against Scotland. The ratification of this peace was celebrated with great rejoicing, and the friendship between the two countries seemed to be finally cemented, when Henry dispatched the lord William Howard to the Scottish court to carry his nephew the order of the garter. The foreign relations of Scotland seemed at this moment to be of the most cordial description, for he received almost at the same time the order of St. Michael from Francis I. of France, and that of the golden fleece from the emperor Charles V.

James thus seemed to be relieved from all the foreign embarrassments which had hindered him from giving his undivided attention to the internal condition of Scotland, and he showed the inclination to effect reforms of an important character, calculated chiefly for the benefit of the middle classes, by raising the crown and breaking the power of the nobles. But at the moment of which we are now speaking his thoughts were almost entirely occupied with the question of his marriage.

## CHAPTER VII.

### COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND; PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND; JAMES'S TWO MARRIAGES.

EVENTS were now in progress which, in the sequel, produced a great change over the position of parties in Scotland. Henry's resolution to be divorced from Catherine of Arragon had already caused the disgrace of Wolsey, and the separation of England from the authority of the pope. The secession was confirmed by the English parliament in the April of 1534. James was ruled by his popish clergy, and his attachment to Rome was strengthened by the flattering marks of attention he received at this time from the emperor and the pope, who were anxious to save Scotland from the contagion of England. The Scottish monarch was well affected to their cause, and, while Henry was hanging Romish priests who resisted his ecclesiastical plans, the king of Scotland was persecuting to death, with equal cruelty, the followers of Luther, for the seeds of the reformation were gradually taking root among his subjects. Many persons, charged with holding heretical opinions, were cited to appear before an ecclesiastical court held in the abbey of Holyrood, at which the king was present, clothed in scarlet robes as one of the judges. Some fled and made their escape to England or to the continent. Among these were the brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been condemned and executed for his opinions on a former occasion. Some of those who could not escape were so terrified by the fate with which they were threatened, that they consented to abjure their opinions, and made a public recantation. A few stood firm in the faith, and boldly defended the tenets of the reformation against their judges. One of these, David Straiton, was a gentleman of good family, brother of the laird of Laurieston, near Stirling; and another was a priest named Norman Gourlay. Straiton's conversion originated in a quarrel with the bishop of Moray, who had exacted, somewhat tyrannically, the tithe of his fisheries. To show his contempt of the bishop, he ordered his fishermen, when the tithe-gatherers came to collect the tax, to throw every tenth fish into the sea, and tell them to seek their tithe there. He began from this moment

to be an anxious inquirer in religious matters, and frequented the company of Erskine of Dun, one of the most eminent of the early Scottish reformers. Once, we are told, as David Straiton was listening to the Scripture, which was read to him by the laird of Laurieston, he came upon the passage where our Saviour declares he will deny before his Father and the holy angels any one who hath denied him before men; upon which, deeply moved, he fell upon his knees, and implored God that, although he had been a great sinner, he would never permit him, from the fear of any bodily torment, to deny him or his truth. When the day of trial came, Straiton showed an admirable example of courage and constancy. He refused utterly to retract a single tenet of his opinions, and was led to the stake encouraging his fellow-sufferer, Gourlay, to persevere in the same spirit. They were burnt on the Calton-hill at Edinburgh, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1534.

A rather frequent interchange of ambassadors now took place between the two countries, accompanied with an unusual show of cordiality between the two monarchs. Henry had knighted Adam Otterburne and the other ambassadors who had been sent to his court, and the English ambassador lord William Howard, a son of the duke of Norfolk, met with a distinguished reception in Scotland in the month of August, 1534, although it was a part of his instructions to intercede with James for the banished earl of Angus and his brother sir George Douglas. Their uncle Archibald seems to have deserted their confederacy, and he soon afterwards returned to Scotland, threw himself on the king's mercy, and was allowed to retire to France, where he died. The principal object of lord William Howard's mission appears, however, to have been to invite the king of Scots to hold a friendly meeting with the English monarch at some place in the north of England, and Henry hoped in this personal interview to persuade his nephew to follow his example in throwing off the yoke of Rome. To promote this object, another English



ambassador, Dr. Barlow, afterwards bishop of St. David's, an active agent in the suppression of the monasteries, was sent in the beginning of October to join the lord William Howard. Barlow was an able and eloquent preacher, and it was no doubt expected that he would be instrumental in propagating the new doctrines; at least so it seems to have been understood by the Scots themselves. In one of his letters to the minister Cromwell, Barlow tells him, "that in these parts is no right preaching of God's word, nor scant any knowledge at all of Christ's gospel, without the which neither justice nor good order may prosper; for, notwithstanding here be plenty of priests, sundry sorts of religious (*i.e.* monastic orders), multitudes of monks, flocking companies of friars, yet among them all so many, is there not a few, no not one, that sincerely preacheth Christ; which so continuing, with God's high displeasure, cannot escape his terrible vengeance."

James seems to have been from the first well inclined to the meeting, and his friendly sentiments were increased when at the beginning of the February of 1535, lord William Howard, who had returned to England after Barlow's arrival, repaired again to Edinburgh, carrying with him the order of the garter to be conferred on the young Scottish monarch. On the twenty-first of February, James received the order with great solemnity in the abbey of Holyrood. During the year which was now opening, England marched on more boldly than ever in its secession from Rome, and the new pope, Paul III., used every exertion to form a continental alliance against king Henry. He was anxious above all to bind Scotland to the interests of Rome, and he flattered king James by sending the cardinal Antonio Campeggio as his legate to the Scottish court, who employed all his art to prejudice the Scottish king against his uncle of England, in which he was effectually assisted by the Scottish clergy, who had now gained entire possession of the royal ear. Campeggio brought as a present to James a cap and sword, which had been consecrated by the pope at Christmas, and he was authorized to confer upon him the high-sounding title of defender of the faith, which had been formerly given to the English monarch. The latter protested against this proceeding as an insult to himself, and it no doubt placed James in a hostile position as the implied defender of Rome against the apos-

tacy of England. Under such influences, James began to hesitate in his policy towards England, and the year 1535 passed over in uncertainty, without any important transactions between the two countries. Barlow was again sent to Scotland in the latter end of the year, and the light in which his mission was looked upon by the clergy is shown by a passage in the diary of an apparently contemporary Scottish writer, a zealous catholic, who tells us that, "in the month of November there came an English ambassador, with sixteen horses in train, to infect this realm with heresy, which was in England amongst them, but through the grace of God he came no speed, but departed with repulse." He was followed, towards the middle of February, by the lord William Howard with a more splendid train; and in March a council of the Scottish prelates was held in Edinburgh, to declare their firm allegiance to Rome. A letter from Barlow to Cromwell, written apparently early in 1536, gives us his views of the state of the Scottish court. "As far as I can perceive," he says, "by all apparent likelihood, and thereof privily ascertained by secret information of a few credible friends, the intent of the whole council, which are none else but the papistical clergy, purposeth to stay our tarriance (*i.e.* to keep us waiting here), and to retard our awaiting without any dispatch, till they hear certain word out of France from their ambassadors, which is daily looked for; and, according to their certificate, to perform us some crafty conceived answer." After mentioning the report that the French king was hostile to Henry's religious reforms, and that the Scottish court was leaning to his councils, Barlow goes on to say, "Of what loving appetite the king here is toward our sovereign, I hope more than I have knowledge of, albeit not much mistrusting, because he is *bona indolis*. But as for the antichristian company, his spiritual ungodly counsellors, I dare boldly affirm that if they might destroy us with a word, their devilish endeavour should nothing fail. It is to be marvelled at, the suspicious surmises that they have about our coming. Some conjecture that I am sent to preach. Some suppose that we come to fetch away the queen. Some other reckon that we be purposely sent for fear of our popish enemies, to desire their puissant aid; wherein to satisfy their pride, I tell them they may do us small relief (their good wills excepted).

save with miserable beggars and moneyless soldiers, of which though they have plenty to be spared, yet have we little need of them." "Also," he adds in the conclusion of his letter, "I am sure the council, which are only the clergy, would not willingly give such advertisement to the king, for due execution upon thieves and robbers; for then ought he first of all to begin with them, in the midst of his realm, whose abominable abused fashion, so far out of frame, a christian heart abhorreth to behold. They show themselves in all points to be the pope's pestilent creatures, very limbs of the devil, whose popish power violently to maintain, their lying friars cease not in their sermons, we being present, blasphemously to blatter against the verity, with slanderous reproach of us, which have justly renounced his wrong usurped papacy. Wherefore, in confutation of their detestable lies, if I may obtain the king's licence (otherwise shall I not be suffered) to preach, I will not spare, for no bodily peril, boldly to publish the truth of God's word among them. Whereat though the clergy shall repine, yet many of the lay people will gladly give hearing. And, until the word of God be planted among them, I suppose their feigned promises shall be finally found frustrate without any faithful effect." The Scottish historian Buchanan, who looked upon the events of his time with the feeling of a protestant, gives a view of the policy of the Scottish court at this moment not differing much from that of the English ambassadors. James, he tells us, "appointed a day for meeting with Henry, but two parties resolved to prevent his journey to England. The Hamiltons, secretly, as the next heirs, endeavoured to prevent the king from marrying, that he might not leave children who would exclude them from the succession. The priests more openly opposed it, under very specious pretexts. First, the danger of the king's putting himself in the power of his enemy, with only a few attendants, where, whether he chose it or not, he must be subservient to the will of another; and they enumerated a great number of examples among his ancestors, who either by their own credulity, or the perfidy of their enemy, had been led into extreme danger, and had reaped, as the fruit of the magnificent promises made to them, only loss and ignominy. They instanced the fatal error of James I., who, induced by an existing truce, landed, as he supposed, upon a friendly

coast, yet was detained a prisoner by the English eighteen years, and was at last avareiciously sold to his subjects, under conditions which he neither could nor ought to accept. They then adduced king Malcolm I., and next his brother William, seduced to London by Henry II., and afterwards carried over to France, in order to appear as if engaged in war against their ancient ally. But, continued they, Henry VIII., it may be said, will not act in this manner. To this we reply, first, what assurance have we of that? then, what imprudence is it, while free, to commit our life, fortune, and honour, into the power of another; and as a last resource, the clergy, who believed that they contended for all that was dear to them—their altars and their revenues—brought to court James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, infirm old men, to weep over their religion, now about to be betrayed by that conference. Protected so long by our ancestors, our religion, said they, always preserved its protectors, but its ruin must soon be followed by the ruin of the kingdom. To desert it on slight grounds, especially at a moment when the whole world offer their vows and put on their armour for its security, would be attended not only with peril at present, and infamy for ever, but would be inexpressibly impious and criminal. When they had by such arguments made an impression on the king, who was naturally prone to superstition, they then bribed the courtiers who possessed the greatest influence over him, and promising him by them a large sum of money, completely persuaded him from attending the interview. The king of England was justly indignant at the disappointment, and thus the seeds of dissension were again sown between them."

It had been agreed that the place of meeting should be York, but a letter from William Howard to Henry VIII., dated on the 25th of April, 1536, showed that objections had already been raised by the ecclesiasties of James's council. James now proposed that the place of meeting should be changed from York to Newcastle, to which the English monarch agreed, though offended at the suspicions which this proposal implied. On the 25th of April, lord William Howard wrote to inform the king and his minister Cromwell that he had had an interview with James at Stirling. "By my faith, sir," he wrote to Cromwell, "I found



his grace so turned from the mind I left him, that I would never have thought it. I have certified the king's highness of all the circumstances in writing, which is so rudely done, that I might desire you, whom I take one of my most especial friends, to set it forth with your good words, for it hath great need. I had no man to help me with his advice and council. I had leaver than that little I have, that my lord of St. David's (Barlow) had been with me when I spake with the council. The king's grace hath denied that he promised me to come to York, which the bishop could well have borne record of, if he had been there." It was now, however, understood on both sides that the meeting was to take place at Newcastle, but James requested that the day might be postponed, and on the 13th of May the ambassadors, lord William Howard and bishop Barlow, stated to Henry, "We have perceived in him (the king of Scots) much unsteadfast alteration and mutability, as of late your highness was advertised, by a post; and now since the dispatch of his departure, we have more evidently tried out the hidden dissimulation of the Scottish king, minding nothing less than to perform his former promise of the meeting agreed between your grace and him; so that the delay of the time, and the new appointment of the place, is for none other purpose than to provoke that your grace by such occasion should break off without any default to be suspected of his part. And, lest this colour might fail, he hath sent a clerk, master John Thornton, who passed through your realm, to procure of the bishop of Rome a brief, to encharge him by commandment that he agree to no meeting with your grace. The queen, your grace's sister, because she hath so earnestly solicited in the cause of meeting, is in high displeasure with the king her son, he bearing her in hand, that she received gifts of your highness to betray him, with many other unkind suspicious words, by reason whereof she, greatly discomfited, is weary of Scotland, and fully determined to come into England, so that it be your grace's pleasure."

Soon after this, James seems to have laid aside all further thoughts of the meeting, and to have been absorbed in another object, his intended marriage with a foreign princess. Different projects of marriage had offered themselves from time to time, and had been as often abandoned. Since the peace with England, the Scottish prince

had again entertained the proposal to marry the princess Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine of Aragon, and the emperor favoured this alliance, in the belief that it would increase the influence of the catholic church in this island. Subsequent events, however, had caused this proposal to be laid aside, and James fixed his choice on the French princess, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendôme. Sir Thomas Erskine and the abbot of Kinloss had been sent to France as ambassadors to negotiate this match in the December of 1535, and the treaty of marriage was concluded by them at Crémieu, on the 6th of March, 1536. James's fickleness of disposition seems to have nearly caused the breaking off of this match; for we are told, within two months after the treaty had been concluded, that he had suddenly determined to marry one of his mistresses, a daughter of lord Erskine, for whom he had obtained a divorce from her husband, after she had borne him (the king) a child. This unworthy project of marriage is said to have given great disgust to the Scottish nobles, and was the cause of the disgrace of the earl of Moray, who was deprived of his office of warden of the marches. It was not long, however, before the king changed his mind again, and he adopted the somewhat romantic design of proceeding to France and visiting the court of the duke of Vendôme in disguise. He accordingly set sail from Leith, with five ships, on the 24th of July, 1536, taking with him sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and a retinue of a hundred gentlemen. But meeting with stormy weather, this small fleet appears to have been driven northwards, and the king was finally landed at Whithorn in Galloway, to his great disappointment. It is pretended that the king laid the blame of this mishap on sir James Hamilton, who was suspected of a wish to hinder the marriage, and was said to have ordered the fleet to be turned homeward while James was asleep, for which he never forgave him. Yet James was resolved to pursue his purpose, and he now prepared to visit France undisguisedly, and with a retinue suited to his rank. A regency was appointed to govern the kingdom during his absence, consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the earls of Eglintoun, Montrose, and Huntley, and the lord Maxwell. The king then proceeded to the shrine of our lady of Loretto near Musselburgh, where

he offered up his vows for a happy voyage, and on the 1st of September he sailed from Leith with a squadron of seven ships. He was accompanied by the earls of Argyle, Arran, and Rothes, the lord Fleming, the lairds of Lochinvar and Drumlanrig, the abbot of Arbroath, the prior of Pittenweem, and others. The weather was more favourable than on the former occasion, and James landed at Dieppe on the 10th of September. The dauphin had been sent by the French king to meet the illustrious visitor, and conducted him to Paris, where he immediately proceeded in disguise, according to his original intention, to the palace of the duke of Vendôme. It is said that the princess Marie recognised him at once, from his resemblance to a miniature which he had sent her, and that she became at first sight violently enamoured of him. But the young monarch was destined to give another proof of his changeable disposition. Heedless of the lady to whom he had been betrothed, he fell in love with the princess Magdalene, the daughter of the French king, and as the attachment was mutual, he determined to make her his queen, although she was already stricken with consumption. The marriage was accordingly solemnized with great pomp in the church of *Nôtre Dame*, on the 1st of January, 1537, in the presence of the kings of France and Navarre, and no less than seven cardinals.

While James was thus throwing himself into the arms of France, the queen-mother had again joined the English party, and was using what influence she possessed in supporting the policy of her brother. She was now tired of her husband, Henry Stuart, who had been created lord Methven; and she wrote to her brother querulous letters, complaining that she was no longer treated with due consideration even by her son. A letter from king Henry to his sister, written on the 7th of January, 1537, and marked by a tone of moderation which does honour to the royal writer, shows us how fully he understood her fickleness of character. "Right excellent and noble princess, our dearest sister," king Henry says, "we commend ourselves unto you in our most hearty and affectionous manner; advertising you that we have as well received your letters credential addressed unto us by sir John Campbell, knight, as your other letters lately sent unto us from Edinburgh by our servant Berwick,

and have at good length heard the credence which you referred to the declaration of our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and councillor the duke of Norfolk. For answer whereunto, dearest sister, you shall understand that, like as we would be right sorry to see that our good brother and nephew, your son, should not use you in all things as it besemeth a natural and kind son to use his mother; so you may certainly persuade yourself that in case we should certainly perceive the contrary, whereby it should appear you should be treated otherwise than your honour and the treaty of your marriage doth require, there shall on our behalf want no loving and kind office, which we shall think may tend to your relief, comfort, and satisfaction. But, dearest sister, because by the report and credence of the said sir John Campbell, whom you recommended unto us as your special friend, it appeareth unto us, that you be there very well handled, and be grown to much wealth, quiet, and riches, and on the other side, by the credence committed to our said servant Berwick it appeareth otherwise, having the same declared unto us the mere contrary, we perceive their tales be so contrarious and repugnant one to another, that we may well remain doubtful which of them we may believe. And perceiving also by sundry other advertisements received heretofore from you concerning your trouble and evil handling there, both by our nephew your son and by the lord Methvin, that either your state often varieth, or else things have not been well understood and declared, for that we have after found them variable, and you of other disposition than hath been of your behalf pretended unto us; having occasion at this time to send this bearer into those parts for other our affairs and business, we thought meet by these our letters to desire and pray you, not only to signify unto us more plainly the points wherein you note yourself evil handled, but also whether you desire that we should directly and particularly entreat such your griefs with our good brother and nephew your son, as you will specially signify unto us, or else generally recommend your state, condition, and good entertainment unto him. For, as we would be very loath either to propose such matter unto him for you as yourself should not after justify, or otherwise to entreat it than might most redound to your repose, com-



modity, and quiet; so, knowing certainly your mind herein, with the particularities of your griefs, such as you will avow and justify, we shall not fail to devise in such wise for the redress of the same as both to our honour and yours shall appertain; like as this bearer can further declare unto you, to whom we require you, dearest sister, to give firm credence."

The bearer alluded to was sir Ralph Sadler, one of the ablest diplomatists of his day, who was sent to Scotland in the beginning of February to observe the state of affairs there. His instructions were, that he should ascertain the justice of Margaret's complaints, and, in consequence of his report, he was subsequently dispatched to France to confer with king James on the subject. From this time there was an active correspondence carried on secretly between the queen-mother and the English king and his ministers, while it was evident that the violent catholics, who now ruled in Scotland, were actuated by the bitterest animosity against England. James, in France, was now acting under the influence of his father-in-law, Francis I., and he joined in the great catholic league which was forming against England. He had made an application indirectly to Henry VIII. to allow him to pass through England on his way to Scotland, but Henry refused it on the plea that the application had not been made by James himself, in the forms of courtesy between monarchs. The English seem, at the same time, to have been unwilling that a king who was entering into a hostile league against them should be allowed to pass through their country, and thus observe its weak points. England seems indeed to have looked upon the Scottish government at this time with the greatest suspicion and apprehension, and it is evident from the correspondence of the day that the Scottish catholics were more or less mixed up with the rising in the north of England which is known as the pilgrimage of grace. In the month of April, Ray, the Berwick pursuivant, was sent to Scotland to confer with the ministers of that country, and his mission appears to have been by no means satisfactory. In a report of his proceedings, Ray tells us, that as he left the council of government, he met accidentally with one of the household of the queen-mother, a friend of his, and he "desired him to show the queen that I was there; and so he departed to

her, and brought me word again that I should change mine apparel, and put upon me a cloak and a hat after the Scottish fashion, and should come to her with the said her servant, secretly, at her own lodging, at nine of the clock at night. Which I so did, and there met with her alone in a gallery, no person of knowledge but only the said her servant. And first said, I was welcome, and marvelled that she heard no word of her letters that she send by Ralph Sadler, and said further, 'I trow my friends forget me; I pray you to speak to my lord of Norfolk to be good cousin and friend, and remember the king my brother to be a kind and loving brother unto me, and to see some way for me, as I shall be a kind sister unto him, and at his commandment in all causes.' I answered, 'I shall not fail to do the same;' and further I said that my lord of Norfolk desired her to show him some news. Then she said as followeth: 'There is not one lord in Scotland that will give the king my son any good counsel towards England, nor he hath none, unless he take it of himself. All the lords and council here do verily believe that your ships be gone forth on the west seas to the intent to take the king my son; and now the lords have sitten in council, for what purpose I know not; but upon the same they have sent away Rothesay herald into France to the king, thinking to be there before his arrival here, and to oversee the country of England as he goeth, and to advertise the king my son of the same.' I said I should show the same to my lord of Norfolk; and so departed." The night following he had another interview with the queen. "And the next night after that, of her own mind, at the same hour, and after the same fashion, she sent by the same person for me to come to her again; which I so did, and she, rehearsing all the premises again in effect, added unto the same, and said as followeth: 'There shall be nothing done in this realm, but the king my brother and my lord of Norfolk shall have knowledge of it. The lords and all the whole commonalty of Scotland do suspect that ye will make war against Scotland; and if it be so, let my lord of Norfolk be sure of the commons.' Then I said, 'Hath your grace any suspect or knowledge that they are not sure enough?' She answered, 'Nay, but I pray you show this unto him; and that also, if ye do intend war, say

that I pray my lord of Norfolk that he make no war until Henry Stuart and I be divorced, which shall be within a month. For if the war should be before the said divorce were made, the lords of Scotland would suffer him to occupy my living.' And so," continues the pursuivant, "I departed from her to my lodging. Then the morrow I came to the bishop of Aberdeen (Beaton), and said, 'My lord of Norfolk heartily thanketh you for your hawks sent to him long time past, and all other pleasures; and at my return from you last into England, my lord of Norfolk demanded me what news, and I showed him according to your saying, which was, that ye would pray for the king of England and the whole realm, that they might be good men. Whereupon the said lord of Norfolk bade me say unto you now, that there are no better men living than there, nor no place that God is better served in. And, where ye say that the Englishmen will not apply to the bishop of Rome, my said lord of Norfolk bade me show you, that he knew not that the bishop of Rome had any more authority or power than you or any other bishop had without his diocese; and bade me demand of you, whether ye thought it not better yourself to keep that money within your realm which ye have been accustomed to give to the bishop of Rome.' He answered nothing thereunto, but that my lord of

\* "Pleaseth it your majesty further, your highness's said servant (the Berwick pursuivant) being in Edinburgh, as is afore rehearsed, chanced to meet with an Englishman, being a gentleman, and much of counsel with the said vice-admiral of France, called James Crayne; who, perceiving by the arms of your majesty in the box upon his breast, that he was an Englishman, took acquaintance unto your highness's said servant. And after by familiar kindness and agreement betwixt the said James and your highness's said servant, the said James did manifest and show unto him certain credence to be by him declared unto Ralph Sadler, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber unto your majesty, upon a token that, when the said Ralph Sadler was in France, he did inquire for the said James at his own house in Rouen. The effect of which credence is this: that when the king of Scots, in his repair homewards, being in the seas near unto the coast of this your highness's realm, the said James Crayne, with divers others of the king's company, came on land at a village unto the same James unknown, near unto Scarborough, to buy victuals and other necessities for their company; whereon certain of the commons of the said village and of the country thereabout, to the number of twelve persons, Englishmen, your highness's subjects, did come on board in the king's ship, and being on their knees before him, thanked

Norfolk and he had been in communication of the same in times past. Then I said, 'My lord, why for this cause should ye have any grudge towards us?' He answered, 'Nay, not for that, but for the cruelty of you, that put down your own poor commons.' And so I departed, and came into England."

At length, after remaining nine months in France, James brought back his queen to Scotland, escorted by a French fleet. The royal pair landed at Leith on the 19th of May, and it is said that Magdalene, when she first put her foot on English ground, knelt on the beach and taking up a handful of sand, kissed it and invoked a blessing on her new country and on her husband. James's visit to France had, however, in many respects not been auspicious for Scotland. Francis had gained an extraordinary influence over the mind of his son-in-law, which he had used to incite him against England, and the Scottish monarch returned with the most bigoted hostility towards the protestantism of the south, and ready to join in any league against it. He appears to have encouraged the discontented catholics who formed so large a population of the northern counties of England, and who were at this time kept in continual agitation by catholic emissaries; and it was this circumstance no doubt to which Margaret alluded in her warning to the duke of Norfolk.\* Thus the

God of his healthful and sound repair, showing how that they had long looked for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered, desiring him for God's sake to come in, and he should have all. And, after that the said persons were departed, a gentleman of the same country, who was also unto the same James unknown, came and desired to speak with the king; and, as the said James did declare unto your highness's said servant, he, considering the evil minds and purposes of the persons aforesaid, fearing the said gentleman to be of like evil purpose and opinion, did find such means, as that the said king of Scots departed without having any communication with the said gentleman, as he says. And in like manner at another town upon the same coast, distant from the village aforesaid a great space southward, the said James Crayne with other of his company in like case, whereon other ten persons, your highness's subjects, came on board unto the king, and made like promise and complaint as the other persons aforesaid did; promising plainly that, if the said king of Scots would take upon him to come in, all should be his. Which town, in like case, is unto the said James unknown, saying, as he does perceive, there is in the same a church, whereof the patron is St. Andrew, and the parson or vicar of the same chaplain unto your majesty. And also the said James did show unto your highness's



French and English parties were revived in Scotland with an animosity increased by making it a religious quarrel. King Henry was well informed of the proceedings of the Scottish catholics; and in this respect he received good service from the Douglasses, whose influence in Scotland was by no means destroyed, and whose secret agents and spies followed James's court wherever he went, and made themselves acquainted with its secrets. It was no sooner known that James had returned to Scotland, than sir Ralph Sadler was dispatched on a new mission thither, and he appears to have reached the Scottish court early in June. His instructions related chiefly to the great religious division which was then threatening the peace of the two kingdoms, and he was to explain to the Scottish king the object of the defensive measures which Henry had considered it necessary to take. "To the intent that his said nephew might perchance conceive, upon sundry reports and suggestions that may be made unto him, some suspicion or doubt of sincerity on his uncle's behalf, by reason of certain appearances, fortifications, preparations, and provisions of war lately begun to be made by his majesty within his grace's realm and dominions of England, as a thing that should tend to offend his said nephew or his friends; his majesty hath willed therefore the said Sadler to affirm and for certainty to declare unto his good nephew, that assuredly and without doubt his grace's said preparations be only made for his defence, and for the surety and safeguard of his good subjects and realm, upon certain conspirations practised against his noble majesty and realm by the bishop of Rome and certain his adherents and allies, intending his grace's destruction by hook or by crook, by *fas* or *nefas*, and the subversion of his whole commonwealth. For avoidance whereof, and for the defence of the whole, his majesty hath caused such preparations to be made as, he trusteth, with the help of God, (whose cause he taketh and defendeth), shall be able to withstand all the malice and conspiracy of the said bishop, his adherents and consorts. And whatsoever way they shall take to offend his majesty and realm, his highness doubteth not but they shall find his highness, and all his subjects, so ready

said servant, that the king, being on the seas for against your highness's town of Berwick, or little past the same, did say amongst his gentlemen that, if he lived one year, he should himself break a

to defend themselves, and so to withstand their violence, that after his said enemies shall have once tasted thereof, and taken their assay, his grace trusteth, with the help of God, they shall have little lust to go any further in their attempts."

After some strong professions of friendship, Henry proceeds in his instructions to his ambassador to state that "albeit his majesty, knowing that his said nephew (by his simplicity truly meaning and persuaded not to attribute to himself any learning or knowledge in matters of religion, but to leave the judgement and determination thereof to his clergy) continueth still in his persuasion of the bishop of Rome's (his cardinals, adherents, and clergy of that sort's,) holinesses, and that he is vicar of Christ on earth; whereupon seeing the difficulty his highness thinketh it should be, to dissuade a thing already so persuaded and beaten into his said nephew's head, therefore is very loath to move anything concerning the said bishop that should offend his said nephew; yet nevertheless, both because of the glory of God, and that the matter toucheth the highnesses of both kings, the uncle and nephew, and is of good importance to them both, his majesty is in manner compelled and constrained so, that (for to warn his good nephew) he cannot but somewhat touch and open the craft, illusion, and deceitful practices of the said bishop, to both their great disadvantage, if the said bishop could compass his purpose, to the evil end that is by him intended. Whereby, for the causes aforesaid, his majesty prayeth his good nephew, that continuing in such good simplicity columbine (as he doth), not attributing too much to his wit, knowledge, or learning, but submitting the same utterly to the word and doctrine of God, he will nevertheless join to that simplicity, as Christ commanded his disciples, the prudence of a serpent; that is, not to think himself, as perchance sundry of his clergy would have him to be, as brute as a stock, or to mistrust that his wits, which he hath received of God, be not able to conceive Christ's word, which his grace hath left to us, common to be understanden by all christian men, as well by such as be learned in the Latin tongue and heathen authors and scripture (*writings*), as also by the unlearned,

spear on an Englishman's breast."—*Clyfford to Henry VIII.; Berwick, May 26, 1537: State Papers, Vol. V., p. 79.*

as the apostles were. Not doubting but his good nephew, endued with such reason and wit, may as well understand the effect of the true doctrine, and know the truth of things, as the most of the clergy, commonly led by the affection they have to their maintenance out of their prince's hand and of their authority in pomp and pride. Second, the king's majesty his uncle requireth his good nephew that, for his better and most assured knowledge as well of the bishop of Rome and his clergy as of other, he will no less mark and give credence to their works and deeds than to their fair painted words, the which may be only judged feigned or unfeigned by works and deeds; and, observing the same, his highness doubteth not but he shall find much ease and perfection of knowledge of the very truth, by the same. For that shall induce him to lean unto the pure word of God, and to pass light upon dreams of men abused by superstition, to blind princes, and other persons of much simplicity."

Having thus stated his views of the course to be pursued by his nephew in religious matters, Henry proceeded to warn him against listening to the evil reports spread abroad by the papists against himself and his English subjects, referring especially to the "slanders" of cardinal Pole. For, observes the king, "the practices of prelates and clerks be wondrous, and their juggling so crafty, as unless a man be ware thereof and as oculute as Argus, he may be lightly led by the nose, and bear the yoke, yea, and yet for blindness not to know what he doth." It was added in the instructions, "that assuredly his majesty tendereth so much that his good brother and nephew should conceive no evil opinion of him, that he would not stiek, for that purpose and entertainment of their amity and alliance and increase of love, not only to send unto the king his nephew, secretly, some good, honest, and true learned men to enform him thereof, if he were disposed to give unto them (he himself, without the presence of his clergy, or their partial favourers,) favourable audience, and permission so to do; but also, in his majesty's own person, take pains to approach nearer those parts in some commodious place, and take a time, with his own mouth and very word, to declare himself and other many things to the king his nephew, if his grace, receiving good and sufficient hostages (if need were, or if he mistrusted anything), would vouchsafe

to meet and assemble in any commodious part northward with his majesty; not doubting but his said nephew should afterward think the same so commodious unto him, as he would for no good have forborne it. The costs and charges were not great for both parties, intending his majesty, as he is advised, for this summer to take his progress northward, and his good nephew, not far distant from the same, might take his progress thitherward. Yet nevertheless he remitteth the same to his nephew's discretion, perceiving that, by the means of his clergy, by all likelihood he shall be (as he was sometime afore) dissuaded of the same, and persuaded to the contrary."

"Finally, the king's highness, hearing by true intelligences and advertisements that the bishop of Rome and his faction of cardinals and adherents have conspired in anywise to compass his majesty's and true subjects' destructions (as, with God's grace, it shall never be in their powers, and assuredly his highness doubteth not thereof); and, for to bring their mischievous purpose, that they do intend to irritate and seduce both the emperor and the French king, and his said nephew also, against his uncle's majesty; and, as some of his grace's intelligences do purport, the said bishop intendeth, under fair words, to allure the king of Scots, by the means of other princes, if he can get them (as his grace trusteth he shall not, and that they be too wise and circumspect to condescend to such his cruel and tyrannic purposes), to make his said nephew, because his realm adjoineth unto England (and as a prince and king on whose peril and danger they have not much regard, but only for their own purposes), to be a ringleader and chief setter forth of hostility against his uncle, not caring whether both uncle and nephew should consume each other, so that the holy father and his apostles of Rome (God knoweth how far unlike to Christ and his apostles) might have their purpose; therefore his majesty requireth his said nephew to weigh what fair words, promises, and amities be at this day amongst many men, who for the most part do love for their own profit." This was followed by a warning against the French alliance—"Wherefore his majesty adviseth him, as a very uncle should his loving nephew, to consider and weigh well what the amities of sundry princes to him be and have been, why and wherefore, and to foresee what



might chance if he should fortune for other men's pleasure attempt any enterprise, specially where the matter that his highness defendeth is God's and his word's own cause, and the conservation of the right of kings and princes usurped by the said bishop. The king's majesty exhorteth his nephew not to depart from his amity that he hath with France and elsewhere, (for they be his majesty's friends also), rather willing to conciliate amity between them, if there were any enmity; but his meaning is, that his nephew shall beware what enterprises he taketh for any other princes' pleasure, and to have regard that in such things that sort of circumspection be had, as *crassa ignorantia*, which excuseth not the conscience, may be avoided."

These instructions are important, as showing the policy which now regulated Henry's proceedings with regard to Scotland.

James had not long returned to his kingdom, when an event occurred for which he was probably prepared, as it had been foretold before his marriage. His youthful queen died on the 7th of July, to the great sorrow of his subjects. He was at this moment again gratifying his vengeance against the connexions of the house of Douglas. Two state trials of this period have become famous in Scottish history. The first was that of the master of Forbes, a turbulent chieftain, who had been deeply mixed up in the intrigues under the regency of the duke of Albany. He had married a sister of the earl of Angus, and was well known to be one of the least scrupulous of the partisans of the banished family that remained in Scotland. In the summer of 1536, Forbes was accused by the earl of Huntley of treasonable designs against the person of the Scottish king, and both he and his father the lord Forbes were arrested and thrown into prison. It was not till the summer of 1537 that they were brought to trial, and then the master of Forbes was tried, condemned, and executed on the same day, but lord Forbes was subsequently liberated. We have no details of the trial, or of the exact charges which were brought against the master of Forbes, but we know that he was very generally believed to be innocent, and that he was looked upon as a victim to the king's animosity against the Douglasses. Two days after this execution, another arrest was made on a similar charge.

Janet Douglas, another sister of the banished earl of Angus, had married the lord Glamis, and after his death had for her second husband Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. By her first marriage she had a son, now sixteen years of age, who had succeeded to the title as lord Glamis. Lady Glamis was, as might be expected, warmly attached to her brother's cause, and she seems to have been actively engaged in promoting the designs of his partisans. She was thus an object of suspicion, and was more than once accused of treasonable practices. In 1531, she had been obliged to conceal herself from a prosecution for intercommuning with the king's rebels, and her property was confiscated. In the beginning of the following year she was brought to trial on a charge of poisoning her first husband, but appears to have been acquitted. She was now, on the 17th of July, 1537, brought to trial again on the more serious charges of having conspired to effect the king's death by means of poison and witchcraft, and of having given assistance to the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, being rebels to the king. Perhaps the latter part of the charge was the only part really true. She was found guilty, and condemned to be burnt at the stake, a punishment which she underwent with the utmost fortitude. Her beauty and a belief in her innocence excited great sympathy among the populace. The young lord Glamis, who on the rack had confessed that he had known and concealed the conspiracy, was also condemned, but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he remained in confinement till James's death, when he was set at liberty and restored to his estates and honours, on the plea that he had made a false confession under the fear of torture. Archibald Campbell, the husband of lady Glamis, in an attempt to escape from Edinburgh castle, fell and was dashed to pieces on the rocks. A barber, named John Lyon, was condemned as an accomplice, and hanged; and another man, named Makke, from whom the poison was said to have been bought, was punished with the loss of his ears and banishment.

James, ruled by his clergy, had now identified himself entirely with the French party, and his first queen was no sooner dead than he resolved to seek another match in France. David Beaton, a crafty ecclesiastic, the nephew of the archbishop,

whom he succeeded in the see of St. Andrews, was accordingly sent on an embassy to France, with lord Maxwell and the master of Glencairn, and they there concluded a marriage with Mary of Guise, the youthful widow of the duke of Longueville. Buchanan tells us, that the sorrow for the death of James's first queen was so great, that a new custom of wearing mourning dresses was then introduced, yet the year of mourning was not finished when a new

bride arrived, and the second marriage was celebrated with extraordinary pomp in the cathedral church of St. Andrews. A contemporary diary tells us, that "on St. Margaret's day (1538), she made her entry into Edinburgh with great triumph, and also with order of the whole nobles; her grace came in first at the West Port, and rode down the high gate (*street*) to the abbey of Holyrood-house, with great sports played to her grace through all the parts of the town."

## CHAPTER VIII.

NEW PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS; SIR RALPH SADLER'S MISSION; THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO THE ISLANDS; PARLIAMENT OF 1540.

VARIOUS changes which occurred at this time tended to give still greater power to the clergy. The archbishop of St. Andrews was now stricken with age, and on the 5th of December, 1538, David Beaton, who seems to have been already in great favour with king James, was appointed his coadjutor in the see. The high favour in which David Beaton stood at Rome was shown during the same month by his being made a cardinal. A few months afterwards, in the autumn of 1539, on the death of his uncle, the cardinal became archbishop of St. Andrews.

The elevation of David Beaton to the office of cardinal was followed immediately by a violent persecution of the protestants, who appear at this time to have been rapidly increasing in numbers. Many were thrown into prison, and considerable numbers fled.\* Among the latter was the historian, George Buchanan, who tells us that, having been arrested, he escaped by the window of his bedchamber while his keepers were asleep. Among those who were brought to trial were several priests, who had embraced the doctrines of the reformation, and it was a subject of scandal with

the protestant writers in after times that the two prelates who presided over the ecclesiastical court on this occasion, cardinal Beaton and Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, were notorious for their licentious lives. One or two circumstances that occurred on these trials showed the extreme ignorance of some of the higher Romish clergy in Scotland at this time. Forret, a canon regular of the monastery of St. Colm's Inch, and vicar of Dollar, was accused of preaching to his parishioners. Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, who was one of the bench, undertook to remonstrate with the vicar, and urged that it was too much to preach every Sunday, as it might lead the people to think that the bishops ought to preach also. "Nevertheless," he continued, "when thou findest any good epistle or gospel which sets forth the liberty of the holy church, thou mayst read it to thy flock." The vicar replied that he had carefully read through both the Old and New Testament; and in no part of it had he found one evil epistle or gospel; but he promised, if the bishop would point them out, to be most careful to avoid them. "Nay, brother Thomas, my joy, that I cannot do," said the prelate, smiling, "for I

\* "Daily cometh unto me some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying that, if they were taken, they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words; and to some, money. Here is now in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late captain of

Dunbar, and dare not return, for holding our ways, as she saith. She was in England, and saw queen Jane. She was sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland three or four years past."—*Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell, March 29, 1539.* Other similar notices are found in contemporary letters.



am contented with my breviary and pontifical, and know neither the Old or New Testament; and yet thou seest I have come on indifferently well; but take my advice, leave these fancies, or else thou mayst repent when it is too late." It was farther objected to Forret, upon his trial, that he had taught his parishioners the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the creed, in the vulgar tongue; that he had questioned the right of taking tithes, and that he had given them back to the poorer members of his flock. He rested his defence upon the holy scriptures, but it was only received with insult, and with several others he was condemned to the stake. They were burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1539.

The spirit of persecution, under the auspices of cardinal Beaton, spread over the country. A young man of eighteen years of age, named Kennedy, who was known as a poet of some talent, and a grey friar named Russell, were condemned as heretics and burnt at Glasgow. The prospect of this cruel death shook the resolution of Kennedy, and he seemed inclined to recant his opinions, when the exhortations of Russell encouraged him to persevere. He suddenly fell on his knees and blessed the goodness and mercy of God, which had saved him from impending destruction, and breaking forth in an ecstasy of triumph, declared that he looked forward with joy to the utmost tortures they could inflict. Russell, before he was dragged away from the court, fixed his eyes upon the prelates who presided, and addressed them in a solemn tone:—"Now is your hour, and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile, proceed and fill up the measure of your iniquities."

These violent measures created disgust among the laity; and while a general feeling of sympathy for the sufferers was highly favourable to the establishment of the reformation, it increased the disaffection to the government, and added to the strength of the party of England and the Douglasses.

The rising power of cardinal Beaton gave great umbrage in England, where it was considered as the strongest proof of the supremacy of Romish and French counsels in the Scottish court. While king

Henry was meditating on the means to be adopted to counteract this influence, and each monarch was professing his peaceful designs, the two kingdoms were filled with apprehensions of approaching war. These were founded principally on the intelligence that the French king and the emperor had united against England, and the belief that the king of Scotland, with the predilections he then had, would naturally be drawn into their league. The seizure of a ship going from Scotland to France, threw into the hands of the English ministers a letter written from cardinal Beaton to Rome, which was supposed to indicate ambitious designs dangerous to the welfare of the Scottish throne. Henry at once determined to dispatch sir Ralph Sadler to Scotland, under pretence of arranging some border disputes, but in reality to show James the cardinal's letter, in the hope that it would lead to his disgrace. Sadler proceeded to Scotland in the beginning of the year 1540. His instructions were, to discover as far as possible the intentions of the king of Scots with regard to the league between the king of France and the emperor. He was to sound James again with respect to his real views on the subject of the reformation in the church, and to persuade him, by an exposure of the tyranny of the papal power, the scandalous lives of the clergy, and the enormous wealth of the church, of the necessity and advantage of suppressing the monasteries, and throwing off the yoke of Rome. He was to endeavour to prejudice him against Beaton, by showing him the cardinal's letter, and suggesting to him that it intimated an intention of usurping the supreme power in Scotland, and giving it to the pope. He was finally to renew the proposal for a personal conference between the two princes, and to hold out to him the prospect of succeeding eventually to the English crown, in case of the death of prince Edward, then a mere infant.

Sadler was well received at the Scottish court, and James professed the utmost friendship for his uncle the English monarch. He declared that he would not join in any foreign coalition against England, unless compelled to do so in self-defence. He refused firmly to follow Henry's example in throwing off his allegiance to the church of Rome, or in dissolving the monasteries. He admitted at the same



time the profligacy of some of his clergy, declaring with an oath that he would compel them to lead better lives; while he praised many of them for their learning and talents, and for their loyalty to his government. With regard to the letter of the cardinal, he said that he had seen it before it was sent, and he only smiled at the notion that it contained anything treasonable. He evaded a direct answer to the proposal for a conference, intimating his wish that when it took place the king of France should be present. We are told by Buchanan, who spoke from his personal recollection and the general opinion of the time, that James's nobles, who were opposed to the influence of the clergy, used every endeavour to persuade him to attend at the conference. "When the priests understood this, they imagined their order would be ruined, unless they could prevent the meeting of the sovereigns, disturb their harmony, and sow dissension between the king and his nobles; and, upon examining all the various propositions, the readiest method of providing a remedy for the present evil which presented itself, was, to operate upon the king's fondness for money, by offering a large subsidy. Having, therefore, represented the magnitude of the danger, and the changeable and uncertain nature of the dependence he could place on that sovereign's promises, and showed him how a greater sum could more easily be procured at home, they first promised they would themselves contribute yearly thirty thousand gold crowns, and even their whole fortunes, if necessary, would always be ready. Besides, from the confiscation of the estates of those who rebelled against the authority of the pope and the majesty of the king, who troubled the church by new and execrable errors, thereby subverting all piety, destroying the authority of magistrates, and overturning the institutions of so many ages, there might be raised upwards of one hundred thousand gold crowns more, annually, if the king would only allow them to name a lord chief justice, as they could not sit themselves in criminal cases; and in managing the process, and procuring judgment, there would be neither difficulty nor delay, since so many thousand men did not hesitate to read the books of the Old and New Testament, to discuss the power of the pope, to despise the ancient rites of the church, and to deny all obedience and

reverence to the monks, who were set apart and consecrated to God." Some doubts are thrown on Buchanan's statement that James acceded to these conditions of the clergy, and gave them the judicial appointment they required; but many of the historical events of this period are involved in dark obscurity.

Though Sadler had not succeeded in the object of his mission, he still obtained a certain degree of assurance that at that time James's own designs were not hostile, though his ecclesiastical advisers were evidently doing their best to urge him into a war. In several matters of dispute that occurred on the border, the king of Scots had acted towards the king of England in a conciliatory manner. A circumstance had recently occurred which had given great offence to king Henry, who was by no means inclined to allow the people in general liberty of speech. Certain documents were found in circulation on the border, which appear to have been traced to the Scottish side, and which are designated as "despiteful and slanderous ballads" against the English king. They related probably to his heretical proceedings, and to his treatment of his wives. Complaints were immediately addressed to the Scottish king on the subject, and he not only publicly disavowed any knowledge of them, with an intimation of his belief that they had originated among the English borders or the Scottish rebels who had found refuge in England, but he caused his officers on the border to make proclamation forbidding the composing or circulating such ballads or songs. On the 30th of January, 1539, lord Maxwell, James's warden of the marches, announced to the English warden that he had received command to make diligent search for any "who had made ballads or songs in defamation and blaspheming of his dearest uncle;" and on the 5th of February king James sent his orders to his officers on the border directing them to make open proclamation at Dumfries and other places, that no one should "take upon hand to have, read, publish, or send copies of any such famous, despiteful, and dishonest ballads, rhymes, and makings (*poems*)," and to destroy all copies that could be found.

Before the mission of sir Ralph Sadler, reports had reached England of extensive warlike preparations that were making in Scotland, and these had increased the apprehension of the English government, lest



James should be designing some sudden blow in support of the continental league. After Sadler's return these rumours continued, and it was announced with more certainty that the Scottish king had assembled a powerful fleet, and that he was charging them with men and munitions of war for some secret expedition. His object was for a short time the subject of great speculation, but all doubt was at length dispelled by the announcement that he had sailed on an expedition against his turbulent subjects in the western isles and the Orkneys. These, as well as the northern districts on the mainland, had for some time been in a deplorable state of confusion. For this expedition, James fitted out a fleet of twelve ships, amply furnished with artillery, and manned with the most skilful mariners in Scotland. Six ships were appropriated to the king, three carried the provisions, and the other three were given separately to the cardinal, the earl of Huntley, and the earl of Arran. The king himself sailed in a favourite ship called the Salamander, which had been given him by the king of France on his first marriage. The cardinal brought five hundred men from the counties of Fife and Angus, and the forces commanded by Arran and Huntley amounted to double that number. These, with the numerous troops which followed the banners of the barons who formed the royal suite, presented such a formidable naval armament as was calculated to strike awe into the islanders against whom it was directed. James shared in the love of science, literature, and the arts, which had distinguished the princes of his race, and one of the objects of his expedition was to make an accurate nautical survey of the northern coasts and isles, and for this purpose he took with him the most skilful hydrographer in Scotland, Alexander Lindsay, whose charts are still preserved. Having completed his preparations, James waited until his queen was delivered of a son, which joyful occurrence took place on the 22nd of May. The king then set sail, and proceeded along the coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan, until he doubled the promontory of Kinnaid's Head. He thence proceeded along the shores of Caithness, and crossed the Pentland Firth to the Orkneys; and after visiting most of the islands, proceeded along the coasts of Argyle and Arran, and at length cast anchor on the coast of Bute. Throughout the whole of his progress, James found nothing but submission,

and his course was rather one of pleasure, than of warlike adventure. The people crowded to the shore to watch the arrival of a fleet which was decked out with splendour which was totally new to them; and the chiefs of clans hurried to the royal presence, to supplicate pardon for their past insubordination, or to seek favour by vows of attachment and loyalty. Some of them were treated with kindness, while others were thrown into chains, and treated with the utmost rigour. James carried away a considerable number of the more turbulent chieftains, to hold them as hostages for the good behaviour of their clans. At Dumbarton he left his fleet, and made his progress overland towards the capital.

Hitherto we have been able to glean little information relating to the internal condition of Scotland since the banishment of the Douglases, but it is evident that the state was torn by faction, and that James was by no means beloved by his nobles. In general, the scattered reports of troubles and discontent found in the letters of the English agents seem to have been well founded; and we are assured that most of the Scottish chiefs and statesmen who were not ecclesiastics were alternately in favour and disgrace, and sometimes in prison, with their estates seized and confiscated. In the summer of 1539, sir Adam Otterburn, who had long enjoyed so much of the king's confidence, was cast into prison, and only obtained his liberty by the payment of a heavy fine. Immediately after Otterburn's arrest, the earls of Moray, Huntley, and Bothwell are all stated to have been in disgrace, and to have been obliged to purchase their personal safety by the sacrifice of a portion of their extensive estates, which were added to the possessions of the crown. The king stripped Bothwell of his possessions in Liddesdale, and placed his own officers there to hold the turbulent borderers in better obedience. All these circumstances confirm Buchanan's account of the struggle for supremacy which was at this moment going on between the Romish church and the laity, in which the king, by giving himself up entirely to the clergy, provoked the hostility of the other classes of his subjects to a degree which caused him great embarrassments, and even fears for his personal safety. With any degree of foresight, he must have seen that in depending upon the clergy, although they appeared more unre-

servedly devoted to his person, the duration of their power was at this moment in the highest degree precarious. His recent progresses to different parts of the kingdom, and especially the northern expedition, were perhaps undertaken to relieve his mind temporarily from the anxieties and apprehensions which had gradually been brought upon it by the course which he had been following, and into which he had thrown himself with a characteristic obstinacy of character. He had in fact mistaken the direction in which the will and the necessities of his people were progressing. He seems to have returned from his voyage to the isles only to be made still more sensible of the dangers with which he had to contend, and an act of severity which followed seems to have involved him more deeply and more hopelessly. Like so many events of his reign, probably on account of the darkness and secrecy of the intrigues which led to them, we are totally unacquainted with the motives for the destruction of sir James Hamilton, or, as he was popularly called, the bastard of Arran, or even of the exact circumstances which accompanied it; but we are told that, one day as the king was on his way from Edinburgh to Fife, just as he was stepping into the royal boat, he was accosted by a stranger, who demanded a secret audience on a subject which concerned the safety of his kingdom and of his own person. James lent his ear for a moment, and then gave his ring to the unknown stranger as a token to two of the chief officers of the court, Learmont, the master of the household, and Kirkaldy, the treasurer, that they should listen to his information as though it came from the king himself. James continued his journey, as though nothing had happened; but the whole kingdom was astonished with the intelligence that sir James Hamilton, who had been looked upon as a favourite of the king, and who not only held high offices of the state, but who was known to be a bigoted favourer of the clergy, was placed under arrest on a charge of high treason. The whole proceedings appear to us the more extraordinary, when we find that the only crime of importance laid to his charge was a pretended design against the king's person twelve years before, at the time when James escaped from the usurped tutelage of the Douglasses, of which to the last he asserted his im-

cence. The trial appears to have been hurried through precipitately, and Hamilton was condemned, and instantly executed. This execution took place on the 16th of August, 1540. Hamilton was a man of ferocious disposition and unscrupulous character, and, having been engaged in several political murders and acts of violence which were extremely unpopular, his fate was lamented by few; yet he was generally believed to have been accused and condemned unjustly, and, as there were few persons who had anything to risk in the kingdom who had not been compromised in the various revolutions of James's reign, people were seized with the belief that no one was safe from becoming a victim to the cupidity or vengeance of their monarch.

The distrust appears, unfortunately, to have been mutual, and James is said from this time at least to have looked upon all his secular nobles as so many concealed traitors, and not to have concealed his sentiments. We are assured that after the execution of sir James Hamilton, the king relapsed into an outward melancholy, becoming gloomy and suspicious, and retiring from his former pleasures and amusements. He sought to be alone in his apartments, drove away his attendants and courtiers, and was agitated in his dreams. It is said that on one occasion he rushed out of his bed and called for lights, and that when his attendants entered his chamber they found him in a state of violent agitation, pointing to his pillow, and begging that the frightful spectacle of the murdered Hamilton which stood there might be removed. On another occasion the chamberlain was roused from his sleep by groans which issued from the royal chamber, and when he entered it he found the king sitting upright in his bed, and declaring in great terror that he had been visited by the bastard of Arran, who with a naked sword threatened to cut off both his arms, and declared that he would shortly return and take his full revenge. This dream was believed to be fulfilled when, a few months afterwards, James's two infant sons died suddenly.

James soon, however, recovered from his temporary despondency, and turned his attention to public affairs with his usual activity. A parliament was called in the month of December, and was adjourned thence to the month of March, and its proceedings possessed an importance which had not been attached to the recent meetings of the legis-



lative body. The king, depending on the clergy for support, proceeded to the work of legislation with his characteristic boldness, aiming pertinaciously at the two great objects of his policy, the increase of the power and influence of the crown, and the strengthening and protecting of the church, which was now beginning to be threatened by the rapid spread of the reformed opinions among the people. With the former object, acts of extensive confiscation were passed. All estates alienated from the crown during his minority had already been resumed, and this resumption appears in some instances to have been made the cloak for the seizure of lands which had in former times been confiscated for treason and afterwards restored. By an act of the present parliament, all the islands to the north and south of the two Kentires, as well as the Orkney and Shetland isles, with the lordships of Douglas, Bonkill, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Bothwell, Jedburgh forest, and the superiority of the county or earldom of Angus, were declared to be confiscated and added to the possessions of the crown. Glamis, with its dependencies, Liddesdale, and the estates of sir James Hamilton in Evandale, were treated in the same manner. It seemed as though James was following the council which Buchanan puts in the mouth of his clerical advisers, that he should enrich himself by an indiscriminate plunder of the laity; and the great land-holders were struck with the utmost alarm, believing that they were all exposed to the same danger. Their fears were by no means appeased, when James caused to be passed an act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons committed previous to the day on which it was published. They saw a proof of the king's inexorable hatred and animosity in the clause which excepted from the provisions of this act the Douglasses and all their adherents.

The influence of the clergy was shown in the severe statutes against heresy which were passed in that parliament. It was made a capital offence to argue against the supreme authority, or question the spiritual infallibility of the pope. All persons suspected of a leaning towards the opinions of the reformers were made incapable of holding any offices connected with the government, and all who had fled their country were to be considered as having confessed their guilt, and sentence was to be pronounced upon them as though they had

been tried and convicted. All private meetings or conventicles where religious subjects were debated were declared to be illegal, and rewards were offered to those who would give information where they were held; while no catholic was permitted to hold any communication with those who had once embraced heretical opinions, even though they had repented and received absolution for their backsliding. These severe enactments show how generally the protestant doctrines were gaining ground. A feeble attempt was made to restrain the licentiousness and carelessness of the Romish clergy by acts exhorting them to reform their lives and conversation, and to encourage learning and good rule.

These severe enactments were mixed with others which exhibited a wiser spirit of legislation. In order to make the knowledge of the laws more general, it was ordered that the acts of parliament should be printed from a copy the authenticity of which was to be attested by the signature of the clerk-register. Laws were passed for regulating and purifying the administration of justice, and for the encouragement of domestic manufactures and foreign commerce. New acts were made for the defence of the country, and the king's proceedings at this time breathed throughout a warlike spirit. It was declared that the Scottish army should fight on foot, that the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggage-waggons, and that none should be permitted to be mounted but earls, barons, and great landed proprietors. These were directed to be armed in white harness, light or heavy according to their pleasure, and with the weapons becoming their rank; while all whose property was less than a hundred pounds of yearly rent were to have a jack, or a baldric or brigantine, and gloves of plate, with *pesane* and gorget; the only weapons admitted being spears, pikes of six ells in length, Leith axes, halberds, hand-bows and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords. A proclamation was read in the capital, and forwarded to every part of the country, commanding all men between sixteen and sixty years of age to be ready, at twenty-four hours warning, to assemble in arms under the royal banner. A train of sixteen great and sixty lesser cannon, was ordered to be prepared for taking the field within twenty days after Easter.

During the year of this parliament, one of the busiest persons in the troubled poli-

tics of James's reign disappeared suddenly from the scene. Queen Margaret had been of late incessant in her complaints to her brother of the unkind treatment she experienced in Scotland, where her intrigues of every description, and her reckless contempt of public opinion, had gradually deprived her of all public consideration. Her son, apprehensive of the scandal which must be at-

tached to it, had prevented her divorce from her third husband, and she seems at this time to have been reconciled to him, for she was residing at the castle of Methven when she was suddenly taken ill, and died two or three days after, on the 24th of November, 1541. She was buried with great magnificence in the church of the Carthusians, Perth, in the tomb of its founder, James I.

## CHAPTER IX.

HOSTILE FEELINGS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND; THE PROPOSED MEETING AT YORK BROKEN OFF; HOSTILITIES; THE SCOTTISH NOBLES REFUSE TO MARCH INTO ENGLAND; ROUT OF SOLWAY MOSS; DEATH OF JAMES V.

THE remainder of James's reign was a continued series of misfortunes, the most disastrous of which were more or less the result of his devotion to the catholic clergy and to the counsels of France. Yet James seems at this moment to have been somewhat disgusted with his clergy, and to have been hesitating in his allegiance to them. He remonstrated with the prelates on the scandalous lives of many of their body; and he is said even to have looked with a covetous eye on the immense revenues of the church. Cardinal Beaton and the prelates were alarmed at this apparent change in the mind of their prince, and they determined to drag him into a war with England, as the only means of supporting their authority. The mutual disturbances on the border unfortunately furnished continual causes of dispute, and led to mutual complaints and recriminations, in the course of which Henry seldom lost the opportunity of urging his nephew to desert the church of Rome. He had been provoked at the ease with which the numerous priestly agitators who were endeavouring to raise the population against him found a refuge on the other side of the border, and he expostulated strongly that his rebels, when they happened to belong to the catholic priesthood, were screened from justice. James's reply, on one of these occasions, dated the 19th of May, 1541, is characteristic, and in many respects important. The Scottish king informs his uncle that, "we have received your letters of the penult day of April last

by-past, by Harry Ray, your officer of arms, and have understood at great length the contents and effect thereof, whereby we perceive that ye are not satisfied of our writings and answer made divers times to you anent the delivering of certain religious (*monks*) and others, churchmen, your subjects, alledged to be received in our realm, praying us effectuously to perpend and weigh the tenors of the treaty of peace, which doing we should perceive clearly that there is no manner of exception nor difference of any persons, but we should be as well obliged to deliver the churchmen as others. Dearest brother and uncle, we pray ye effectuously to reduce to your remembrance, what state the affairs of both our realms and lieges stood in the time of the making of the said treaty, and in likewise the innovations made since (i.e. the reformation in England); which being done, we believe surely ye will think that we have shown us a kind and thankful brother and nephew towards you, and have in nowise come contrary to the treaty of peace, but have observed and kept the same to our utmost power. And, if we might of conscience have handled or delivered the said churchmen and priests, we would have gladly done the same at your desire and pleasure. Also, dearest uncle, we perceive by your said writings that ye are informed that there should be some things lately attempted by our churchmen to our hurt and skaith (*injury*), and contrary to our mind and pleasure. We cannot under-



stand what should move you to believe the same, assuring you we have never found but faithful and true obedience of them at all times, nor they seek nor attempt neither jurisdiction nor privileges farther nor they have used since the first institution of the church of Scotland, which we may not upon our conscience alter nor change in the respect we have to the honour and faith of God and holy church, and doubt (*fear*) no inconvenient by them to come to us and our realm therethrough; for since the church was first instituted in our realm, the state thereof has never failed, but has remained ever obedient to our progenitors, and in our time more thankful to us than ever they were of before."

There was an evasion in this letter which was calculated to give the utmost offence to a monarch like Henry VIII. James acknowledged that by the treaty of peace between the two countries, he was bound to deliver up to the English king all rebels and conspirators against his person or crown who took refuge in Scotland, but he pretended that, since Henry had become a heretic, he was no longer bound to deliver up those rebels and conspirators, if they happened to belong to the catholic clergy. It amounted, in fact, to a moderated application of the much condemned principle that no ties of honour or faith existed between catholics and heretics. It shows the decided influence, at this period, of the party of cardinal Beaton on the mind of king James, and we are now going to detail the disasters which followed from it. When we look into the correspondence of the period, we perceive the king driven on by his clergy, as by a fatal influence which he could not control, into hostilities which were to be fatal to himself and to the interests of his country, and which it is evident that it was his own personal desire to avert. Still, the ambition of Beaton overruled every other consideration, and about this time he proceeded on a mission to Rome, professedly for the purpose of obtaining the nomination of papal legate in Scotland, but it is understood that his secret instructions related to the establishment of a league for the utter extirpation of heresy, not only in Scotland, but in England also.

The protection of the priests and monks by king James, was made the excuse on the part of Henry for refusing to deliver up the Scottish fugitives on the bor-

der, and complaints and recriminations were made on both sides. Henry, however, still hoped to convince his nephew of the errors of Rome, and, above all, he was determined to make another effort to effect his favourite object of a personal interview, and he accordingly despatched Sadler on a new embassy, in the autumn of the year 1541. Sadler succeeded in obtaining a promise from the Scottish king that he would meet Henry at York on the 15th of the following January, and he was to send ambassadors to arrange the forms of the interview; but the disagreement with respect to acts of outrage on the borders was not arranged, and several circumstances occurred to give offence to the English monarch. One of these is touched upon in a draught of a letter from secretary Wriothesley (afterwards earl of Southampton), to one of the Scottish ministers. "And also," he says, "it shall like you to understand, that upon the arrival of the said Mr. Sadler, there were conveyed hither from Scotland sundry little books imprinted; and, amongst others, one entitled, *The Trumpet of Honour*, wherein in the very titling in the first front of the book, the king your master taketh upon him a piece of the title of the king's majesty, being the king your master therein called defender of the Christian faith, whereby his majesty should have great cause to think more than unkindness, if he would willingly take his title upon him. And the conjecture is the more pricking, because he added thereto the Christian faith, as though there should be any other than the Christian faith, which seemeth to have another meaning in it than one good prince can think of another, much less a friend of his friend, or a nephew of his uncle, if he would show himself to esteem his friendship."

It was no sooner known to James's clerical advisers that he had consented to a meeting with his uncle, than they determined to break it off. It had been agreed that the place of meeting should be York, but as the time approached, excuses were made for delay, and James first represented that he wished to obtain the consent of the French king to the proposed conference, and then expressed a desire that Francis should be with them at the meeting. In the autumn of 1541, Henry made a progress northward, and held his court six days in the city of York, waiting the coming of the king of Scots, but in vain, for his



clergy had, at the last moment, prevailed upon him not to go. The English monarch returned to the south deeply offended, but he was followed by ambassadors from Scotland, bearers of excuses on the part of his nephew, and of professions of continued friendship and of a desire to effect the conference as soon as certain obstacles and difficulties which then stood in its way could be removed. Henry expressed himself satisfied that the conference should be waived for the present, but there can be little doubt that from this moment he looked forward to war. Fortunately for England, a new quarrel between the king of France and the emperor broke up the catholic league; but the Scottish prelates, led by Beaton, still urged their country into war, in the belief that it was the surest obstacle they could throw in the way of the reformation. In the midst of these political embarrassments and intrigues, James received a domestic blow from which he seems never to have entirely recovered, and which was the heavier because it came in the midst of rejoicing. Towards the end of the year 1541, the queen gave birth to a second son, Arthur duke of Albany, but he was unexpectedly carried off by an infantine disease. A few days after, his elder brother, James, sickened also, and the anxious efforts of the physicians were employed in vain. Thus, at the moment when the king was congratulating himself on the double chance of succession, and of the strength which this circumstance must give to his throne, he was suddenly left childless, and the kingdom without a direct heir.

The spring and summer of the year 1542 were spent in mutual complaints of the hostilities on the border, each party accusing the other of having given the first provocation, while each successive inroad was carried on on a bolder and more extensive scale. Ambassadors passed continually between the two kings, and the relations between them assumed at times a more conciliatory character, until an occurrence happened which assisted materially in destroying the last hopes of peace. James and his ministers had long kept up a correspondence with the Irish chiefs, who were blind and bigoted catholics, and the agents of Rome appear to have usually passed through Scotland in their way to the sister island. Henry had lately changed the title of lord

of king of Ireland, and the new title had been confirmed by act of parliament; but the Irish chiefs took offence at this title, and they sent a deputation to the king of Scots, offering to do homage to him as their king, and urging him to accept the crown. It has been justly doubted whether James ever looked upon this question in a serious light; but, under the influence of the cardinal, he received the Irish ambassadors in a gracious manner, and sent them back with flattering compliments. This proceeding, combined with his assumption of Henry's title of defender of the faith, and the warlike preparations which were known to be making in Scotland, led to the belief in England that James was meditating a war with the design of reducing England to subjection to Rome, and that he aimed at the crown as his reward. On the other hand, perhaps in retaliation, king Henry prepared to revive the old claim of the English kings to sovereignty over Scotland, and he ordered the records to be searched for documents in support of his pretensions.

The English began now to look forward to war, and the borderers were unusually excited with the prospect of plunder, and could no longer be restrained from acts of hostility. An attack from one side of the border produced retaliation from the other, and it was probably difficult to ascertain which party gave the first or most frequent provocations. At length, in consequence of some circumstances with which we are not acquainted, sir James Bowes, captain of Norham and warden of the east marches, invaded Scotland in an open and undisguised manner. Taking with him a body of three thousand horse, and accompanied by the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, with a large body of their retainers, he crossed the border, burning and plundering, and had even given the abbey of Kelso to the flames, when he was encountered at a place called Halydon, or Hadden, Rigg, by a strong force under the earl of Huntley and lord Home, and after a short contest were defeated with considerable loss. Many of the English commanders were taken prisoners, and among the rest sir James Bowes and his brother. Angus himself was nearly captured, but he slew his assailant with his dagger, and saved himself by flight. The battle of Halydon Rigg was fought on the 24th of August, 1542, and its result increased the exasperation of both kingdoms.



Four days before this engagement, James had given instructions for a new mission to England to negotiate a settlement of the disputes relating to the border. It is not clear whether he was sincere in his proposals, or whether his object was to gain time; but we can hardly avoid concluding from his letters that he was urged reluctantly and contrary to his own private feelings into war. The moment he received intelligence of Huntley's success, he sent off his master of the household, sir James Learmont, to justify the occurrence to the English king, and make a further attempt at conciliation. But king Henry was now resolved on war, and he sent orders to the Scottish envoys to proceed no further south than York, where they were to confer with his commissioners. Thither also the duke of Norfolk, one of the ablest of the English commanders, who was appointed to the command of the war, proceeded also, and orders were given to assemble there an army of forty thousand men, under the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, and Hertford. The earl of Angus and his Scottish followers were to join their banner.

James, alarmed at the vigour of these proceedings, determined to make an effort to stop further hostilities, or at least to gain time for preparations of defence, and his commissioners arrived at York, and delayed the march of the army for some time by proposals for a truce and new offers for a personal meeting with his uncle, which he knew was an object Henry had especially at heart. The latter, however, would no longer listen to pacific proposals, but he sent imperative orders to Norfolk to advance into Scotland, and at the same time published a declaration of war, a statement of his reasons for engaging in it, and of his claim to sovereignty over Scotland. The army under Norfolk was immediately put in motion, and crossing the border, began to burn the granges and villages along the banks of the Tweed.

It was now necessary for James to bestir himself in defence of his kingdom, and he showed no want of courage or alacrity. But it is evident that the Scottish nobility were in general averse to the war, and that they were not well affected to their sovereign. They had been deeply offended at the exclusive favour which he had shown to the clergy, and many of them, disgusted with the conduct of their spiritual rulers, began to look

with favour on the opinions of the reformers, while others were prepared to follow the example of their English brethren, who had been enriched by estates that had been taken from the suppressed monasteries. Many were still secretly friends to the Douglasses; and most, warned by the fate of sir James Hamilton and others, were alarmed at the new laws of treason, by which not only their own past acts, but even those of their ancestors, might be made a pretext for stripping them of their estates. Even those who were most attached to the king's person, entered upon the war with reluctance, and were anxious to avoid it by any honourable means. They all, however, felt themselves bound to obey the king's call to resist an invading enemy, and James soon found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, at the usual place of muster, the Borough-muir, near Edinburgh.

James had already sent a force under Huntley, Home, and Seton, to watch the movements of his enemies, and, as soon as his own army was ready to march, he proceeded towards the border, and encamped on Fala-muir, a plain near the western termination of the Lammermuir hills. Here he received intelligence that the English, having wasted the country and run short of provisions, had been compelled by that circumstance and the approach of winter (it was the end of October) to retreat across the border. The Scottish army was itself suffering severely from the same causes which had distressed the English, and it became absolutely necessary either to march forwards or to retreat. By the feudal tenures of the Scottish barons, they were obliged to follow the king when he commanded them to march against an enemy who had invaded his kingdom, but they were not obliged to pass into another country to make war without their own voluntary consent. James, encouraged by the retreat of the English, and by the great force which he had then under his command, determined to retaliate upon the invaders, by carrying the war into England; and he called together the leaders of his army to propose that they should immediately march across the border. To his astonishment, the proposal was met by a proud and unanimous refusal. They represented that the year was too far advanced for carrying on warlike operations with any success, and that the army would be sacrificed for want of provisions. The king is said to have given way to passionate indig-



nation ; he used alternately persuasions and threats ; upbraiding them as cowards who stood still and tamely allowed their towns and villages to be burnt and plundered before their eyes. But the nobles remained unmoved, and James, compelled to disband his army, hurried back to his capital, overwhelmed with disappointment and chagrin.

These events occurred on the last day of October ; it was supposed that hostilities were at an end for the year, and the English commander contented himself with providing for the defence of the border against the predatory attacks to which it would as a matter of course be exposed. At this moment a new subject of bitter complaint on the part of the English king occurred. The Somerset herald and Ray the Berwick pursuivant, had been sent to Scotland by the duke of Norfolk, on a mission relating to exchange of prisoners. They reached Edinburgh on the 14th of November, and were received coldly by the cardinal and other members of the council, who took their letters, but refused them access to the king. They were kept waiting till the 25th, and then one of the privy councillors went to the envoys at their lodgings, and, to use the words of the Berwick pursuivant, whose account of this mission we are following, " delivered us a letter directed unto my lord of Norfolk, and said, ' Because ye be come from the king your master's lieutenant, the king our master's lieutenant hath made answer again unto him : ' and delivered us twenty crowns to reward, saying that it was the lieutenant's reward ; and, if that we had come from the king our master, we should have had a better reward, and an answer again from the king their master." The same day they set out on their return, and having been forewarned that harm was intended them on their way back, they obtained a Scottish pursuivant named Dingwell to be their escort. And so, continues Ray's narrative, " the 25th day of November the said pursuivant Dingwell, and we, returned homewards forth of Edinburgh towards Dunbar, and was there purposed to be lodged that night ; and when we were within two miles of Dunbar, it waxed near even, and it began to be dark, Somersset and his boy riding before, and I, Berwick, and the Scottish pursuivant riding behind them. And then there came riding two men on horseback, and one on foot with them, and overrode me the said Berwick and the Scottish pursuivant, and ran to

Somersset, without speaking any one word unto him. And one of these strange men ran the said Somersset through with a lance staff, behind him, and another did strike him to the heart with a dagger, and the third struck the said Somersset's boy on the face with his sword, and so they fell both to the ground. And then the said three strange men did light off their horses, and their said horses ran from them. And straightway Berwick and the Scottish pursuivant came to them, and said, ' Fie on you, traitors, you have done a shameful act ! ' And with that they left Somersset dead, and he that was on foot did run after their own horses. The two horsemen did run after Somersset's horses, and did take them, and did leap upon them, one saying to the other, ' Fie, we have lost the other heretic ! ' meaning by the same the said Berwick. And Berwick, hearing this, did spur and run his horse from them ; and they, perceiving that they could not get the said Berwick, went back again, and spoiled the said Somersset of his purse, his coat, his sword, with all his other gear but his doublet and his hoses ; and did give Somersset's said boy ten bloody wounds. And when they had so done, the said three strange men did speak to the pursuivant of Scotland, then being present, and, as the said Scottish pursuivant and the boy said, bade him bear witness and testify to the council and all others, that it was John Prestman, William Leche, and his brother, banished Englishmen, which did slay the said Somersset, and no Scotchmen. And after this Berwick fled by the way up to the mountains, and so came to a castle called Ennerwik, and there remained all night. And on the morning I, the said Berwick, desired James Hamilton, laird of the said castle, to send to the council, to the intent that I might come and speak to the king and them ; and they sent answer to me again by a letter, that I, the said Berwick, should be conveyed unto English ground by the said James Hamilton and one William Home, with their companies, extending to the number of twenty horses ; and so it was done." James immediately wrote to the English monarch for a safe-conduct for his ambassadors to clear himself from all participation in the murder, and to inform him that he had arrested the murderers, and would punish them according to their deserts ; but, instead of sending the safe-conduct required, Henry demanded that as the murderers were in custody, they should



be immediately delivered up to his warden, in order that, being Englishmen, they might be examined and tried, and punished according to English law.

But before the letter containing this demand reached its destination, Scotland was without a king. The duke of Norfolk, whose head-quarters were at York, was astonished that the Scots remained so inactive after his retreat into England. "For to be plain to you," he wrote to secretary Wriothlesley on the 9th of November, "it is something strange to me to conjecture, what it should mean that the Scots do nothing attempt against us, for though there is much scarcity of victual amongst them, yet being so furnished of multitude of men near to the borders as they are, I think, if they would, they might ere now have done some displeasures. Surely they lack good captains; and, as I can learn, the king would gladly agree with us, and his council will not suffer him so to do. Peradventure they will desire peace, but I have no knowledge by none espial thereof. And unless that be the cause, it is marvelous to me of the continuing of not revenging of no part of their hurts." As far as we can gather, when James returned to Edinburgh, he sank into a gloomy moodiness, convinced of the disloyalty of his nobles, and people in general seem to have stood anxiously looking for what was to follow. The characteristic obstinacy of the king's character hindered him from showing an approach to conciliation, and he snatched eagerly at the hope that was held out to him by the offer of lord Maxwell and a few of his barons, who were more attached to him than their brethren, to raise their followers at his command and invade England by the western borders. An army of ten thousand men was thus assembled, and the king, shaking off the lethargy into which he had fallen, and encouraged by the clerical party, removed to Caerlaverock, to await there the result of the invasion.

But James was still suspicious even of the barons who had thus rallied under his banner, and he practised a deception upon them which led to the destruction of his last hopes. He allowed the army to march under the command of lord Maxwell, but he sent with him his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, brother of the lord Roslin, and gave him a written document appointing him to the chief command, with secret directions that it should be made public when

they put their feet on English ground. Accordingly, when they had reached the banks of the Esk, at Solway Moss, the whole army was ordered to halt, and Oliver Sinclair, raised on a platform on the shoulders of the soldiers, proceeded to read aloud the royal commission. It was no sooner concluded, than the most unequivocal symptoms of discontent exhibited themselves throughout the Scottish ranks. It was stated loudly that the king hated his nobility to such a degree, that he had sent his "minion," as Sinclair was termed, to rob them of the honour which they would have gained by defeating his enemies; most of the chiefs refused to serve under him, and their followers sharing in their sentiments, the whole army was thrown into a state of the utmost confusion, which lord Maxwell and a few of the most loyal peers strove in vain to restore to order. At this moment, two of the English commanders on the border, Dacre and Musgrave, who had raised a small force—it was said, only three hundred horse—to watch the movements of the Scottish army, approached on a neighbouring height, and were astonished at the scene of confusion which presented itself. They soon guessed at the reason, or probably they were informed of the state of things by deserters, and, without a moment's hesitation, they rushed upon the Scottish army with levelled spears. The Scots were struck with a sudden panic, the consequence of their temporary state of insubordination, and fled in every direction. Many of them sought refuge in the neighbouring moss, from whence they were dragged by the Scottish borderers, who bartered them to the English for money. Above a thousand prisoners were taken, among whom were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Fleming, Gray, and Oliphant, the masters of Erskine and Rothes, and Home of Ayton, with Oliver Sinclair and his two brothers.

When intelligence of this event reached the king at Caerlaverock, he seemed overwhelmed with despondency, and filled with grief and anguish he rode to his palace of Falkland, where he shut himself up, refusing to see any but his favourite attendants, and gave himself up to the belief that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy to deliver him up to the English. It was soon seen that the king was sinking fast under a broken heart, and when intel-

ligence was conveyed to him that the queen had given birth to a daughter—the celebrated Mary queen of Scots—an event which took place on the 7th of December, he was already stretched helplessly on his couch. He received it almost unmoved, only observing, with a bitter smile, in allusion to the daughter of the

great Bruce who had brought the crown of Scotland to the family of Stuart, “It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass.” The rout of Solway Moss took place on the 27th of November, and on the 13th of December, after regarding with a placid smile the few friends who stood round his bed, he laid his head on the pillow, and expired.

## CHAPTER X.

STATE OF SCOTLAND ON THE DEATH OF JAMES V.; POLICY OF HENRY VIII.; RETURN OF THE SCOTTISH PRISONERS; IMPRISONMENT OF THE CARDINAL; MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT; TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

THE death of James V. left the kingdom divided into two great hostile factions, with no superior power to control them, and the political prospect was indeed a gloomy one. On the one side stood the whole of the clergy, headed by the able but unprincipled Beaton; on the other, the mass of the Scottish nobility, who were indignant at the power which had been given to the churchmen during the late reign. The former had a decided advantage from the fact of their being in possession of power, from the extraordinary talents of the cardinal in intrigue, and from the absence of so many of the lords, who had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss. But they had given great disgust by their tyranny, and the boldness and insolence with which they attempted to secure a continuance of their power was injurious to their own power. The cardinal, as the devoted partizan of the French faction, easily secured the widowed queen in his interest, and he is said to have employed an unscrupulous priest, named Balfour, to forge a will in the king's name, appointing him regent, with three assessors chosen from the nobility, whom he chose as the most likely to be devoted to him; these were the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Moray; with whom he proposed to join the earl of Arran. This nobleman, as the next heir to the crown after the infant princess, was by the laws and custom of Scotland entitled to the office of regent, but he was of a gentle studious disposition, and Beaton imagined that he might easily mould him to his will. Some said that the cardinal, abusing the opportunity given him by the favour of the late king,

had seized a moment when he found the king on his couch in a state of unconsciousness, and guiding the pen in his fingers, thus obtained his signature to the forged document. No sooner was the king dead, than the cardinal, anxious to effect his purpose before the lords could return from their captivity in England, produced the pretended will, caused himself to be proclaimed regent, and hastened to assume the government of the kingdom. The success of his usurpation was, however, brief; for the nobles assembling, Arran came forward to claim the regency, declaring his belief that the pretended will of the late king was spurious. The claim was instantly and unanimously allowed, and in spite of the cardinal's intrigues, the earl was chosen regent or governor, and was installed in the office on the 22nd of November, 1542.

An extraordinary discovery is said to have completed the unanimity of the party opposed to the cardinal. A written document was found on the person of the king after his death, containing the names of above three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry, who were to be accused of holding heretical opinions, and on that ground their estates to be confiscated to the use of the crown. It has been stated that this mode of raising money had been recommended to James on several occasions by the clergy of his council, but that he had too much feeling of honour to give ear to it, until, after the rout of Solway Moss, he had been induced to agree to it by the persuasions of the cardinal, who had drawn up for him



the list in question. At the head of it stood the name of the earl of Arran, who, without being a zealous reformer, had listened to the new doctrines at least with favour. This list was now made public, and, as might be supposed, it completed the discomfiture of the cardinal.

While the two factions were thus gradually identifying themselves with the clergy and the laity, or, in other words, with popery and protestantism, they were also entering more violently into the antagonism of French and English politics. Beaton and his prelates were ready to gratify their own ambition by making their country a mere dependence upon Rome, and, as the nearest representative of the Romish influence, upon France; while their opponents, in their eagerness to escape this spiritual tyranny, were far from unwilling to place themselves and their country in dependence upon England. The overbearing temper of Henry VIII. had the effect of overthrowing for a while the English party, but the still more crushing policy of France and Rome rendered it eventually triumphant.

As we have already intimated, the letter in which Henry required the surrender of the murderers of his herald reached the Scottish court when king James was dead. This council immediately caused the criminals to be delivered up to the English warden, and they were examined by the council of the north; but it appears that they were fugitives from England, on account of religion, and that they had been driven to the sanguinary act by a fanatical sentiment of revenge. The only person in Scotland whom they at all compromised in their confession was cardinal Beaton, who had entertained them, and who, they asserted, had assured them that he had ready a sentence of interdict against England which he was preparing to put in force with tremendous effect. This confession was calculated, at the present moment, to assist the English party rather than otherwise; and the Scottish council, in their letter to king Henry announcing the surrender of the assassins, had asked for a passport for commissioners to treat for peace in a tone of unequivocal conciliation.

The cardinal was justified in his dread of the nobility recovering their influence, for one of the first acts of the government of the earl of Arran was to prepare for the return of the Douglasses, whose engagements with king Henry and hostility to the Romish priest-

hood were now universally known. On the 18th of January, 1543, sir George Douglas, who was by much the abler diplomatist of the two brothers, appeared in Edinburgh, and had an interview with the governor, Arran, the consequence of which was that the pardon of the Douglasses was proclaimed at the market cross, and the same day the earl of Angus entered into Scotland. On the 24th of January, the barons who had been captured at Solway Moss also arrived in Edinburgh, conducted by the earl of Bothwell. Henry, who was well aware of the importance of their presence at this moment in Scotland, had set them at liberty, on their giving pledges to return to England by Palm-Sunday. The strength which their accession had given to the lay party was soon apparent. Beaton, mortified at the elevation of Arran to the high office of governor, and alarmed at the danger which threatened the papal supremacy, sent messengers to France, with urgent appeals from himself and the queen for immediate assistance; and it was generally reported that a French army was to be despatched to Scotland immediately under the duke of Guise and the young earl of Lennox. The Scottish lords immediately construed this into an act of treason, and on the 26th of January, only two days after the nobles from England had entered Edinburgh, Beaton was suddenly arrested, and, before he could summon his friends to his rescue, was hurried to the castle of Blackness, and committed to the custody of lord Seton. A proclamation was made at the same time, commanding every man, on pain of treason, to resist to their utmost the landing of any army from France; and it was proclaimed that a parliament should meet on the 12th of March, to consider the terms of an alliance with England, and to proceed to the trial of the cardinal.

Henry's favourite project at this moment was the marriage of the infant princess Mary to his only son, prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI. of England, but he eventually over-reached himself by the want of proper delicacy with which he treated the Scottish people. The Douglasses had entered warmly into this project, and sir George Douglas was especially commissioned to treat on the subject with the Scottish regency; while the Scottish prisoners, before they left England, had engaged also to support the designs of the English king. But the latter was too



impatient to allow the time necessary for carrying them out effectually, and his imperative demands only tended to embarrass and disgust the nobles who had engaged themselves to him, and who appear to have been sincere in their promises. It was made a matter of complaint that the Scottish lords had summoned a parliament without first communicating with the king of England, and asking his advice; and Henry insisted that the cardinal should be delivered up to him, to be kept a prisoner in England. Sir George Douglas was even reproached, before he had been many days in Scotland, that he had not already fulfilled one part of his promise to the king of England, by causing all the Scottish strongholds to be delivered into his hands. On the 1st of February sir George had a private interview with the lord Lisle at Berwick, of which the latter nobleman sent next day an account to the duke of Suffolk and the council at York. "I asked him," says lord Lisle, in this communication, "whether his brother and he would deliver the said cardinal to the king's majesty, if his grace's pleasure were to have him. Whereat he studied a little, and said that, if they should do so, they should be too much mistrusted to be of England's party; but he said he should be as surely kept as if he were in England, for neither governor nor none other in Scotland shall have him out of their hands. I asked him what his brother and he had done touching the getting of the strongholds. He said, as touching that, as yet they had done nothing but get Tantallon, and said that shortly after his returning into Scotland, he would not doubt to put in one of his brothers or his servants whom they trusted, into the castle of Edinburgh, and also he thought to get Dunbar into his own keeping. . . . I asked him whether he had begun to practise with his friends as touching the king's majesty's purpose; and he said it was not time yet, for, although his brother and he had many friends, he durst not move the matter as yet to none of them, for if he should, he is sure they would start from them every man."

There can be no doubt that the views of the English monarch at this moment extended to an absolute union of Scotland with England, or at least to the subjection of Scotland to the English crown, and that the means by which this object was to

be effected were a marriage of his son prince Edward with the infant Mary of Scotland. But Henry was too hasty and sanguine in the commencement, for he demanded that the governor and council of Scotland should at once acknowledge him as their superior lord, that the princess should be carried into England, and that the Scottish fortresses should be delivered into his hands. These terms had been secretly agreed to by the earl of Angus and his brother, and by the Scottish lords who had been taken at Solway, and they had been sent into Scotland under the promise that they would labour sincerely to cause them to be accepted by the Scottish aristocracy in general.

But when they returned home, the lords found that it would be necessary to proceed with more secrecy and caution than was at first expected. The cardinal was still powerful, and bitterly hostile to England; he had the whole catholic clergy at his devotion, and was supported by several of the nobles, and to proceed at once to declare the demands and intentions of the king of England would have been to identify the cardinal's party with that of the national independence. An important step had been taken in throwing the cardinal into prison, but this had provoked still more the great body of the clergy, and the kingdom was now placed under an interdict, the churches being closed, and the public services of religion suspended. This violent proceeding was highly favourable to the cause of the reformation, which had now so many influential supporters, that it was generally reported some measures inimical to the papal church would be brought forward in the parliament in March. The churchmen, alarmed, became more active in preparing their plans of resistance, and the week before the meeting of parliament, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Moray, and Bothwell, with a great number of bishops and abbots, and many others, held a meeting at Perth, and sent as their commissioners the bishop of Orkney and sir John Campbell of Calder, to the governor and council in Edinburgh, with certain demands, the chief of which were, that the cardinal should be set at liberty, that the New Testament should not be published in the vulgar tongue, that the governor should rule the realm by their council, and that they should have the management of the negotiations with England. At this moment there appeared



imminent danger of a civil war, and much apprehension was felt on account of Arran's known easy and indolent character. But the governor was surrounded by men who were bold and resolute, and who knew that if matters were pushed to extremities, they might reckon upon effectual assistance from England, and he now acted, no doubt under their guidance, with unexpected decision. The envoys not only met with a flat refusal to all their demands, but a herald-at-arms was dispatched to Perth, forbidding the meeting of the lords, and charging them under pain of treason to attend the parliament, and serve the governor according to their duty and allegiance. Preparations were then made for holding the parliament on the day appointed, the 12th of March.

The lords at Perth were effectually intimidated by this proceeding, for they knew that the power of judgment and confiscation were in the hands of the government, and they saw no prospect of any substantial support against it. The earl of Huntley first made his submission, offering to attend and place himself at the service of the governor, and his example was quickly followed by the others, so that on the meeting of the estates in Edinburgh, there was an unusually large attendance, not only of the lords, but of the clergy also. The earl of Argyll alone kept away, on the plea, it appears a sincere one, of sickness.

The first proceeding of the parliament was to confirm the election of the earl of Arran to the high office of governor of the kingdom. They then took into consideration the relations with England, approved of the marriage with the English prince, and decided on sending sir William Hamilton and sir James Learmouth as ambassadors to England; but they refused to allow the princess to be taken out of the kingdom, although they were willing to allow Henry to appoint "some gentlemen of England, and some English ladies to be there about her person, for her better tuition, at his majesty's pleasure." The next important act of this parliament was to reverse the sentence of attainder and confiscation against the earl of Angus, his brother sir George Douglas, his nephew the lord Glamis, and Archibald Douglas, James Douglas of the Parkhead, and Alexander Drummond of Carnoth. Of equal importance was the authorization by this parliament of the publication, in the language of the people, of the Holy Scriptures, and open

proclamation was made, "that it should be lawful to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother-tongue," and that no man should preach to the contrary on pain of death. It is said that the promoter of this measure was the lord Maxwell.

Meanwhile king Henry was unreasonably impatient that all his intentions had not been immediately carried out by the Scottish lords in his interest, and he determined on sending sir Ralph Sadler as his resident ambassador to Scotland, with instructions to watch over his interests there, and to see that the lords who had promised to support them, fulfilled their engagements. Sadler reached Edinburgh on Sunday the 18th of March, and the same day he had an interview with the earl of Arran, who received him with earnest professions of friendship, and declared his great devotion to the king of England. On leaving the governor, Sadler was conducted to his lodgings by sir George Douglas, who on their way gave him an account of the occurrences since his return to Scotland, and of the proceedings of the parliament, telling him that "they had agreed all well together; and though in the beginning one began to grin at another, yet was there none that would bite, nor they would not fall out amongst themselves, whereby they might the rather make themselves a prey to their enemies." In the course of their subsequent interview, Sadler told sir George that the king was dissatisfied with the small progress made in his affairs. To which the Scottish noble replied, "Marry, I have laboured with all my power to do the king's majesty service, and will do while I live, wherein I have always pretended outwardly the common weal of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected. And I am sure, quoth he, I have so bent my wits thereunto, as I trust I have deserved thanks of his majesty." On being pressed further by the ambassador, Douglas entered into a more full justification of the caution observed by himself and his friends. "I tell you, quoth he, all things cannot be done at once. And this I have done, quoth he, by my policy since I came hither. First, I have so insinuated myself with the governor, that I am in chief credit with him; I have caused him to pull down the cardinal, who was, and would have been, chief enemy to the king's purposes; I have brought the said governor also to the king's majesty's devotion, so that he esteemeth his majesty



above all other princes, and clean have I altered him from France, so that he and all his realm shall be wholly dedicate to his majesty. And now, quoth he, the marriage being concluded, and a knight or a nobleman of England, with such English ladies as shall please the king to set about the person of this young lady, being once appointed, the league and hand of France being also refused and annulled here, whereof, quoth he, there will be no sticking; the subjects of both the realms having liberty to have intercourse, and to resort one with another without safe-conduct, which shall engender a love and familiarity betwixt them; and the noblemen and young gentlemen here, repairing from time to time to the court of England, being well and gently entertained there, as the king's majesty, of his gentle nature, can well entreat them; yea, quoth he, and the governor himself also coming to his majesty, as he hath promised; these things, quoth he, in time shall bring the nobility of this realm so far in love with his majesty, that he shall have the whole direction and obedience of the same at his pleasure. And again, quoth he, on the other part; if there be any motion now to take the governor from his state [it appears that Henry aimed at taking the government into his own hands], and to bring the government of this realm to the king of England, I assure you it is impossible to be done at this time. For, quoth he, there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, yea, and many noblemen, and all the clergy be fully against it; so that, quoth he, this must needs follow of it; the cardinal shall be set at liberty, who hath been much sued for, and yet we have kept him in maugré their hearts; ambassadors shall be sent into France; the French army, if it do arrive here, as it is thought, which we do intend to resist, and to fight with them if they come, shall be accepted; all the preparations that may be, shall be made for defence against you, and the governor wholly fall to the devotion of France; so that the king's majesty shall then be driven to use his force, and what pain and charge it will be to win this realm so, it is easily to be considered; whereas, now his majesty may win it wholly to his advantage with fair means, in time, as is aforesaid, without any trouble or expenses."

The despatches of sir Ralph Sadler,

during this mission, give us a strange picture of the intrigues to which Scotland was at this time a victim. Every body seemed to be acting with equal insincerity. The queen-mother, Mary of Guise, possessed all the political craft and dissimulation which characterized the family to which she belonged, and she seems to have succeeded fully in deceiving the English ambassador as to her real sentiments and intentions. When Sadler paid her his first visit, on the 22nd of March, she professed the utmost devotion to the party of England, and laboured to fill him with suspicions of the governor, whose intentions the ambassador was very ready to distrust, on account of his backwardness in yielding to all king Henry's demands. "I found her," says Sadler, "most willing and conformable in appearance to your majesty's purpose, for the marriage of her daughter to my lord prince's grace; and also, that your majesty should have her delivered forthwith into your hands and custody, which she confesseth to be for her chief surety, and wisheth with all her heart that it were so. She accounteth herself most bound to your majesty, that it hath pleased the same to determine such honour and advancement to her said daughter. And discoursing with her thereof, the rather to settle her in that part, she said, the world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she should not heartily desire and rejoice of the same; for greater honour and benefit could not be offered unto her, nor she knoweth not throughout the world such a marriage could be found so proper, so beneficial, and so honourable, as this is; saying, that she cannot otherwise think but it is the work and ordinance of God, for the conjunction and union of both those realms in one; for she hath had none before but sons, and now it is her chance to bring forth a daughter, for the best purpose, she trusteth. And when she had thus declared her affection in that behalf, with assurance that she would be advised by your majesty in all things, and would walk plainly on a right sort with your majesty, as she said it became her not to dissemble with so noble a prince; and so bade me advertise your majesty, that the governor, whatsoever pretence or fair weather he made unto your majesty, minded nothing less, than that her daughter should marry into England, and so had himself told her, with this much



more, that, for to please your majesty, they would offer unto the same, that there should be a contract made of the marriage, but they would have the custody of the child till she should be of lawful age; by which time God might dispose his pleasure of your majesty, being already well grown in years; and then they would handle it so, as that contract should serve to no purpose. This, she said, the governor told her himself, and this was the secret thing that she desired for to have one of your trusty servants to come to her, to the intent she might, by the same, advertise your majesty thereof, because she durst not commit the same neither to French nor Scot.' But here she made great instance unto me, that this might be most secret; for else being in their hands here, as she is straitly looked unto, insomuch that she hath none about her of her own servants, nor none that she may trust, it might be to her great danger. And, to verify the same, she saith, that the governor and council have determined in their parliament, that your majesty shall not have the child delivered into your hands, for sundry considerations alleged amongst them. One was, that because she is queen of the realm, it were not meet to have her out of the same, by whose authority and name the governor should use his office, and all things executed for the common weal of this realm. Another is, that if she were delivered unto England, she should never die; but if God should call her, they would ever be sure in England to have another to succeed her. And, again, if God should dispose his pleasure of my lord prince's grace, the child being in England, might be married there to some other, contrary to the weal and good of this realm; so that if they should deliver her out of their hands, your majesty, howsoever the game should go, would dispose of my inheritance and crown of this realm at your pleasure; with many other considerations, as she saith, she got information. She saith, assuredly the governor meaneth to marry her daughter to his son; wherefore, she saith, if your majesty stand not fast upon that point, to have her delivered into your hands, the marriage will never take effect.' And here, she said, the cardinal, if he were at liberty, might do much good in the same. I told her I thought the cardinal would rather do hurt, for he had no affection towards England. She said he was a wise man, and could better consider the benefit

of the realm than all the rest: and ever in her discourse she inculked, that your majesty should see they would not deliver the child, nor yet pledges for performance of the marriage. She told me that she was sure the governor would now, knowing that I had been with her, come shortly to see her, the rather to know what had passed betwixt her and me. 'And,' quoth she, 'when he cometh, I shall (as my custom is), make as though I were not well willing to this marriage. And then,' quoth she, 'as he is but a simple man, he will tell me his whole intent in that part; and if I should not do so,' quoth she, 'he would keep himself the more covert and close, and tell me nothing. And what I shall farther perceive by him, how he is disposed in the matter, now upon your coming, if I can find any mean,' quoth she, 'to speak with you, or tend to you, ye shall have knowledge of it.' I told her, that knowing the least part of her mind in that behalf, I would make some errand again to see her, which she also desired. And then she told me, that the governor showed her that your majesty had written unto him, how there had been a contract betwixt the earl of Lennox and her, whereunto she answered, that the contrary thereof was true, and that now, since she had been a king's wife, her heart was too high to look any lower. I told her I was sure your majesty had written no such matter to the governor; 'but,' quoth I, 'I remember that such a saying was, that your grace should marry with the earl of Lennox.' 'By my truth,' quoth she, 'it is utterly untrue, for I never minded it.'" When Sadler again urged the propriety and advantage of delivering the infant queen at once into the hands of the king of England, Mary "confessed the same, and wished to God that she were in your majesty's hands; 'for,' quoth she, 'it hath been seldom seen, that the heir of a realm should be in the custody of him that claimeth the succession of the same, as the governor is now established by parliament the second person of this realm, and if her daughter fail, looketh to be king of the same. And,' quoth she, 'he said that the child was not like to live; but you shall see,' quoth she, 'whether he saith true or not;' and therewith she caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and showed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your majesty, it is as goodly a child as



I have seen of her age, and as like to live with the grace of God."

After this interview Sadler returned to Edinburgh, full of doubts and suspicions, but resolved to endeavour further to fathom the minds of Arran and the other lords. "I will do what I can," he says, "to decipher their meanings towards your majesty; for, if it be true that the said dowager saith, surely there is great dissimulation amongst them, specially in the governor, who is also governed chiefly by sir George Douglas. This same sir George was appointed to accompany me in this journey towards Linlithgow, with other gentlemen; and after I had spoken with the said dowager, and coming from her, she called the said sir George unto her, who told me afterwards, that she had demanded of him, whether the child should be delivered into England or not? praying him to help to the contrary, because she was too young to be carried so far. And so she began to persuade me that she was nothing willing nor conformable to your majesty's purpose in that behalf. Thus your majesty may perceive, that some juggling there is; which, with the grace of God, a little time shall reveal unto your majesty. And, for my part, if my wit and experience would serve as well as my good will, I should the sooner decipher the same; wherein I shall, nevertheless, travel as well as I can, according to my most bounden duty."

Within a day or two after his visit to the queen-dowager, Sadler had an interview with the earl of Arran, and after some conversation, "the governor and I," he says, "entered other matter, which he began himself, and asked me how I liked the old queen, and the young queen? I said I liked them both well, and praised the young princess, which I said was a very goodly child, and like to live—(I added that, 'that she was like to live,' to hear what he would say, because I had heard before, both by the queen-dowager and otherwise, that he was of a contrary opinion.) He affirmed my saying, and asked me how I found the queen disposed towards the marriage. I said I had no commission to feel her mind in that part, but, generally, having commandment to visit her, being a noble personage, dowager of the realm, and to make your majesty's most hearty commendation unto her, for the which purpose I brought her your majesty's letters only of commendation; and, as far as I could perceive, I thought she would be well enough content

with the marriage, which, I said, if she tendered her own honour, with the advancement and benefit of her daughter, she could not but effectually desire and embrace. He answered, that, indeed, if she sought the world, she could not find so meet and so honourable a marriage, and that, unless she were unnatural to her daughter, she must needs be content with it; but, being a French woman, he thought she could not be best inclined towards England." "Here," Sadler continues, I thought to enter somewhat with him in this matter, and said thus unto him: 'My lord,' quoth I, 'I doubt not but ye know and consider that ye have to do with a noble, wise, and grave prince, that hath great experience of the affairs of the world, and, therefore, I would wish that ye should proceed with his majesty so sincerely, as he might well perceive ye minded effectually the accomplishment of such things as ye shall now propose and set forth by your ambassadors, as,' quoth I, 'ye have now sent them unto his majesty with ample commission, ye say, to conclude the marriage and the peace. But,' quoth I, 'if ye have not given them instructions also to conclude such things as depend upon those two points, in such sort as it may appear, you do indeed intend both to perform the marriage, and to establish such a peace as might be available to both realms, his majesty is a prudent and wise prince, and shall right facily decipher your intent, which not being so perfect as you pretend, might percase justly so irritate his majesty, as great inconvenience may follow.' He answered me, that as he did nothing alone, so the ambassadors had their commission given unto them by the three estates of the realm in parliament, for the conclusion of the said two points, which, for his part, he had earnestly set forth, maugre the wills of divers such, he said, as favoured neither God's word nor your majesty, and be wholly addicted to France. 'And,' quoth he, 'if I had not earnestly minded, that the king's majesty should have the marriage of our young queen, I could have had a contract betwixt her and my son passed and established by this parliament; wherein I am sure,' quoth he, 'no man would have been against me; trusting,' quoth he, 'that the king's majesty will the rather be friendly to me, for I have had mickle cumber among the kirk-men for his sake.' I assured him, if he proceeded plainly with your majesty, he should perceive that your majesty would so consider it as



should be to his singular commodity. And eftsoons I pressed him, if, as he said, he minded earnestly the marriage, that he would so offer and propose it, as it might so appear to your majesty; 'for,' quoth I, 'the offer, a bare contract without other circumstances, is not sufficient.' He said that when the ambassadors should be with your majesty, if the same should demand other things of them than they might conclude, they would advertise hither of the same with diligence, and, upon knowledge of your majesty's pleasure, order should be taken here for the accomplishment of all your majesty's reasonable demands."

Henry appears to have been quite as much deceived as his ambassador by the professions of the queen dowager. In a letter from the English court, written on the 27th of March, Sadler was informed that, "in the queen, considering the circumstances of her reasons, fashions, and behaviour unto you, with the manner of her entertainment, the king's majesty judgeth to be a frank and plain manner of proceeding, such as motherly love to the surety of her child should of reason easily persuade her. In the rest," it is added, "the king's majesty is in a marvellous perplexity what to say of them, being their deeds so repugnant to that the queen saith." Henry himself, in a letter of the 30th of March, directed his ambassador to reproach the Scottish nobles with their backwardness in his service, in a tone which must have tended directly to alienate them from the party which they had undertaken, with apparent sincerity, to support. Sadler was to expostulate with them, in the first place, on their neglect in giving frequent and particular information of Scottish affairs to the English court. Secondly, they were accused of acting according to their own pleasures, instead of consulting with him, and following his directions. "Thirdly," the king goes on to say, "ye shall tell them, that we marvel most of all at their proceedings in their parliament, wherein they seem to have provided by a special law, that we shall not have our purpose in the government of that realm, having established him governor and second person of the realm by the said parliament, whom some of them have reputed so unmeet to have government; as they know themselves best how eagerly they have spoken in that behalf; and whether this doth agree with their promises or not, let themselves consider. Once

this it importeth, certainly, that they cared not what they granted, nor what they omitted, so that they might serve their own purpose. Wherefore, ye shall, on our behalf, advise them as men whom we would be loath to lose, if by any good mean we can retain them, to weigh those matters as they ought to do; and if their ambassadors be not instructed to the purpose, let them procure that it may be out of hand supplied that wanteth. For you may say, and assure them we will no longer tolerate the matter, but either by one way or other, bring it to some better conclusion. And you may say, though none of them have proceeded so frankly with us as appertaineth, yet we know somewhat of the manner of all the doings of Scotland; what combination was made by oath by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray, with divers bishops, both for the delivery of the cardinal by force if it could not otherwise have been compassed, and for the destruction of the governor, the earl of Angus, and some other, which they yet purpose, though the earl of Huntley go now about to make a colour of alliance betwixt him and the governor by marriage, thereby to insinuate himself that he may know their counsels; which matter is of no small importance, and not to be lightly disclosed, but secretly searched for and prevented by wisdom. And here you may remember them, how much they owe and be bound to us, all the premises notwithstanding, that it pleaseth us thus frankly to give them monition and warning of such extreme dangers as be towards them, advising them again, even frankly, and like gentlemen, without any farther tract of time, to do that thing that may be to our satisfaction."

On the 2nd of April Sadler had another interview with the queen, of which he sent the following account to the English council:—"It may like your good lordships to understand, that as I wrote yesterday to your lordships, that I intended this day to ride to Linlithgow, so have I been there with the queen, whom I find in the same terms I left her at my first being with her. She told me that she sent for me to declare unto me how the governor had been with her, and what he said unto her; and also to know of me, how I found the said governor and all the lords inclined to the king's majesty, and the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt my lord prince's grace and her



daughter. And, first, she said she could perceive none other in the governor, but that he minded not the said marriage, intending rather to take this time to marry her to his son; assuring me that he said unto her, at his last being with her, that he would rather die than deliver the child into the king's hands; and that he would, nevertheless, give good words, and make fair weather, to get peace by that means, till better opportunity should serve to the execution of his purpose; as she saith also he prayed her to give good words, saying I was a haughty fellow, wherein I trust I should have testimony, if need were, that he mistaketh me. And then she required me to tell her how I found him and the lords inclined. I said I found them well given and affectionate to the marriage, and much desirous of the peace. 'Yea,' quoth she, 'but I am sure ye see not in them that they will or intend to deliver the child into the king's hands.' I told her I could not tell what they would do, but they give good words, and say they doubted not to satisfy his majesty in that behalf with reason. 'Yea,' quoth she, 'peradventure the governor will offer one of his sons in pledge for performance of the marriage, as,' quoth she, 'I have heard partly of it; but that is not sufficient, for he hath more sons nor one, and it is like enough that, for a kingdom, he will be content to lose one of them. Beside that,' quoth she, 'I hear say, they can be content that the king's majesty shall appoint a certain number of Englishmen and ladies to be here about the person of the young queen, for her better safeguard and surety. But what is that to the purpose?' quoth she; 'the king shall never the sooner recover her into his hands, if they here list to vary from their covenants. And therefore,' quoth she, 'I doubt not but his majesty, being a wise prince, hath had such experience of practices in the world, and of fair words, that he will not trust to words. At least,' quoth she, 'if they will not deliver the child into his hands, I would wish he should take sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, and also establish such a guard of English personages about her person as would look well to her security; for else,' quoth she, 'whatsoever they say or promise they will never observe, nor perform the marriage.' I assured her that the king's majesty proceeded plainly, and directed all his purpose to the preservation of her daughter, and the weal of this realm; and in

case they here should go about to abuse his clemency in that part, they might be sure, that as his majesty used them gently, and went about to win them in that sort to his devotion and godly purpose, tending chiefly to their benefit, so his majesty was always ready to use his force and princely power to bring them to reason, and would not fail in that case to execute the same. She told me that she thought assuredly all, or the most part, of the noblemen could be contented that the marriage with my lord prince's grace should take effect, but undoubtedly the governor did rather mind it to his own son. And greatly, she said, she feared the surety of the child, for she heard so many tales, that the governor would convey her to a strong house of his own, where she should be altogether in his hands, or into the isles. So that (as I perceive), she is in fear of her destruction, and I therefore wished her in England, which the queen also wished for her part, saying she should be then in her friends' hands, out of all danger."

On the day following this visit to the queen, Sadler received a visit from the lord Maxwell, one of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, and now a staunch supporter of the English party. He described strongly to the ambassador the difficulties with which they had to contend, showed the danger which must arise if they shocked the Scottish people by stating at first the full extent of the king of England's designs, and spoke of the ultimate probability of having to appeal to arms. "'And therefore,' quoth he, 'unless the fear of the war move them to deliver her, surely they will never consent to it; in which case, there is no other way to his majesty to come by his purpose,' quoth he, 'but to use his force; unless,' quoth he, 'it shall please his majesty to take some mean and indifferent way, either to take pledges for her delivery, when she shall be of lawful age to be married, or to appoint English men and women to be here about her, or both, which,' quoth he, 'I think the governor and all the noblemen here will be brought unto; and if this will not serve,' quoth he, 'by my truth, then must his majesty, as far as I see, go to it by force; which if it come so to pass, his majesty shall find me ready to perform and keep my promise, to the uttermost of my power. And then,' quoth he, 'the time shall be come, that shall reveal who will keep promise, as by my truth,' quoth



he, 'I dare say, there is not one of us, his majesty's prisoners, but is firmly determined upon the same.' 'How happened it,' quoth I, 'being so well minded to keep your promise, that, contrary to the same, ye have established a governor here by parliament?' 'By the mass, I cannot tell,' quoth he; 'we thought the king's majesty had been content that he should be governor; for,' quoth he, 'his majesty wrote many kind letters to him, and accepted him well. And if I durst,' quoth he, 'I would charge his majesty with one thing, which is, that he promised to send no safe-conduct, except some of us, his majesty's prisoners, were named in it, to come to his majesty for the conclusion of all matters to his grace's satisfaction. Wherefore,' quoth he, 'for my part, when I saw that his majesty, at the governor's suit, had sent a safe-conduct to such only as he named, I thought his majesty had well taken and reputed him for governor.' 'No, by St. Mary!' quoth I, 'it was far beside his majesty's expectation; and you may be sure,' quoth I, 'his majesty doth not yet repute him for governor, as if ye noted such letters as his highness wrote unto him, ye may perceive,' quoth I, 'by the direction of the same, where his majesty calleth him only, *the earl of Arran, occupying the place of governor*. But surely,' quoth I, 'there was some default amongst you, that ye wrote not, nor advertised the king's majesty from time to time of your proceedings, whereby ye might have had knowledge again from his majesty of his grace's pleasure, and advice how to have prevented such things.'

While Sadler was thus detailing his complicated negotiations, various events occurred which were calculated to create alarm, as proofs of the active intrigues of the cardinal and the queen. On the 30th day of March, the young earl of Lennox, who had been educated in the French service, and was looked upon as a devoted partisan of France, landed at Dumbarton, and proceeding thence to Glasgow, met there many of the Scottish lords. On the 10th of April, the alliance between the lords of the English party was sealed by the marriage of Angus with a daughter of the lord Maxwell; but the same day was marked by an event which had a far more important influence on the relations between the two countries. Cardinal Beaton had, as we have already seen, been committed as a prisoner to Blackness, under the charge

of lord Seton, but he had been subsequently permitted to change this prison for his own castle of St. Andrew's, to which he was conducted by Seaton with a feeble escort, which was afterwards ascribed to a design on the part of the governor to facilitate his escape. Lord Seton was a near relative of the Hamiltons, but he was a zealous, even a bigoted catholic, and it is probably to him, and to the intervention of Arran's brother, the abbot of Paisley, that we are to attribute the event which soon followed. On the 10th day of April, to use the quaint words of a contemporary recorder of these events, "the cardinall was releivit out of captivitie, and to pas quhair he pleisit, and gat the court in gyding."

Nothing could be more uncertain than the state of things at this moment in Scotland, as shown in the dispatches of the English ambassador. In a letter of the 8th of April, Sadler states that the lords of the English party suspected a design of the cardinal and the earl of Lennox to obtain possession of the queen's person, while at the same time the governor pretended to be apprehensive of an invasion on the part of England. The ambassador, alarmed at these indications of new revolutions, repaired to the earl of Arran, who put him off with fair assurances, and finished by stating, that "he wished all things might come to good pass." Sadler took this opportunity of alluding to the governor's professed views on church matters. "Here," he says, "I took occasion to enter some discourse with him of the perplexed state of this realm; how he stood himself in the contempt of the clergy here, who, with their adherents, knowing his affection to the truth of God's word, would not fail to take their time, as it should serve them, to devise his ruin and destruction. Wherefore, I advised him to consider what honour had been offered him by the king's majesty, [the king had offered to marry the princess, afterwards queen Elizabeth, to Arran's son], whereby he might well perceive his highness's zeal and affection towards him, and how great a stay his majesty should be unto him, as well in the maintenance and upholding of his authority and estate of this government, as also in the execution of all his godly purposes, both to bring this realm to due obedience, and in the advancement of God's glory, in setting forth of his true word and doctrine, which I thought of congruence



should move him freely and frankly to proceed with the king's majesty in all things, without sticking in any such matter, as they which percase would his ruin, shall or may persuade him to stay in, the rather to hold and keep him from the king's majesty, to the intent they might the better work their will upon him hercafter to his overthrow and utter destruction; which I assured him they would do as their time might serve them. He confessed all the same, saying it was true, and that if the king's majesty and this realm were once at a good peace and unity, they would all be afraid of him, where now both divers lords and all the clergy seem to be at utterance with him; wherefore his trust is, that the king's majesty will be a good lord to him; and as he desired nothing more than to do all that might be to his satisfaction with honour and reason, so he trusted the king's majesty would require nothing but that he and the estates of the realm might well embrace, wherein for his part he would be most willing and comfortable. And thus we discoursed of those things generally; wherein I did as much as I could to cause him smell the danger which must needs ensue to him, if he should relent and fall from the devotion of the king's majesty to the other party, which himself hath told me be of the cast of France; assuring him, that the bishops and clergy being of that party, knowing his disposition and opinion in Christian religion, would, when he thought himself most assured among them, work his destruction, as is aforesaid. He confessed the same, and has promised that he will in all things show and declare himself most addicted to the king's majesty, and most willing to satisfy all his lawful desires, not offending the liberty and freedom of this realm."

The day after this conversation, Sadler had another interview with the governor, to press further the matter of religious reform and the offer of marriage by which Henry hoped to flatter Arran's vanity and gain him over to his purposes. In a dispatch of the ninth of April, the ambassador says to his royal master: "Please it your royal majesty to understand that yesterday I received your majesty's letters of the fourth of April, containing the special points which your majesty's pleasure is I should communicate with the governour here, in such sort as it is expressed in your highness's said letters.

The first, touching the setting forth of the scripture; the second, for the extirpation of the monks and friars, with abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority; and the third, concerning your majesty's determination for the marriage of your highness's daughter, the lady Elizabeth, to the said governour's son. In which three points I have conferred this day at good length with the said governour, according to the very purport and contents of your majesty's said letters, as near as I could, and in such order as is prescribed unto me by the same. In the first point, I find him in such terms as your majesty would have him, for the setting forth of the scripture; wherein he saith, he hath taken such direction for the admonishing of his people to read it sincerely and quietly to themselves for their own knowledge, without taking upon them any sinister or rash interpretation of the same, as by act of parliament made here in that behalf, he told me, is fully set forth, with the banishment of all other English books, saving the mere scripture, being also of the best and truest translation; and when your majesty shall have perfected such books, as I told him your highness intended to set forth by public authority, containing such a certain doctrine, as is maintainable by the mere truth; if it may like your majesty to send him the same, he saith, he will not fail to publish it here, desiring, with all his heart, that these two realms may concur, not only in unity of the true understanding of God's words, but also by all other good means, to be knit and assured one another in perfect amity. To the second point, he told me that he desired no less the reformation of the abuses of the church, and the extirpation of the estate of monks and friars, with the abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, than your majesty doth; but that, saith he, will be an hard matter to bring to pass; for there be so many great men here, that be such papists and pharisees, (as he called them), that unless the sin of covetice bring them unto it, [that is, the desire of having the lands of the abbeyes,] he knoweth no other mean to win them to his purpose in that behalf. And here he told me that he thought all monasteries, and houses of religion, were first founded to pray for the souls being in the pains of purgatory; 'and,' quoth he, 'if there be no purgatory (as I am clearly of that opinion), these fundations,' quoth he, 'be in vain and frustrate, and methinketh,' quoth he, 'it is a



good ground whereupon to proceed to the extirpation of these sects ye speak of, of monks and friars, and to convert and employ the same to such better uses, as, quoth he, ye have declared unto me on the king's behalf. I told him he should find causes and grounds enough to proceed thereunto, if he would once go about it. Whereunto he answered, that were the peace once concluded, and all things well established betwixt your majesty and this realm, he would as well in that as in all other things, proceed by your advice and counsel afore all other princes living. Then went I to the third point, touching the marriage to be had betwixt your majesty's said daughter and the governor's son, which matter I handled with him as seriously as my poor wit could serve me, and as near as I could, omitted no point of the charge which your majesty gave me in that part by your said letters. The governor, understanding the great honour your majesty did offer unto him in that behalf, put off his cap, and said, he was most bound of all men unto your majesty in that it pleased the same, being a prince of so great reputation in the world, to offer such alliance and marriage with so poor a man as he is, for the which he should bear his heart and service to your majesty next unto his sovereign lady during his life. He confessed both what honour the same should be unto him, and what advancement of his blood in the reputation of the world; what benefit, honour, and surety, it should be to himself and all his posterity; and also what stay and assistance he might thereby have of your majesty, as well in the quiet use and continuance of his place, office, and authority of this government without interruption; as also in and for the better execution of all his good purposes tending to the setting forth of God's word, and the advancement of God's glory, in the extirpation of hypocrisy, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. But yet he would not confess, nor believeth, that any such combination should be contrived against him by the lords and bishops, who would not come to him at the first, as is comprised in your majesty's said letters; alledging that if the peace was once established, he could and would rule them, he doubted not, at his own pleasure and devotion. And as for their parliament matter, he said, they were wholly and solemnly agreed upon by all the states of the realm, none absent but the earl of Argyle, who, being himself sick, sent his

procurator. But, touching the cardinal, he said, he was as evil served in that matter as ever was man; for he had committed him to the keeping of the lord Seton, who standeth bound in his life and inheritance for his sure keeping. And yet, nevertheless, quoth he, the cardinal is master of his own house, where he is, and has his liberty as well as you or I. I told him then he might perceive your majesty's opinion was true, in that your majesty did advertise him, that where he removed the cardinal to his own house, to get thereby an entry into the castle, it was the next way to lose both him and the said castle; which he swore was true, and that the lord Seton, whom he trusted chiefly, had deceived him, saying that he had thereby forfeited both his life, and his lands, if he list to put him to that extremity. I asked him what he minded to do in that behalf? He told me he was at his wits' end in the matter, but he would devise with the council thereupon, and see what they would determine."

The same letter details a conversation with sir George Douglas, who had visited the cardinal at St. Andrews, and informed him that he was kept under no restraint; on the 10th he was at large. The cardinal had commissioned Douglas to assure the English ambassador that he was devoted to the English king, and that he sought before all things to do him service. It was the policy at this moment of Beaton and his party to excite the suspicions of the English ministers against the Douglasses and the earl of Arran, and they seem in some degree to have been successful. "Since my last writing to your majesty," Sadler proceeds to say, "the cardinal sent a chaplain of his unto me, with the self-same message and tale that he told to the said sir George Douglas, as is before expressed; and offered unto me all the gratuity and pleasure he could, with commendation of his service unto your majesty. Whereunto I answered, that forasmuch as I knew not in what case he stood, hearing tell that he was committed upon sundry great crimes, it became me not, nor I would not require any gratuity or pleasure at his hand; but if he were his own man, and in such case as I might lawfully commune or treat with him, I would be the rather glad to use his advice, if I thought he would play the part of a good minister, for the good perfection of such things as might tend to the benefit and wealth of both these realms. The said



chaplain told me then, that his master the cardinal bade him say unto me, that where he understood your majesty was informed how that he should have been the impediment and let that the late king of Scots came not to your majesty, he was able to prove that he was unjustly reported to your highness in that part; and whatsoever information was made unto your majesty, he had always as great a regard and desire to the increase of amity betwixt these two realms as any man living, wherein, when it shall be his chance to speak with your majesty, he shall declare himself by pregnant reasons. And also, since the dispatch of my said last letters, there hath been with me the lord Fleming;\* who, in discoursing with me of the state and success of his promise amongst others made unto your majesty, told me, that if your highness had not all your desire and purpose, the Douglasses were most to blame therefor; for they had established a governor here most unmeet to bear the name and occupy the place of such an office and estate, whom they only did support, and with whom also they might do what they would, and specially sir George Douglas; so as if they did not work with him all your majesty's affairs in such sort as they promised, your great liberality bestowed upon them was evil employed. And he said, if sir George Douglas had not taken upon him to work all things, as he did, after his own phantasy and appetite, your majesty might have had your whole purpose ere this time. I understand there is some discussion betwixt them and the said lord Fleming, for an office of sheriffship here within this realm, and that percase moved him to speak the more against them. Nevertheless I heard him quietly; and then began he to dispraise the said governor, saying that he was the greatest dissembler and the most inconstant man in the world; and therefore for his part he meddled not with him, nor came not to him, who, he thought, minded nothing less than the marriage of the young queen here to my lord prince's grace; assuring me that, after he came from your majesty, the said governor said unto him that he would rather take the said young queen and carry her with him into the isles, and go dwell there, than he would consent to marry her into England. Whereunto, he

said, he answered, that if he so did, your majesty, for the value of ten pounds Scots, could have one of the Irish ketherns there to bring you his head. And further he told me that, unless your majesty had the child delivered into your hands, which would not here be granted, or else sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, he thought assuredly the same should never take effect. And as for pledges, he said, if the governor were well content and minded to grant the same, it lieth not in his power to perform it with good pledges; for he should never get a nobleman in the realm that would lay pledge in England for the matter. Finally he told me that he came even then from the queen dowager, who bade him make her recommendations unto me, and therewith to tell me that the governor had been with her since my last being with her there, and had demanded of her whether your majesty did make unto her any offer of marriage, and whether she intended to go dwell in England. Whereunto she answered, that if your majesty, being one of the noblest princes of the greatest reputation this day in the world, should mind or offer unto her such honour, she could not but account herself most bound to your highness for the same. And the governor said again, that your majesty dissembled altogether with her in whatsoever I said unto her on your behalf; and that whatsoever she said or signified unto your majesty, your grace did again advertise him of the same. This the lord Fleming told me from the queen; whom he saith your majesty shall find a true and plain gentlewoman in all her proceedings, and singularly well affected to all your majesty's desires. Finally, he told me that he had written a letter to my lord privy seal, whereby he had declared some part of his mind; and shortly, he told me, he would afore his day go to his entry, and repair unto your majesty for the further declaration of his mind; and for his part he was fully determined to serve your majesty to the uttermost of his power, according to his promise, as (if these matters proceeded to force) your highness should well perceive. Thus I write unto your royal majesty every man's tale in such sort as I hear them; whereby your grace may perceive the perplexed state of those things and

\* Lord Fleming was one of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, and was liberated with the other lords on his promise of supporting Henry's demands; for a while he held his promise, and was trusted,

but he was at this moment deserting the English party to join that of the cardinal, a circumstance which will explain the tone of his conversation on the present occasion.



affairs here, and thereupon judge the better by your more excellent wisdom, what is most expedient to be done for the accomplishment of your most noble and virtuous desires."

The day after the date of this letter, as we have already stated, the cardinal escaped; and Sadler no sooner heard of this new intrigue than he obtained an audience of the governor to hear his explanations relating to it. Arran threw the blame upon the lord Seton, and, to use the words of the ambassador, "seemed to be much moved with the matter;" upon which Sadler inquired what steps he proposed to take to protect himself against this powerful antagonist. "'But now,' quoth I, 'since the cardinal is at his liberty, what intend you to do in that matter?' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'I have, by the advice of the council, sent my brother, the abbot of Paisley, unto him, to look if he can induce him to come hither; and,' quoth he, 'since he had his liberty, he said he would serve me, and that, leaving utterly the cast of France, he would be wholly as I am,' quoth he, 'given to the cast of England; which if he will do, the rather I shall be content to extend favour and mercy unto him. But,' quoth he, 'I think verily he will not come to me, fearing lest I should eftsoons lay hand on him. And it is told me,' quoth he, 'that he will go further northwards, to Arbroath, among his friends, where he thinketh,' quoth he, 'to be in surety; but by God's blood,' quoth he, 'if he do so, I will follow and pursue him so near, that I will either have him into my hands again, or else,' quoth he, 'I will die upon him.' 'And, sir,' quoth I, 'do ye intend, in case he come hither, to remit him?' 'I pray you,' quoth he, 'what is your advice in that part?' 'My lord,' quoth I, 'I am not able to give you advice; but if it may please you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cause he was apprehended, I will tell you,' quoth I, 'mine opinion.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my lord warden, my lord Lysle,' quoth he, 'that the cardinal had procured the duke of Guise to come hither with an army to subdue this realm, and to take the government of the same; whereof now,' quoth he, 'we have no proof, nor we perceive not,' quoth he, 'that the same was true. Nevertheless,' quoth he, 'we have other matters

to charge him with; for he did counterfeit,' quoth he, 'the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead,' quoth he, 'he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper; and besides that,' quoth he, 'since he was prisoner, he hath given special and secret command to his men to keep his hold and castle of St. Andrews against us; which,' quoth he, 'is a plain disobedience and rebellion.' I engrieved [*exasperated*] these crimes as much as I could, and told him that I heard say, he had forgiven and pardoned the cardinal of that crime in forging of the king's testament, as indeed communing yesterday with the lord Somerville in that matter, he told me it was so; nevertheless, the governor assured me, that he never gave the cardinal remission for the same. Whereupon I told him, that my poor opinion was, though the cardinal come hither at his sending for, he should never admit him to his presence, nor yet so hastily remit his offences, which being so great, he could not, with his honour, pardon in such sort, specially considering the said cardinal had so heaped one fault upon another, as besides his great crimes which he was committed upon, he had, as it were, by a mean broken prison; wherefore, if he should thereupon clearly release him, it should not only much impair his estimation, but also be a great courage to all offenders to double their offences, thinking thereby the rather to obtain remission and pardon. Wherefore, I said it was best, in my poor opinion, that if the cardinal come hither, he should be committed to the custody of some noblemen here in the town, and not go abroad, nor come in the governor's presence, nor yet be restored to liberty, until he had your majesty's advice in the same, which I said I doubted not should be shortly. 'And seeing,' quoth I, 'you ask mine advice, I have now told you the same.' Whereupon he paused a little, and said he thought it not amiss, and would devise farther in that behalf with the council, praying me, in the mean season, to advertise your majesty of the whole matter, and to make his declaration in the same. And then leaving that matter, he told me, that he had communed with his secret friends, touching the marriage betwixt your majesty's daughter and his son; and they not only thought him, as he also thought himself, most bounded unto your majesty for the great honour was offered unto him



in that behalf, but also had determined, that it was an overture most meet and requisite for him most willingly to accept and embrace. 'And,' quoth he, 'I am bound to creep on my knees to do his majesty service, for his great clemency and goodness extended towards me therein. Wherefore,' quoth he, 'forasmuch as I remember well you told me, that the king's majesty, in case I should go through with him in all other matters, had resolved upon this marriage, if I should desire the same; therefore it is meet,' quoth he, 'that I should desire it; so when all those other matters be concluded, or at a good point, which,' quoth he, 'there is no doubt but we shall easily agree upon, unless the king's majesty go about to take away the liberty and freedom of this realm; and to bring the same to his obedience and subjection; I shall then,' quoth he, 'send to his majesty to desire the said marriage for my son.' Here I repeated unto him the great honour and manifold commodities that should grow unto him by the same, in such sort as I was instructed by your majesty's last letters, which he affirmed. And ever according to the contents of your highness's said letters, I bound upon him for the sending of his son, in case this marriage should take effect, to be nourished and educated in your majesty's court; wherein I found him most willing and conformable. In this discourse, also he told me, that if the peace were concluded, he would not be long from your majesty. And again, he prayed me, to write immediately unto your majesty, both for his declaration in the cardinal's liberty, and also on his behalf, most humbly to thank your majesty for the great honour and advancement minded towards him by your highness, for the which your majesty should be assumed of his heart and service for ever, which, I assure your majesty, he spake as heartily, and with greater affection in appearance, than I can devise to express it. I promised him then, that I would forthwith write unto your majesty according to his desire, and so departed from him."

Soon after this conversation the earl of Arran began to show a leaning towards the party of the cardinal, and he was certainly urged to it by the violence with which king Henry pressed his unreasonable demands. On the 18th of April, Sadler had a long interview with sir George Douglas, and afterwards with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, who spoke without hesi-

tation of the governor's backslidings, which they ascribed to the influence of his brother the abbot of Paisley, who, they said, since his return from France, had so ruled and counselled him, that whatever he professed to them one day, he changed his mind before the morrow; and the abbot was stated to be a devoted partizan of France and the cardinal. "And this evening," continues Sadler, "came to me the said earl of Glencairn, who showed me that the governor was much altered, and utterly determined to abide the extremity of the war, rather than condescend to the accomplishment of your majesty's desires, in such sort as is contained in the schedule delivered to their ambassadors, which they have sent hither. And also a great number of the council being now here were of the same opinion, none standing with your majesty's desires but your majesty's prisoners, and such as they have drawn to their devotion, as the earl Marshal and the lord Ruthven. And as for sir George Douglas, he hath no voice in council; so as when all the lords and bishops shall assemble, unto which time they have put off the further consultation of this matter, that is to say, till Sunday or Monday next, the said earl of Glencairn assureth me, there will be six voices against your majesty to their one. Wherefore, he saith, if your majesty be resolved to stand upon those points, it shall be requisite to prepare your force and army, both by land and sea, and in time to declare your high pleasure how your majesty will resolve for them which be here your prisoners; whether they shall make them ready to enter at their day into England, or remain here together to put themselves in force, able to keep a party in this country till your majesty's army come to them; and what shall be your majesty's pleasure in that part, they will undoubtedly follow the same to the uttermost of their power. I told him it should be most requisite for them in time to look to the surety of the person of the young queen, and to get her into their hands if it was possible. And he said the governor would nowise remove her now to the castle of Edinburgh, but they would have sure regard that he should not take her away to any other place without resistance to their possibility, and will do what they can to be sure of her. Besides that, I told him it were more than necessary for them to get some of the strongholds into their hands, according to your majesty's former



advice. Whereunto he answered, that your majesty should be sure of Tantallon, and such other strongholds as were in the hands of the lord Maxwell; the rest, he said, were hard to come by, but believed they should be able to keep and hold this town (Edinburgh) maugre the governor and all his partakers, and trusted also to keep him here with them, either with or against his will, while your majesty's army should arrive; praying me to advertise your majesty with all speed thereof, to the intent they may the sooner know what your gracious pleasure is to have them do; for the execution whereof they will put themselves in readiness accordingly. I said it was much to my marvel why the governor, or any good Scotsman, should refuse your majesty's said desires, considering they were so reasonable and so beneficial for them, and prayed him to tell me upon what point they stuck so fast. He answered that in nowise would they agree to the delivery of the child within two years. I asked him, what time they would require for her delivery? He said they would have her eleven years old first; but in that point, for the certain time, they were not yet resolved, but had put it off to the assembly of the whole council; and for pledges, he thought they would come to it hardly. And likewise for the perpetual peace, he trusted that a great many would be of their opinion to grant it in such part as your majesty required it; but for the delivery of the child within two years, he saw perfectly they would never grant it. And also the governor, he saith, doth much mislike the appointment by your majesty of his government, with such conditions and qualifications as in the said schedule is expressed, which he will in nowise accept. These things, he saith, they stick upon, which, for his part, he thinketh nevertheless reasonable, and saith, he told so the governor, advising him to look well upon them, and to bear off the inconveniences which might follow the refusal of the same. And also he saith, he told the said governor that he might be sure of the war, if he should not herein apply to reason, which it should be more than necessary for him to consider and foresee how they might be able to resist it; which, if he weighed well, he should soon perceive a great lack and diffurniture. Whereunto he saith, the governor answered quickly, that this realm had defended itself hitherto, and God would help them in their right; and as for him,

he told him he spoke only for his own part, and such as were your majesty's prisoners, which, though they were all tied in fetters in England, he should nevertheless cause their friends and kinsmen to serve in their places. And the earl of Glencairn saith, he told him plainly again, that if they were all tied in fetters in England, he might be sure, that never a friend nor kinsman of theirs would serve him till they were loose; and that he spake not so much for his own part, because he was your majesty's prisoner, but of his very duty and special zeal he hath to the preservation of the young queen and benefit of this realm; which, he telleth me, that he and all the rest of your majesty's servants and friends here will make their quarrel, and stand fast to your majesty in the same, according to their promise, if this matter grow to such extremity, as is now very like."

On the 20th, Sadler wrote again to the English king—"Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day I have had access to the governor, and at our meeting I told him, that I understood he had received letters from his ambassadors, by the which, I doubted not, he did well perceive how reasonably and plainly your majesty proceeded, and how much your highness tendered the surety and preservation of your pronepte (*great niece*), and the universal benefit of this realm; trusting that, for his part, he would show himself again in such terms towards your majesty, and so conformable in that behalf, as it should not appear to the world that he alone neglected the opportunity and occasion offered of God, and by your majesty embraced, for the conjunction of both these realms in perfect unity and perpetual peace. He wished that your majesty would proceed reasonably, for he thought your demands very sharp, and such as he was sure the states of the realm would not agree unto; and, for his part, he could not be induced nor persuaded to condescend unto the same. I told him, that I had received letters from your majesty, by the which I could not perceive but that your desires were such as no man of reason could judge unreasonable, to the intent I might (if it would be) satisfy him with reason. He said, first, your majesty would have the child delivered and brought into your realm within two years, and pledges in the mean season for the same, which he thought to be against all reason; for having her in England, if it should please



God to call the prince to his mercy, he said your majesty might marry her to whom it pleased you within your own realm, against the will and consent of this realm; besides other inconveniences, which might grow of her being out of her own realm. Secondly, he said, your majesty would have them friends to friends, and enemies to enemies, by mean whereof they should lose their old friends, as France and Denmark. But, to the third part, which, he said, touched himself, for the place of governor here, he passed not hereupon; for he regarded not so much the authority of the place, as he tendered his duty to his sovereign lady, and the wealth and benefit of the realm."

The ambassador had an interview the same day with the lords of the English party, who spoke with confidence of the success which must attend the king's arms, in case of an invasion, and pledged themselves to co-operate with his army to their utmost power. On the 22nd of April sir George Douglas visited him, and gave him fuller assurance that the governor was preparing to unite himself with the cardinal, who was supported by the earls of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Moray, and all the clergy. "Then," says Sadler, "we began somewhat to discourse of the estate of these affairs, wherein he told me that he had laboured all this while to bring all things to good pass in quiet and peaceable manner; but seeing it will not be, whereof he is most sorry, he will serve your majesty like a true gentleman, according to his bounden duty, in so much as if your majesty will extend your force, sending your royal army, and stick to your poor servants and friends here, which else shall be undone, he doubteth not but his brother and he, the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, and the lord Maxwell, with their friends, shall deliver into your majesty's hands all the country on this side of the water of Forth this summer. In which case, he said, your majesty must preserve and defend the country from burning and spoiling, and come in as a conqueror, making proclamations to defend all such as will submit themselves; whereby your majesty, he saith, shall not only win the people's hearts by preserving them from spoil, but also have the better commodity of victuals for such garrisons as must remain here in the winter, for the guard of such conquest as your majesty shall make this summer. And here, he said, he trusted

to have occasion to repair now to your majesty, for in this assembly they would determine to make an answer to your majesty, and if it be such as may be acceptable, he will go most gladly; if not, yet if they will have him go, he will not refuse it, because he may thereby have the commodity to declare unto your majesty the estate of all this country, with his poor mind and opinion how your majesty shall provide for the conquest of the same. Whereof, I told him, I would advertise your majesty, and then I asked him whether he thought not that the governor would grow to any reasonable point in the satisfaction of your majesty's demands. Whereunto he answered me, that the governor was so far gone, so fickle and inconstant, that he durst promise nothing of him, for now revolting to the other party, which be all French, he will surely be of the same cast, and then undoubtedly will agree to nothing that may be against France. Again, he saith they will not surely agree to the deliverance of the child till she be of lawful age. And as for pledges in the mean season, he is in great doubt that the same will be granted, for he thinketh that such pledges as were meet to be accepted of your majesty, will not lye out of the realm for any such purpose; so that he is far out of hope that your majesty shall be answered to your satisfaction. The abbot of Paisley, he saith, hath been the only cause of the governor's alteration, which abbot is all for France, and the cardinal's great friend; and, since his coming home, the governor hath been altogether ruled by him."

On the 26th of April, after an interview with the governor, Sadler wrote again to the king, and in the course of his despatch he says:—"I bear them (the lords of the English party) still in hand, that your majesty will not relent in any part of your desires, the same being so reasonable as they ought not to be refused here. In which case, they say, your majesty must then win the same by force, for otherwise it will not be granted; and if it come to the point, they will serve your majesty as they have promised. But here they complained much of the lack of silver to bear their charges withal, saying that the entertainment of such companies as they keep here about them, is so chargeable to them, as without your majesty's help, they be not able to sustain it; and yet, say they,



if they had not had such force and strength here with them, as whereby they might be able to be too strong a party for the other side, it was very like that the governor would have left them, and also percase would have devised to have betrayed some of them. I told them they might be sure their service could not be lost, for your majesty was a prince of such honour, as both could and would consider every man's service, and reward the same accordingly; which he confessed. And the lord Maxwell told me apart, that indeed he lacked silver, and had no way of relief but to your majesty, which he prayed me to signify unto the same. I asked him what would relieve him, and he said three hundred pounds; for the which, he said, as your majesty seemed, when he was with your grace, to have him in more trust and credit than the rest of your majesty's prisoners, so he trusted to do you as good service as any of them, and amongst them they will do you such service as, if the war succeed, ye shall make an easy conquest of this realm; as for his part, he shall deliver unto your hands, at the entry of your army, the keys of the same on the west marches, being all the strongholds there in his custody. I offered him presently to write to my lord of Suffolk for a hundred pounds for him, if he would; but he said he would stay till he heard again from your majesty in that behalf. Also the earl of Glencairn and the said lord Maxwell asked me whether I had answer from your majesty for the changing of their pledges? saying they had a marvellous great lack of their eldest sons. I told them I had no word thereof, and then the lord Maxwell swore a great oath, that he thought your majesty had them in some suspicion; and yet, for all that, they would be true men to your majesty. The earl of Glencairn prayed me to write to your majesty, and to beseech the same for the passion of God, to encourage them so much as to give them trust, for they were already commonly hated here for your majesty's sake, and throughout the realm called the English lords, and such ballads and songs made of them, how the English angels had corrupted them, as have not been heard; so as they have almost lost the hearts of the common people of this realm, and be also suspected of the governor and nobility of the same; and if your majesty should also mistrust them, they were in a hard case. Wherefore,

seeing they were minded, as indeed they would serve your majesty with their bodies, goods, and all their power, according to their bond and promise, from which they will never vary nor digress, they beseech your majesty to give them trust and credit, which, if they may perceive, shall be most to their comfort; wherein I did as much as I could to satisfy them, and to say my poor opinion of them to your majesty; surely, if men be trusted by their words and promises, by constant asseverations and oaths, they will show and prove themselves true gentlemen to your majesty; for it is not possible for men to declare themselves in appearance more earnest, nor better determined in that part than they do; though they labour nevertheless for the satisfaction of your majesty in quiet manner, if by any good means it may be brought to pass; and I see not but the earls of Angus, of Glencairn, and Cassilis, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, and sir George Douglas, do adhere firmly together, and draw all by one line, who undoubtedly had a great band of gentlemen, and other their friends, tenants, and servants, belonging unto them, in a manner the whole strength of this country on this side the water of Forth."

While these negotiations were going on in Scotland, the ambassadors of the Scottish parliament had proceeded to England, and had been received by king Henry. In their first audience, on Wednesday, the 11th of April, and in a discourse with the privy council next day, they stated the views of their government with regard to the questions then at issue. After introducing the marriage and the peace as things sought by England, they proceeded to state the conditions on which the Scottish parliament would agree to them. They insisted "that their queen should not depart out of her realm till she were of full age to consummate her matrimony;" they agreed that Henry should appoint two English knights and two English ladies to be about her person; "adding hereunto," to use the words in which the king himself relates these proceedings, "that they would have the governor that is now, to be governor of that realm during her minority, and also after for term of his life, and that they would have a governor of the birth of that realm ever after at their own election, with the free use of their own laws and customs, and also the chief holds of Scotland not be delivered till she had issue by our son."

With respect to peace, they were empowered to enter into a treaty for any length of time, and to make no exception with regard to France, but they were not prepared to renounce the existing league with that country, and "become friend to friend, and enemy to enemy." Next day the ambassadors were again called before the privy council, and they were made acquainted with the king's final determination. He no longer insisted on the immediate delivery of the princess, but he demanded pledges for the marriage and for the peace, and that he should have the appointment of the persons, whether Scotch or English, who were to have charge of her person. He agreed that the earl of Arran should retain the government, and that their governor should be always in future one born in Scotland; but he wished to reserve for himself and his son the appointment and the right of displacing him for misbehaviour. He also consented that they should preserve their laws and customs, and demanded only that the fortresses should be delivered into the hands of Scotchmen whom he "should think meet for the same." The ambassadors were not prepared with replies to these proposals, and, with some expostulation on the king's claim to supremacy over Scotland, they returned to their own country. Their report certainly injured the prospects of the English party in Scotland.

The impression created more by the tone of Henry's demands, even than by the demands themselves, gave new strength to the cardinal. This crafty politician had no sooner obtained his liberty, than he entered

into communication with the earl of Lennox, in whom he saw an apt instrument for his purposes. Lennox was nearly related to the crown, and Beaton did not scruple to encourage his ambition by holding out the prospect of a marriage with the queen-dowager, and by setting abroad a report that the late king had declared his wish, that, if he died childless, this young nobleman should be his successor on the throne. It was even hinted, that in consequence of some informality in the divorce between Arran's father and his second wife, the governor, who was the offspring of a second marriage, was illegitimate, in which case his vast estates and his title to the throne of Scotland would, as a matter of course, fall to the earl of Lennox. The cardinal, moreover, had already opened a negotiation with the king of France, who had entrusted Lennox with a verbal promise of assistance in arms and money to the party who were opposed to the views of the English monarch. The conduct of the governor at this moment appears to have been wavering; the increasing influence of the cardinal inclined him to lean towards him, while a feeling of jealousy towards the earl of Lennox held him back. Under these circumstances it was thought best by the lords in the English interest to send sir George Douglas to England, to show the king the wisdom of yielding still more in his demands, and he succeeded so far, that it was determined by the governor and his friends to send sir George with the earl of Glencairn publicly to England, to join with the other ambassadors in renewing the treaty.

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## CHAPTER XI.

SIR RALPH SADLER'S NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED; THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND AGREED TO.

SADLER now redoubled his efforts to gain over the Scottish lords to the will of his sovereign, and he even held out the prospect of bribes to some of those who were understood to support the cardinal. In a letter to the king, dated on the 1st of May, he says—"I have in that behalf communed apart with the earls of Murray and Argyle,

who were noted all for France; and also with the earl Marshal, who hath ever borne a singular good affection to your majesty, which three, if I could have won to those that be already assured to your majesty, all the rest, save the kirkmen, I think would have gone the same way. I promised them largely on your majesty's



behalf, in general terms; but yet I could not frame them to my purpose. The earls of Murray and Argyle were at the first directly against the delivery of the child, or pledges; but with pledges they be now well content, and say expressly, that they mind nothing more than that the marriage should take effect, which they wish for with all their hearts, as the thing that righteously, they say, shall knit both the realms in one dominion; but, until the same shall be so united, by consummation of the marriage, they will preserve the liberty and freedom of this realm to the uttermost of their power, wherein they will employ and spend their lives; thinking that your majesty, having the child once delivered into your hands, had also forthwith the obedience and subjection of the realm. Reciting all such other inconveniences which might happen upon her being out of her own realm, as I have heretofore written unto your majesty, and notwithstanding all the persuasions and promises I could make unto them, I could not remove them from that mind and opinion; they protest unto me, that they covet and desire no prince's amity in the world so much as your majesty's; and that they will do what stead and service they can to your highness, not offending their duty of allegiance unto their sovereign lady, and the liberty and freedom of the realm. As for France, they might not declare themselves enemy to France, but they would take no part with them, nor no other prince or potentate in the world, against your majesty. And this was all I could get of them, notwithstanding all the persuasion I could use unto them. And yet the earl of Cassillis hath travelled much with the said earl of Murray, to bring him to this perfection, to grant pledges, which he was very far from at the first. The earl Marshal was more frank with me, and said, if your majesty accept the contract of marriage in such sort as it shall be offered, that is to say, with pledges for the performance of the same, and deliverance of the child about her lawful age, he will surely serve your highness against France. Also the said earl of Murray said unto me, that if it might please your grace to accept and embrace these things at the first, in such sort as they might perceive your majesty went about to win them by love and kindness, there was no doubt but, as time did alter many things, so by time that the noblemen of this realm had acquaintance of your majesty,

your grace might by dulce and gentle means come by your whole purpose, which by the wars your majesty should find very difficult to be obtained, notwithstanding, he said, that the prisoners had promised you very largely such things as he knew they were not able to perform. The governor himself is now wholly on your majesty's party; and yesterday, at four of the clock in the afternoon, he sent for me, and told me, that never man had so much ado as he had to bring the nobility of this realm to any reasonable point or conformity, for the satisfaction of your majesty's desires; and the traitor bishops, he said, would grant to no part of the same, but the earls of Murray and Argyle were now good and reasonable gentlemen. As for the earl of Bothwell, he said, your majesty had ill bestowed your liberality upon him, for he was directly against all your majesty's demands; alleging that he would forsake Scotland, France, and England, for ever, rather than he would consent to lay pledges for the performance of the marriage, which undoubtedly he said openly before all the council, as both the earls of Angus and Cassillis told me. Nevertheless the said governor said, that with much difficulty he had won all the noblemen, and brought them to such point, that they had resolved, it was better to lay pledges than to have the war; whereupon, he said, they had agreed, that your majesty should have good pledges, as earls and lords of this realm, for the perfection of this marriage, and deliverance of the young queen within a year or two of her lawful age. And for the peace, he said they stuck so hard upon the observation of their leagues with France, that he could not induce them to such conclusion with your majesty, as to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy; but whensoever your majesty had to do with France, they would nevertheless be assured friends to your majesty, and take no part against you, nor yet receipt, comfort, or maintain any of your grace's enemies; and this, he said, was all he could bring them to, if his life lay upon it. And yet, he said, he had laid reason unto them, that, it were even as good for them to covenant expressly against France, as to promise to your majesty, that they will take no part with France; in which case they shall be sure to lose their friendship and estimation with France for ever, and thereby percase so move, and give occasion of war to France against them, that they shall be enforced



thereby to seek aid of your majesty, which if they refuse now to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy, your highness is not bound to give unto them. And, quoth he, if France or Denmark work us any cumber, there is no doubt but we must come then on our knees, and beseech his majesty, that we may be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy. This reason, he said, with all the persuasions he could allege, he used with them, which, nevertheless, they would not favour. I told him, I thought they would be content to do as he would have them. But he swore a great oath, he could not persuade them to it, for all that he could do; as, he doubted not, the earl of Angus, my lord Maxwell, and other, which were, he said, assured to your majesty, could tell me what he had done in that behalf. Wherefore he prayed me, with his cap in his hands, as instantly as he could, to write his good mind to your majesty, and that he desired nothing in this world so much, as to have your majesty his good and gracious lord, most humbly beseeching the same to accept and embrace these offers now at the first entirely, and though they be not so fully to your satisfaction as your majesty desireth, yet he swore a great oath, that whilst he is governor, your highness being his good lord, and supporting him, he will not fail as time shall serve, to satisfy your majesty in all the rest of your demands, which cannot now be obtained, with all the stead and service, that shall lie in the uttermost of his power."

Arran, who was now in profession all English, offered, in accepting the marriage with the princess Elizabeth, to send his own son to the English court to remain as a pledge; although Sadler was assured the same day that he had been only hindered from going over to the party of the cardinal by the expostulations of sir George Douglas. "This day," continues Sadler in the same despatch, "I have also spoke with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and with the lord Maxwell and Somerville, according to the continuance of your majesty's said letters. And albeit since mine advertisements whereupon your majesty wrote your said letters, things have changed and altered here, as your majesty now perceiveth; nevertheless, I thought it not amiss to confer with the said earls and lords upon the point of the said letters. And considering that their demerit here is most necessary, till these matters be at some conclusion,

which cannot be afore their day of entry being at hand, I declared unto them, that your majesty had prolonged their day [of returning to England as prisoners] until Midsummer; and also the considerations whereupon your highness had determined the same, which they thought to serve to special good purpose. And besides that, knowing that they had been now at great charge with abiding in this town, and also with retaining good numbers of men about them, which here is chargeable, I thought it good to tell them, that your majesty, of your own mere motion and benignity, hath sent every of them a remembrance for their cost and charges now sustained; assuring them, that God giving unto your majesty the accomplishment of your good purpose, they and their posterity should have cause to confess that they served a most gracious master, which they took in marvellous good part, and most humbly thanked your majesty for the same. And though the case be changed, and all things now in so good quietness, as they need not to be at such charge in retaining of force presently, as was thought if the governor had revolted, yet because they have been at charge, and had complained to me for lack of silver, as indeed I know they be but poor men, and none rich here to speak of but kirkmen; I therefore thought it best, for the better encouraging of them to serve, to bestow your highness's liberality upon them, as proceeding of your majesty's own mere remembrance. And so I told every of them apart, what your highness had determined in that behalf; that is to say, to every of the two earls of Cassillis and Glencairn three hundred marks; and your majesty having committed the rest to my discretion, because the lord Maxwell had required a relief of three hundred pounds as in my last letters to your majesty appeareth; I thought best to tell him, that your highness had now of himself remembered him with three hundred marks, which coming in such sort unasked was better than three hundred pounds, and yet, if he would tarry till he should hear again from your majesty, I would write what he desired. He answered me, that he esteemed that two hundred pounds sent of your own remembrance, better than one thousand pounds otherwise bestowed upon him, and prayed me to speak nothing of his further demand. Also, I told the lord Somerville that your majesty had sent him two hundred marks. And thus I have bestowed so much of your



majesty's liberality, in such sort as none of them knoweth by me what another hath. And I think one hundred pounds were not amiss bestowed on the earl Marshal; for, surely, I think, if those matters come to force, he will take such part as the earl of Angus doth, and so it is told me secretly; wherefore, knowing your majesty's pleasure in that behalf, I shall ensue the same accordingly. And my lord of Cassillis telleth me, that money will also tempt the earl of Murray, who is no rich man; but that must be with a greater sum than any of the rest have, for the which, it is thought, he might be easily induced to enter himself for one of the pledges for the performance of the marriage. Furthermore, I entered with the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassillis, and the lords Maxwell and Somerville, touching their advice where your majesty's army should enter by sea and land, with declaration of your majesty's pleasure unto them for the secrecy of the same, and also how your majesty intended therein to use them as your principal counsellors. Whereupon they debated, wishing, that if the war succeeded, your majesty do so look aforehand to the furniture of your army with victual, and all things necessary, as the same may be able to remain and continue within this realm for the accomplishment of your majesty's purpose. And it was their part, they said, to devise for the surety of that army, and your majesty's prosperity in your enterprise; for if it should quail, it should be their undoing. And they thought best, that your majesty should enter both at the east and west marches; and also your navy by sea, to come into the Forth, to land at Leith, both to victual the army, and to do further exploits, as the case shall require. Whereupon they said they would debate further, and advertize your majesty of their opinions at length. And in the mean season, they said that such of them as now should repair to your majesty with sir George Douglas, should confer with your majesty in that behalf; and for present aid, as the case is now changed, they shall need none at this time."

On the 6th of May, Sadler announced that there was great jealousy between Arran and Lennox, and next day he informed the king that the governor had turned again from all leaning towards the cardinal. It seems that Beaton's professions of willingness to serve the English

king, had led Henry into the belief that he might be treated with, and Sadler had accordingly been directed to pay him a visit. In his despatch last alluded to (of May 6), the ambassador replied, "Whereas I do perceive that the king's pleasure is, I should repair to St. Andrew's to speak with the cardinal, I intend to forbear the same, till I shall hear again from your lordships of his majesty's pleasure in that part, for certain considerations, whereof one is, for that the said cardinal, and the bishops here of this realm, have even now called a convention and assembly of the clergy at St. Andrews, which will endure these seven or eight days, wherein no doubt they will devise some mischief, and do all they can to impeach any good agreement betwixt the two realms; during which assembly I think it not convenient for me to come there. Another is, for that the governor is now as far out with the cardinal as ever he was, and would fain have him in his hands again, if he wist how; wherefore seeing he standeth in such terms with the governor, if I should repair to St. Andrews to speak with him without licence or consent of the said governor (who is not here now to grant the same), I am in great doubt what suspicion he might have in that behalf; and besides, that this country is not very free for Englishmen to travel in without some conduct, specially now that there is like to grow some garboil betwixt the governor and the earl of Lennox, which considerations move me to forbear my going to St. Andrews as is aforesaid; wherein I shall nevertheless do, as it shall please the king's majesty upon knowlege hereof to determine, whereof (if it so stand with his majesty's pleasure,) I am to be advertized before the said convocation shall dissolve, during which time I think it not convenient for me to repair unto the said cardinal, as it aforesaid, though there were none other considerations to impeach the same."

At this time the governor was hostile to the earl of Lennox, who had seized upon Dumbarton castle, and held it for the cardinal's party; he was irritated against the cardinal himself; and he was alarmed by the intelligence that a papal legate, cardinal Grimani, was on his way to Scotland to assist in organizing and encouraging the party opposed to him. Pressed by this combination of embarrassments, Arran leaned again towards England, but his weak and vacillating conduct became daily more



apparent. In an interview with the English ambassador about the middle of May, Arran declared that, "if the French king would do them no more harm than procure the sending of a legate to curse them, he cared little for the same; for he would so provide as, if he arrived here to make any garboil in this realm, with his fulminations of cursing, or to advance and set forth such things as might stir any division or inquietation here, he should surely never go home again; but glad he would be, according to his majesty's advice, to work so as the said legate's journey hither should be impeached and broken. And only, he said, he suspended all his proceedings here in the affairs of this realm, upon knowledge whether he should have peace or war with the king's majesty; for if all things were established, and the peace concluded betwixt these two realms, which he most heartily wished and desired, he would not doubt, with the king's majesty's good advice and counsel, to order and govern this realm in such sort, as the same should be reduced very shortly to as good obedience as ever it was; and he would reform the abuses of the church, and advance God's word and doctrine, maugre the legate, the cardinal, the bishops, and priests of this realm, with all their partakers, which he doubted not to subdue and rule at his will, if he were once at a good point with his majesty." In concluding his discourse with Sadler, he protested again that "if the peace were once concluded, he would forthwith set upon the cardinal within his castle of St. Andrews, whom he doubted not shortly to have into his hands; for he was the man, he said, whom (God forgive him!) he did only hate in all the world, not without just cause. For the cardinal, he said, did speak as fair words, and write as humble letters to him, with desire of his remission and favour, as was possible for any man to do; and yet privily he wrought all that he could to set division and distance betwixt him and the noblemen of the realm; wherefore, if the peace were concluded, he would soon be revenged thereof; but, till he knew how all things should succeed betwixt these two realms, he would be loath to stir any garboil within the realm." At the time when Arran spoke thus, he had made some show of energy by marching with four thousand men to Dumbarton against the earl of Lennox; but the latter had fled to the highlands, leaving the castle with a resolute garrison, who set the governor at defiance.

Sadler adds in a postscript to the letter in which he describes the above interview with the governor of Scotland, "The governor told me, that the cardinal had sent him a message by the laird of Brunstoun, which was in this effect, that forasmuch as the said cardinal thought, that the king's majesty (whom he never offended) was so much displeased with him, that percase his demeure and abiding in this realm might be some lett and impediment to such good purpose, as might be set forth to the unity of those two realms; and again, because he perceived the governor favoured him not, nor would use his service, which most willingly and obediently he offered to do at all time to the said governor; he therefore humbly desired and prayed the same, that he would license him to go into France, where he might remain quietly, and would be ready to serve the governor, as well there as in all places, at his commandment; and also would return to serve here, whensoever it should please him to call upon him for that purpose; desiring also, that it might please the governor to be so good a lord unto him, as to let him have into France his yearly profit of his bishopric, and other his revenues within this realm, from time to time, as the same shall be due unto him. Wherein the said governor told me, he would use only mine advice, praying me to tell him my mind in that behalf. I told him, that I thought I should give him evil counsel, in case I should advise him to license the cardinal to go into France, where he might freely work all the mischief he could devise against this realm; and hereupon I made him an example of our cardinal Pole, the marquis of Exeter, and the lord Montacute, with the circumstances of that matter; and therefore advised him rather so to proceed against the said cardinal as he might be sure to keep him from such liberty, as whereby he might the rather have any opportunity to work him such displeasure, as I knew he intended towards him. Whereupon he is resolved that the cardinal shall not depart, but saith, he will proceed against him, and all the rest, in such sort as the king's majesty shall give him counsel; and if the peace were agreed on to-day, he would not fail to-morrow to go upon the cardinal, and pull him out of his castle of St. Andrews by the head; which castle, he saith, is of no strength."

On the 28th of May, sir George Douglas returned to Scotland with the modified articles proposed by the English monarch.



It was now required that the young queen should be sent to England at the age of eight or ten years at furthest; but that, as soon as the treaty should be concluded, pledges or hostages were to be given to the king of England, which were to be bound for her delivery at the age specified. These were to be six earls and barons, or their heirs, such as the king should be contented with, and, if possible, two bishops. In the meantime the Scottish queen was to remain in the custody of such Scottish lords and noblemen as had already been appointed by the parliament to be her keepers, with the exception of the lords Erskine and Seton, but that king Henry should have the appointment of such persons, English or others, as he should think fitting to have the direction of her education and breeding. After the queen had been sent to England, the marriage between her and the prince was to be solemnized, at latest, when she was twelve years of age; and as soon as she should attain the state of queen in England, she was to enjoy as great a dower "as most commonly queens of that realm had had and enjoyed." The other stipulations with regard to the perpetual peace were so softened down, as not to compromise the existing relations with France. It was further proposed that, "as concerning the state of the governor, the king's majesty was right well contented that, the foresaid treaties of marriage and peace being once passed and concluded, and the said governor continuing his devotion and inclination to the king's majesty, conformable to that he had hitherto shown, and using the counsel of such noblemen of Scotland as hitherto he had done, that he should enjoy the same governorship during the nonage of the said daughter, and should have convenient and reasonable supply and maintenance of his majesty for the governor's supportation and defence against all such as would impeach the same; and that furthermore, the said governor should enjoy, to his use and the sustaining the charges of the affairs of the realm, the

rents, profits, and commodities of the said realm of Scotland, during the nonage of the said daughter; reserved always, and excepted such a portion of the said rents, revenues, and commodities, as may be convenient for maintenance of the state of the said daughter, as to her dignity and degree appertained." There was nothing very unreasonable in these articles, and, at a convention held at Edinburgh in the beginning of June, they were agreed to by Arran and the majority of the nobility.

The cardinal's party were, meanwhile, far from inactive. Lennox had thrown himself entirely into his arms, and had assured him of the support of the king of France, with whom they entered into a private negotiation, and he promised to send them a force of two thousand men under the command of a well-known and highly-distinguished officer, Montgomerie sieur de Lorges, as well as a supply of money and ammunition. By this promise they were encouraged to hold off and prepare for war, and at a convention of the clergy held at Stirling, it was resolved to contribute a large sum of money to support it. It was represented as the cause of the church, and the priesthood declared with the greatest enthusiasm, that they would melt down the plate of their churches rather than money should be wanted—nay, they were even ready themselves to fight in the quarrel. All the lords of the cardinal's party absented themselves from the convention at Edinburgh, at which the treaty with England was agreed to. During the whole of the month of June they were actively employed in arming their retainers, to be ready for the struggle, which now seemed imminent, and waiting only for the signal, which was to be the arrival of the expected succours from France. They had even instigated the borderers to some invasions of the English territory, to embroil the governor and his friends. Such was the posture of affairs when, on the 1st of July, the treaties of pacification and marriage were finally signed at Greenwich, by the commissioners of both nations.

## CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CARDINAL'S PARTY; SEIZURE OF THE QUEEN; THEY ARE JOINED BY THE GOVERNOR; DESERTION OF LENNOX.

THE two parties now stood widely divided against each other, and matters seemed to be approaching rapidly to a civil war. In yielding for the moment, the English king had given up no part of his intentions, and the Scottish lords of his party, who were aware of this, professed their resolution to fulfil their promises of supporting him. To satisfy him, they signed a "secret device," as it was called, a copy of which is preserved, and it is too important a document to be passed over in silence. The articles to which Angus, Maxwell, and their colleagues bound themselves, were—

"First,—I shall endeavour myself, unfeignedly, and with all my power, to do that in me lieth for the observation of the amity, and also the deliverance of the young queen at the time appointed in the treaty of marriage, or before, as soon as may be, with hostages to be given in, according as it is covenanted in the said treaty of marriage.

"Secondly,—I shall do all my endeavour for the preservation of the young queen; and in case she miscarry, or be conveyed away, I shall bear my service to the king's majesty only, and not acknowledge or consent to the governor, or any other, to have the rule and dominion of the realm of Scotland without further knowledge of his highness's pleasure.

"Thirdly,—I shall support the governor now being, as long, and no longer, as he shall himself maintain the foresaid articles of peace, marriage, hostages, and delivery of the young queen, and not to consent to the election of a new governor, or the continuance of the governor now being, in case he decline and swerve from the articles now covenanted, without advertising the king's majesty thereof, and having his highness's assent to the same.

"Fourthly,—if there happen any division or trouble to arise in Scotland by practice of the cardinal, kirkmen, France, or otherwise, I shall stick and adhere only to the king's majesty's service, as his highness may assuredly attain these things now passed and covenanted, or at the least the dominion on this side the Frith.

"Fifthly,—I shall truly advertise the

king's majesty from time to time of the estate of the affairs of the realm of Scotland, to the intent upon knowledge of them the king's highness may, with his wisdom, foresee to let and impeach such matter as might be to the disorder and trouble of that realm.

"And, these things done, the king's majesty will aid, support, maintain, and assist me, and defend me against all other that would molest or trouble me for the same."

It is hardly probable that, as it has been conjectured, the cardinal had obtained information of this secret transaction, but he knew enough of the proceedings of his opponents to make them extremely unpopular, and he profited by it to strengthen his own party by identifying it with the national independence. He thus succeeded in throwing a great degree of odium on his opponents, who were early in July thrown into the utmost alarm by the appearance of a French fleet on their coast. At this moment, in a despatch of the 13th of July, sir Ralph Sadler describes the state of Scotland as follows:—"The estate of this realm is so perplexed that I see neither order nor obedience in the same, and now there is appointed a convention of the lords and great men, to be present for the ratification of this treaty, and also for to devise upon some good ways, to bring the realm to a better order and perfection; but it is thought that many of the greatest lords, as Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Murray, and others, will not appear. The French navy is now no more spoken of here, nor we cannot learn where they are become. Some say they are gone to meet with the navy of Denmark, which should join with them, but they were not seen near this realm this seven night. As I shall hear and perceive thereof, I will advertise from time to time, as the case shall require. I have to-day spoken with the sheriff of Ayr, touching such matter as John Drummond declared unto your majesty of the earl of Lennox, and the said sheriff saith, that indeed there was such communication betwixt him and the said Drummond toward that effect, but not in such sort as it might be taken thereby, that he was in hope that the said Lennox



might be induced or reconciled from France to your majesty's devotion. For he thinketh assuredly that if France will support the said Lennox, as he daily looketh to have money and munition from thence; for the which he sent one Stewart into France since his coming hither, and yet hath received no answer since his going hence from him; in that case, that if this aid of money and munition do come, the said Lennox will not surely be won from France, but will cause much trouble, as is thought in this realm; and many great men being also well given to France, by the procurement of the cardinal, do also abide out from the governor upon that purpose, which the sheriff thinketh, if this aid come not out of France, will be easily reduced to good conformity; and till they be brought to due obedience unto the governor here, which must be by fair means or foul, there will be no time that can serve to practise with the earl of Lennox, or any of the others, that be not well dedicated to your majesty, to win or reconcile them to your majesty's devotion; for if any means should be used in that behalf, without the knowledge of the governor, it might be a means to bring him into a great suspicion of your majesty. And though he thinketh that the said Lennox would be content to marry the said lady Margaret Douglas, yet whether he would have her so, as for her he would leave France and adhere firmly to your majesty, he is in great doubt; but he thinketh, surely, if the governor and the said Lennox were good friends, and that Lennox would obey and acknowledge the governor, as the parliament hath admitted, in that case the said Lennox might be the more fairly induced, both to the marriage, to leave France, and also to be reconciled to your majesty. This is the said sheriff's mind and opinion in that part, which he prayeth me to signify unto your majesty."

At this moment the cardinal and the lords of his party were contemplating a more decisive movement, no doubt with the connivance of the queen dowager, and they were collecting their forces in different parts of the kingdom. "This evening," writes the English ambassador on the 17th of July, "the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell, who came this day to this town, were with me, and told me that the cardinal, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, and the lords Home, and Buccleuch, with all their partakers, made

great preparation and assemblies against the governor and his adherents, and gathered great force; the cardinal and Huntley in the north parts, Argyle and Lennox in the west parts, and Bothwell, Home, and Buccleuch, in the east parts upon the marches, so that the governor is yet in doubt which way to direct his journey first, and surely there is great appearance of much trouble and inconvenience; wherefore, they told me, that the governor sent them to me to devise with me for my removing to Tantallon, because, when he is gone out of this town, he doubteth, the country being all in such a stir and commotion, how I should be entreated. And so, before they depart this town, I have resolved with them to go to Tantallon aforesaid, not without cause, for the governor being here, I have not been used in friendly part, and if he were away, I find the malice of the people here such toward all Englishmen, that they would not lett to execute the same to the destruction both of me and mine. For the governor being in the town, as I walked here in a garden, and some of my folks with me on the back side of my lodging, one (but I cannot tell who) shot an half-dag amongst us and missed not one of my men I dare say four inches; besides other despiteous parts which they have played me since I came hither, whereby they have largely declared their malice, and yet the offender can never be known. The said earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles of the devise, which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters; and the lord Maxwell telleth me, that as soon as he received the like articles from your majesty by his son, he forthwith subscribed the same and sent it to your majesty. The rest I have not yet spoken with, because they be not here; but as soon as I can possibly, I shall not fail to accomplish that part, according to your gracious commandment. I call and cry still upon the governor and other your majesty's friends here, to look to the surety of the young queen's person, which, they say, they will do; but the governor will not be induced to remove her hither to the castle of Edinburgh, saying, that he will so provide for that part, as he will be sure enough of her, which way they be not yet certainly resolved."

The earl of Arran not only still professed his devotion to the king of England, but he asked and accepted money for his services. Henry, in transmitting to his ambassador a thousand pounds for this purpose, volun-



teered his counsels in the difficult circumstances in which he seemed likely to be placed. "First," said the royal adviser, "you shall declare unto him that where we perceive by your advertisement how the cardinal, with his complices and partakers, labour to make a revolt and rebellion against him, we be right glad (standing things between us as they do) to understand how prudently he prepareth both to withstand and repel the same, and also to put in surety the person of the young queen, which is the mark they shoot at; thinking that if they might once get her into their hands, they should thereby make such a party, as they should be able to dispose of the government of the realm as to them should seem most expedient. Secondly, where he seemed in his last conference with you to desire some aid of money of us for his supply in this trouble, ye shall tell him that, over and beside the token which we have sent him, if the case so require, giving us warning in time, we shall so help him and consider his case as he shall have good cause to say, we be an assured friend towards him and the common weal of that realm, as our amity now requireth. But ye shall tell him that, seeing all the nobles of Scotland have chosen him to be their governor by a common consent, and have subscribed to the same, our opinion is, that he should not only make their doings therein manifest to the whole world, whereby their inconstancy and disloyalty may appear; but also, being now well learned by the example and experience of the cardinal and others, what it is to give scope and liberty to such as be bent and determined against him, in case any of them come in his hands, he should bestow them where they should do him nor the realm no hurt; and, in the mean season, upon their open attempt, proclaim and use such of them, as he shall think good, as rebels and traitors to the queen and the realm accordingly. Thirdly, where it appeareth that he mindeth to meet the rebels on the other side of the water, and so to give them battle, if they will abide it; you shall say, we think it not meet that he should pass the said water, nor put himself in hazard at his enemies' call; but we think it most expedient and necessary for him to take Stirling in his own hands, whereby he may be master of the passage; and then, as he may be sure to be master of all that is on this side the said water, so he may take advantage of his enemies, and fight with them, or leave

them, as shall be most for his own commodity. Fourthly, where he desireth us to take in good part for a time, though the borderers do not as becometh them, you shall to that tell him, that if he will be so content, we shall so chastise those borderers, as with our advice, he may plant other in their places; for which purpose, we have written to our cousin of Suffolk, and to the lord warden of our marches, to put all our borders in order for the same, willing you to advertise our lieutenant and warden of his determination in this behalf. Fifthly, where it appeareth by your letters, that eleven of the French ships, which have kept that coast this long season, lye now in the May; you shall understand, that being lately the whole number of sixteen in their return towards France, there encountered with them six of our ships, which took two of them, and had undoubtedly taken the admiral, and more of the best of them, if they durst have tarried it; but perceiving themselves at the last too weak, after a sore fight betwixt them, they share off, and these eleven plyed again towards Scotland, though there we cannot yet certainly hear what is become of them. And if the governor think it good, we will send our navy to the May, where they be, to take them, which shall be a great surety to Scotland, and a great discourage to all that depend upon France. But, in that case, the governor must permit our ships to take them, though they should fly into Leith for succour, and also help them with victuals and necessities if they shall need the same; willing you to know his mind therein, and to signify the same unto us with all diligence, doing what ye can to cause him to stay them till our ships come; and if that will not be granted, then we would ye should have a diligent eye upon them, that you may advertise us a seven-night at the least before they shall be ready to depart, that we may provide and lay for them, in such place for the taking of them by the way as shall be most convenient."

On the day before this letter was written, the 21st of July, the cardinal and his friends, who had assembled at Stirling a force of ten thousand men, marched thence to Leith, where they were joined by the borderers and the earl of Bothwell, the lord Home, and the Kers and Scotts. While they remained here, a negotiation was carried on with the governor, who, although he was at first inclined to send to England for assistance, ended by



agreeing to give up the queen and her mother, who were immediately carried by the cardinal and his confederates to Stirling, and there committed to the custody of four lords, Erskine, Grahame, St. John, and Livingstoun.

It is difficult to say how far at this moment Arran was acting with sincerity. He seemed to be actuated by the bitterest animosity against the cardinal, and he asked for more money, and for men, if required, from England. He assured the ambassador, on the 31st of July, that he would "rather be torn to pieces" than swerve from his promise made to the English king; and, while he confessed that the cardinal and his friends were making fair professions to him, he added, that he was credibly informed that they were secretly gathering their forces to come upon him suddenly and put him down. Henry had not been backward in responding to the governor's call for assistance, and he wrote the following letter to his ambassador, on the 4th of August:—"Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and have received your letters of the last of July; by the contents whereof, we perceive such conference as you had lately with the governor, the earls of Angus and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, touching the overtures made by the bishop of Orkney and the lord Fleming on the behalf of the cardinal and his complices, being the said lord Fleming and bishop of that party; and also, concerning such aid as the said governor and the rest before-named do desire of us for their defence and surety, with a repetition of their offers unto us, in case the governor shall not be able so to daunt the cardinal and his partakers as they shall agree to the ratification of the treaties passed betwixt us, or that the queen shall be conveyed away, whereby they shall not be able to deliver her at the time by the treaties appointed and prescribed. For answer whereunto, our pleasure is, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you shall make your repair to the governor, and making unto him our hearty commendations, with condign thanks for his honourable proceedings and friendly offers made unto us, you shall declare unto him, that we be of such mind and determination toward him again, as he may be well assured, that neither now, nor hereafter, shall we suffer him to receive any such damage or dishonour, as he shall

not have good cause in the end to say, that he hath had a most constant and faithful friend of us. And for his present relief at this time, we have, according to his desire, appointed our lieutenant in those parts to put in order five thousand men, to be addressed unto him, when he and you together shall by your letters desire the same, which five thousand men shall enter in two parts, the one from the west marches, in the conduct of sir Thomas Wharton, till he shall arrive with the lord Maxwell, and then the said lord Maxwell to be chief captain of that number; the other by the east and middle marches, in the conduct of sir Ralph Eure, knight, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, esquires, till they shall arrive with the earl of Angus; and then the said earl to be their chief captain; accounting the said earl and lord Maxwell, with all the rest of our friends there which adhere surely to him, to be of such honour and trust as we dare well commit the leading of our people to them. Providing that the said earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell do send some trusty men of honour and estimation to receive the said sir Thomas Wharton and sir Ralph Eure, with such as come with them at the said borders, to help to conduct them and victual them, till they shall join with their other forces; and shall also, after they be joined, use the advice and counsel of the said sir Thomas and sir Ralph, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, which shall have the conduct of them into Scotland, in all things touching any enterprise and exploit to be done, and likewise for the victualling and placing of the same accordingly. And where the governor desireth to have such as we shall send for his aid bring some victual with them, we have, for his satisfaction herein, not only taken order that they shall bring as much victual with them as can conveniently be prepared in the short time of their assembly, but also that plenty of corn shall be sent into the Firth, both from Newcastle and from Berwick, not doubting but the governor, with the rest of the earls and others our friends, and specially those which shall have the chief charge of our subjects, will take order, that when it shall arrive, it may be employed for the victualling of the same, as appertaineth. And our further pleasure is, that you shall also declare to the said governor, and the rest of the lords our



friends there, that in case the number now sent shall not so daunt the said cardinal as he and his complices shall be glad and fain to consent to the ratification of the treaties, the laying pledges, and all other things convenient, or that the said cardinal shall convey away the young queen's person, we will prepare a greater furniture to repress their malice, not doubting but the governor will (in case of that necessity) deliver unto us the holds which he hath promised to deliver; assuring the said governor, that in case they take away the person of the young queen, and dispose her marriage otherwise than by his own consent, we will, by force of our title and superiority, make him king of the rest of Scotland beyond the Firth, aiding him with our power by sea and by land to recover the same, so as he go through with the overture of marriage betwixt his son and our daughter the lady Elizabeth, which is of such sort, and shall be such honour and establishment to his son after him, as he could not recover the like party in Christendom. And being now in such terms with the governor and the rest of our friends there, that we must account our affairs all one, we can do no less but to remember unto him how they have been heretofore abused by the cardinal and his partakers, and what inconveniences have ensued of the same, to the intent they may hereafter beware of the craft and falsehood of him and his angels, and utterly stop their ears to anything that can be said on his behalf. Wherefore you shall desire and pray both the governor and the rest of the said lords our friends, and specially the earl of Glencairn and the lord Maxwell, to weigh their affairs more deeply, and to consider how they have been now twice deluded by the crafty means of the said cardinal; once at his deliverance, and now again at the deliverance of the young queen, requiring them, at the contemplation of our advice and counsel, and also in respect of their own honour and estimation, which shall be much defaced in the world if he should eftsoons deceive them the third time, to beware of him, and utterly to close their ears, as is aforesaid, against him and his complices. Which advice and counsel, if they follow not, but perchance shall tolerate many things in hope of better, whereby he shall get the upper hand and victory of them, what scruple soever they have of an honest zeal, which would be

loath to have any slaughter in their native country; they may be assured, in that case, that he will spare none of them, but dispatch them, either together or one after another, as he shall have his most opportunity. And therefore, seeing the said cardinal is now at Stirling, and travelleth secretly to assemble again his army, to the intent he may both depose the governor, and of all the rest dispose at his pleasure; considering his force being so lately dispersed (*dispersed*), will not soon or easily be brought again together, our advice and counsel is, that the governor shall secretly and suddenly, in anywise, send a good band of his men to Stirling, and either there to take him and bring him to the castle of Edinburgh, or at the least to drive him over the water, and then to set such an assured order for the safe keeping of the bridge, as neither the queen shall be conveyed away, though the barons having the keeping of her would consent thereto at the said cardinal's request and desire, nor that the cardinal, or any of his complices, be permitted to pass the bridge, or that any of them on this side do resort to him, but at the governor's will and pleasure."

Thus matters went on during the month of August, each party standing on their guard and holding themselves ready for the event, but both hesitating: the cardinal, because he waited for troops from France, and Arran from his own unsteady disposition. The delay was an advantage to the cardinal, who was superior in craft to his adversary, and, perceiving probably that he was wavering, he began to treat in a more conciliating tone, and to talk of friendly arrangement. In an interview with Sadler on the 25th of August, Arran declared that he thought the cardinal would declare and prove himself "the most honest man of all the rest;" and he said, "he would go over the water, as indeed he is gone to St. Johnstoun and Dundee, to see and visit the country, where he hath not been since he was governor, and so to make an errand to his own house at St. Andrews, where the cardinal, he said, will come and speak with him; so that he hopeth to compone (*settle*) all matters and controversies here, in such sort as good peace, quietness, and agreement, shall ensue amongst them."

Arran's visit to St. Andrew's had a different result from that anticipated by Sadler. While he remained there, the cardinal shut himself up in his castle and refused to hold



any communication with him; upon which the governor, irritated at this affront, proclaimed him a traitor, and announced his intention of employing force against him. He then returned to Edinburgh, and, in an interview with the English ambassador immediately after, he told him that if the King should send in an army "to make a conquest," he and his friends would join him, "and so serve your majesty without giving trust to any further aid of Scottishmen." On the same day on which Sadler reported this conversation, a convention of the nobles was held in the abbey church of Holyrood, and the treaties with England were solemnly ratified, Arran himself swearing at the altar to observe them.

But the governor must at this moment have been listening to the persuasions of the cardinal, who was labouring to detach him from the English party by offering to procure a marriage between his son and the young queen. He seems to have employed the abbot of Paisley as his negotiator, who is said to have alarmed Arran by declaring that as the validity of his father's divorce depended entirely upon the power of the papal see, the overthrow of the authority of Rome would destroy his title to the government and to his vast estates. We can only attribute what followed to one of those sudden resolutions to which the governor's weak mind appears to have been subject. On the 25th of August, as we have just seen, he professed his humble devotion to the king of England. On the 3rd of September, he met the cardinal at Lord Livingston's house at Callander, near Falkirk, when a complete reconciliation took place. They rode back together to Stirling, and there Arran, who had but lately been talking so bitterly against priests and monks, publicly abjured protestantism in the church of the Franciscan convent, received absolution for his leaning towards heresy, renounced the treaties with England, and delivered his eldest son to the cardinal as a pledge for his sincerity. The immediate consequence of this agreement was the coronation of the infant queen, with the usual ceremonies, on Sunday the ninth of September.

The cardinal and the governor now attempted to gain over the earl of Angus and his confederates, but without success; for they retired to their castles, and began to assemble their forces. Angus, with the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, the lords

Maxwell and Somerville, the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlanrig, met at Douglas castle, and there subscribed a bond, by which they engaged to stand by one another, and to support the interests of king Henry. This bond was entrusted to lord Somerville, to be carried to England as a proof of their sincerity.

By this unexpected revolution, the question of the treaties was involved in new difficulties; as the party with whom the governor was now acting, had not given their sanction to them, and were known to be opposed to them. Moreover, the English monarch had given a very unwise and unnecessary provocation to the Scots, which might at any time be made an excuse for breaking the engagements. A fleet of Scottish merchantmen had sailed for France, laden, it is said, with fish, but they were driven by tempestuous weather into an English port. Henry was at this time contemplating a new war with France, and, under pretence that the Scottish ships were carrying provision to his enemies, he ordered them to be detained. The citizens of Edinburgh, who were especially affected by this act, were thrown into a state of such great excitement against the English, that the ambassador himself was in danger, and the same feeling soon spread through the kingdom. Nevertheless, the governor had not resented this act very strongly. On the 25th of August, the day on which the treaties were ratified, Sadler had a conversation with Arran on the subject, which he details as follows in his despatch of that day to his sovereign:—"Finally," he says, "I told him also of the stay of the Scottish ships going into France with victuals; and also declared unto him the effect of your majesty's pleasure in that part, both touching that the treaties will not bear it, and also touching the governor's safe-conduct to be given to his friends that pass out of this realm, in such sort as is contained in your highness's said letters; which the governor saith he will observe accordingly. But in case the cardinal and he, with the rest, do fall to agreement, whereof there is good likelihood, then his desire is that all ships of this realm may pass without stay, though they have not his safe-conduct; for if the ships should be stayed by your majesty, now that the peace is concluded and ratified, he saith it should be a mean to cause the whole realm to exclaim upon him, which he would gladly avoid, for they love him ill enough

already for your majesty's sake, and then would love him much worse, and also judge evil of the peace, and take it to be but a feigned matter betwixt your majesty and him, to cause them to put their ships and goods in adventure; the stay only whereof should be a great hindrance to the merchants. And as to the victuals which they carry hence into France, he saith it can be no great matter, for there is no abundance here of victuals to be spared. Peradventure, he saith, they may carry fish thither, and yet no great store, which they have used commonly to carry into France for other merchandizes, and hard it will be for him to cause them leave that trade with the same. Wherefore, considering it can be no great matter, he beseecheth your majesty to bear with it, and he will do the best he can to cause them use their traffic into England, or at least to convey no kind of victual into France."

The cardinal had now virtually the government of Scotland in his own hands, for Arran was completely ruled by his councils, and he assumed a different tone towards the English ambassador. The latter obtained an audience at court soon after the middle of September, when the cardinal complained to him of the outrages of the English borderers, and spoke of the late treaties as having been negotiated and concluded privately with some of the nobles of Scotland. "After this," says Sadler, "the governor arose, and took me apart, and told me that those men were very stiff against the treaties, but, for his part, he remained still the man that he was, and, as much as lay in him, he would do for the performance of the said treaties; praying me to write, and to beseech your majesty not to conceive any evil opinion of him, for he would do all that he could, to the uttermost of his power, to please your majesty. I told him I was sure your majesty had once a very good opinion of him; but I was uncertain what your highness had now conceived of him, upon his sudden revolt and departure from such noblemen as had all this while adhered unto him, with whom, if he had tarried, he might have wrought and enforced those men at his own will and pleasure. And, touching the treaties, he could not with his honour digress from them, considering how largely he had said and promised to your highness in that behalf. He assured me that it lay not in him to perform the

same; but when the other lords should come in, he would plainly declare his affection and good will in that part, which was and should be of such sort as he had promised. And here came the earl of Murray and interrupted our communication, so that, as it seemed, they were loath that I should have over long talk with him, as indeed they do (now since they have him) use him like a man of his wit, and yet, as I perceive, be afraid that he should revolt from them. Thus I was forced to leave communication with him, and departed. Furthermore, like as I wrote in my letters to the lords of your majesty's council, that the lord Fleming and the abbot of Paisley were sent to the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, to persuade them to a convention and meeting at this town; so the said earls and the lord Somerville have sent me word by James Douglas of Parkedge, not only that they have answered the said lord Fleming and abbot, that before they can grant to any such convention, it behoveth them to advise with other noblemen, their friends which dwell on the other side of the Firth, in the north, and that done, will make a resolute answer; but also, that to-morrow the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, and the lords Maxwell and Somerville, do intend to meet all together at Douglas, my lord Angus's castle, where they will first make answer to your majesty's letters written to them; and also are determined, as they have sent me word, to answer resolutely to those lords which be here, that they will come to no convention, nor commune with them, unless they will concur all altogether, in and for the performance of the treaties, as your majesty shall perceive by a letter here enclosed, which the said lord Somerville wrote unto me, wherby your highness shall also perceive his suit for his son, who maketh special labour to come home for a time upon other pledges. The lord Maxwell, nevertheless, laboreth to have my lord Angus and the other lords to come to this convention, upon a certain hope and trust that he hath conceived, that if they once meet all together, they shall agree to the performance of the treaties, whereof I can perceive no likelihood, and therefore I know not what he meaneth by his solicitation in that behalf. And this day he came to this town, and spoke with the lords which be here, and departed hastily again, without speaking with me, but sent



me word, that if I did well, I should not be against the coming hither of the said earl of Angus and the other lords, his partakers; for he trusted verily, that the same should be a mean to and for the perfection of the treaties, which, though they should not be performed, yet the convention of all the lords together could do no hurt, for by the same it should appear who were with or who against the treaties; and such as were against the same, the rest might declare themselves their enemies. And there was no doubt but that my lord of Angus and his friends might be here in as good surety and strength as in his own castle of Douglas. Thus the said lord Maxwell sent me word; so that whether this assembly and convention, which he laboureth after this sort, shall take effect or not, I cannot write the certainty; but, as far as I can perceive, there is none of my lord of Angus's party willing to it, but only the lord Maxwell."

On the 24th of September Sadler was again called before the court, and strong expostulations were then made on the arrest of the Scottish ships and the turbulence of the English borderers. The animosity of the populace, on account of the seizure of the ships, was much aggravated since the government was guided by the cardinal, and Sadler's person was exposed to insult, if not to danger. Henry wrote a violent letter to the magistrates, threatening them with his vengeance if they offered any injury to his ambassador, and Sadler states that it had its effect in protecting him, although the injudicious tone in which it was written gave general offence. But the lords of the English party now declared their conviction that the governor and cardinal would listen to no other argument than force, and Henry was already preparing his army for this purpose, intending to invade Scotland before the winter. The ambassador, instead of being recalled, was directed to remove to Angus's castle of Tantallon, if hostilities should be unavoidable. Sadler, however, appears now to have been closely watched; for, on the 27th of September, he wrote to the lords of the privy council in England:—"It may like your good lordships to understand I received your letters of the 22nd of September, by the which I do perceive that the king's majesty, minding suddenly to correct the folly and untruth of those Scottish, would be loath that I should

be in any danger thereby, and therefore, I should convey myself to Tantallon, or some other place of strength belonging to his majesty's friends here, wherein I might be sure from their malice, and advertise his highness from time to time as much knowledge as I can get. Albeit no man alive shall with better will adventure himself than I shall, without respect of life, serve his majesty; yet I beseech your lordships to consider my estate here, and what service I shall be able to do in time of open war and hostility, after the sort that I am here; assuring your lordships I know not how it is possible for me to convey myself and my folks out of this town, either to Tantallon or any other place of strength, for I am secretly informed that the inhabitants of this town will not suffer me to depart till they have their ships; and nightly there is a watch about mine house here, which I am made believe is for my surety; but it is told me secretly, that it is purposely appointed to watch me, that I should not steal away in the night. And yet, if I might steal away, being here reputed the king's ambassador, whether it should be his highness's honour or not, your lordships can much better weigh and consider than I. Surely, my lords, I have been as ill-treated here as ever was man, and in no little danger of my life, although in time of peace; and, therefore, ye may fairly conjecture, if I abide, how I shall be handled in time of war. Not doubting but if it please the king's majesty to revoke me, in case the wars succeed, the nobility here, for their own honours, will see me safely convoyed out of the realm, as in such cases ambassadors have been used."

Before the war commenced, Sadler was to consult with the lords of Angus's party on the possibility of obtaining possession of the young queen, and of the fortresses; but this was now a matter of great difficulty:—"I have communed with sir George Douglas, Sadler writes, who first, touching the safe-custody of the young queen of Scotland, hath answered me, that she is kept in the castle of Stirling by such noblemen as were appointed thereunto by the parliament, and such as having the castle well furnished with ordnance and artillery, will defend the same, and keep her so, as he thinketh. The king's majesty's friends here are not able to get the said young queen out of the castle, for they have no great pieces of ordnance wherewith to besiege the same. And



besides that, he saith that if the barons, which have the custody of her, do perceive themselves unable to keep and defend her in the said castle; and if they shall perceive that any man should go about to have her out of their hands (which could not be so secretly wrought but they must needs have knowledge of it, they being charged with her custody upon their lives and lands), might easily convey her person out of the castle into the highland, which is not far from Stirling, where it is not possible to come by her; and therefore he thinketh it vain to go about by force to remove her out of the custody she is in. And yet, he told me that there was a communication amongst such as were the king's majesty's friends here about such purpose; which was, that if the king's majesty would advance such a convenient sum of money unto them, wherewith they might wage certain soldiers, they would besiege the cardinal in his castle of St. Andrews, and also the castle of Stirling, to see if they could get the cardinal into their hands, and also the possession and custody of the young queen, which purpose, he said, they had not resolved; but now, at this assembly, when all the lords of their party are come hither, which be not yet arrived, he thought they would commune further of the same. And as touching the strongholds, he said it would be hard to come by them; for such as were in the hands of the adverse party, as Stirling, Edinburgh, and Dunbar, were very strong, but what might be done with money and reward, he could not tell; for the captain of the castle of Edinburgh is one of the Hamiltons, which he said be all false and inconstant of nature; and therefore he doubteth not what might be wrought and practised with him for money, which he hath promised to essay and prove as soon as he may conveniently."

It was at this moment that the other party was weakened by the defection of one of its supporters. The earl of Lennox had been flattered and caressed as long as he served as an instrument against the governor, but the cardinal was no sooner sure of Arran, than, probably to conciliate him the more, but with an unusual want of foresight, he began to treat Lennox with neglect. This so provoked the latter, that he suddenly deserted the cardinal's party, and threw himself into the arms of his opponents. An unexpected misfortune to the cardinal was the result of this desertion.

Lennox had been entrusted with the entire management of the negotiations with France, and just at this time a small French fleet, having on board a French ambassador, the sieur de la Brosse, and the papal legate, with military stores, fifty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand crowns in money, arrived at Dumbarton, on the 6th of October, addressed to Lennox, who had possession of that castle and town. Lennox was absent, consulting with the lords of the English party, but news of the appearance of the French fleet was brought to him in the greatest haste, and hurrying back with the earl of Glencairn to Dumbarton, he met the French ambassador, who was totally unacquainted with the events which had recently taken place in Scotland, gained possession of the money and stores, which he caused to be securely deposited in Dumbarton castle, and then left the strangers to discover their mistake. Henry was still anxious that the lords of his party should attempt to gain possession of the queen's person and of the strongholds, and further directions were given to Sadler on that subject, to which he replied, in a despatch addressed to the lords of the privy council:—"And now to the points of your lordships' said letters, to be conferred eftsoons with the said lords. First, touching the obtaining of the young queen into their hands, they have told me plainly, at my last conference with them, before the receipt of your said letter, that it is not possible for them to get her perforce out of the castle of Stirling. And to say my poor opinion, whereas it is expressed in your lordship's said letters, that they might by policy accomplish the same, as by way of licence to visit her in the said castle, in such sort as your said letters do purport, I cannot see how they can prevail that way; for her guardians, being all undoubtedly of the adverse party, which do also suspect and fear that the earl of Angus and other his majesty's friends, intend to convey her from them into England, will not suffer any of that party to have entry into the castle, but in such sort as they may themselves be masters; nor they use not to suffer any of the nobles of the realm to enter, but with one or two servants with him at the most, saving only the dowager, who, by the parliament, is admitted to be continually resident about her said daughter, with a certain number at her pleasure; so as I cannot perceive how they may win her into their hands by any such policy. Secondly,



touching the strongholds, they said plainly that they know not how to come by them; for if they might, they say they were madmen if they would not take them into their hands, which is one of the things they most principally desire; and, so long as they were here in this town, the captain of the castle here kept himself continually within it, and was determined, if they had made any proclamations, or put anything in execution to the derogation of the governor's authority (which was suspected), to have beaten them all out of the town with shot of ordnance from the castle; for the which purpose he had mounted and charged all the pieces within the same, as the lords themselves told me. The castle of Dunbar is holden by a stout man, who beareth none affection to England, and, I think, surely he will not deliver it out of his hands, neither to the governor himself, nor to no man else, and the said lords told me plainly, they were out of all hope to come by it. For Dumbarton, to say mine opinion, the earl of Lennox had as leif part with his right hand as with it; and I think if the same should be moved now unto him, it were the next way to make him revolt to the adverse party, with the French money and munition, which he hath now gotten into his possession at Dumbarton, within the said castle; and therefore it were not amiss, in my poor mind, not to be over hasty with him in that matter for a while, till the king's majesty see whether the said

earl of Lennox will himself repair to his highness, or what they will further do towards his majesty according to their last writings. Thirdly, touching the sending of any of the king's majesty's ships for apprehension of the French ships at Dumbarton, now that the money and munition is landed, with also the legate and French ambassador, and the ships brought into the haven, whereby that purpose is disappointed, I need not therefore to have any treaty with the earl of Cassillis in that behalf. And, finally, touching the legate, I see not that they intend to detain him or the French ambassador, or any of their train as prisoners, but rather to use them as ambassadors, with as much demeanour and good entertainment as they can. And now that they have the said money and munition in their hands, laid up into the castle of Dumbarton, they will convey the said ambassador to Glasgow, where they may use him with better entertainment than at Dumbarton. And I am informed, the dowager, governor, and cardinal, have sent straight commandment to the earl of Lennox, to convey the said legate and ambassador to Stirling, with also the money and munition; but he hath yet refused to accomplish the same; howbeit, it may be he will send the legate and ambassador to Stirling; but for the money and munition, it will be hard to get the same out of his hands, which I think surely he will not so soon part withall."

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### CHAPTER XIII.

SADLER AT TANTALLON; MEETING OF PARLIAMENT; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION RECOMMENCED; PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

THE arrival of the French ambassador and the papal legate, inspired new courage into the cardinal's party, as it gave them an assurance that they would be well supported by France. The ambassador himself laboured zealously to cement their alliance, and he was liberal in his promises of pensions. "The French ambassador," says Sadler, in a letter of the 30th of October, "who remaineth still with the queen at Stirling, practiseth and laboureth by all the means

he can, to interrupt the marriage between the young queen of Scotland and my lord prince's grace, and to win all noblemen here to the devotion of France, and to make division and extreme wars between these two realms; for the maintenance whereof is promised by the said ambassador, on the French king's behalf, whatsoever aid they will require against the next year, besides great rewards and yearly pensions, as is aforesaid; which things the said dowager and cardinal

advance and set forth by all the means they can; and also they labour to set an unity and agreement between the governor and the earl of Lennox, the rather to join them together on the French party. Assuring your lordships that, as far as I can see, the whole body of the realm is inclined to France, for they do consider and say, that France requireth nothing of them but friendship, and would they should continue and maintain the honour and liberty of their realm, which of themselves they naturally do covet and desire. France, they say, hath always aided them with money and munition, as now they have promised more largely by that which they have brought. Whereas, on the other side, England, they say, seeketh nothing else but to bring them to subjection, and to have superiority and dominion over them; which universally they do so detest and abhor, as in my poor opinion, they will never be brought into it but by force. And though such noblemen as pretend to be the king's majesty's friends here, could be contented, as they say, that his majesty had the superiority of this realm, yet, I assure your lordships, to say as I think, there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that is of the same mind, or that would take their parts in that behalf. Marry, I think when they shall perceive themselves unable to resist the king's majesty's power, very fear (which I call force) shall enforce them to yield to that thing which they will never do, if they shall find themselves able to make their part good."

Much labour was now taken to gain over the earl of Angus and his friends to the French party, but they proudly refused, and retired to their castles to prepare for defence. An attempt on the part of Sadler to gain over the citizens of Edinburgh to forward the designs of his monarch, on promise of setting their ships at liberty, was equally ineffective; the honest citizens declared that they would rather lose all their ships than give up the national independence. The hostility of the two rival factions was thus becoming every day more inveterate, until an accident that occurred at the end of October drove them to open war. The lords of the English party had dispatched the lords Somerville and Maxwell on a secret mission to Henry VIII.; but, before they left Scotland, putting themselves incautiously in the power of their opponents, they were both seized, and on the person of lord Somerville was found the bond signed by the lords of

his party at Douglas castle, with other papers which showed their intention to support the English king in his designs against the independence of their country. Lord Somerville had letters of credence, and he was pressed, but in vain, to confess the particulars of his commission. Both these lords were thrown into prison, Maxwell in Edinburgh castle, and Somerville in Blackness; and sufficient evidence being thus obtained on which to build a charge of high treason against Angus and his confederates, it was determined to assemble a parliament early in December, and proceed to their impeachment. The lords thus accused, instead of obeying the summons to attend, hurried to their castles and began to raise their followers. The governor collected a force to suppress them, and marching to Dalkeith, obtained possession of the castle by stratagem; but a son of sir George Douglas, who, by the right of his wife, daughter of the earl of Morton, was master or heir of Morton, threw himself into the donjon or keep, and held out till he obtained terms for himself and the garrison. Sadler, alarmed at the increasing agitation of the people, retired from Edinburgh on the fifth of November, and took up his residence in Angus's strong castle of Tantallon. From thence he wrote on the 10th of November to the duke of Suffolk and the bishop of Durham, to whom the rule of the north of England had been entrusted:—"It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday, in the morning, came hither to Tantallon the master of Morton, sir George Douglas's son, who told me that he had rendered the castle of Dalkeith to the governor by appointment, conditionally that he and all his friends within the house might remove and depart, with all their goods and baggage safely untouched; which, he saith, he was of force constrained to do, because he was utterly unfurnished both of victuals and artillery wherewith to defend the castle. And after he had rendered it, he saith he had communication with the governor, who wished that the earl of Angus and his brother would be true Scottish-men, and leave their affection to England, in which case he would do for them, and esteem them above all the rest of the noblemen in Scotland. And the said master of Morton answering, that he knew well they had never failed in their duty of allegiance to their sovereign lady; and so long as they did nothing prejudicial to the realm, nor against the weal of the same, he thought they could not be



enemies to England, having received such benefit as they had done at the king's majesty's hands. The governor replied that he would all the world were enemies to England, for he knew well he was the man the king's majesty loved worst of all men alive. Whereunto the master of Morton said he answered, that if so it was, he was himself the cause thereof; for of late he knew that the king's majesty loved and esteemed him as well as he did any nobleman in Scotland, and if he had observed his faith and promise to the king's majesty, he might have been sure to have had both his favour and also great honour by the same. The governor replied again, and said the king's majesty had broken with them first, in taking of their merchant ships and goods in the time of peace, and therefore he might justly break with him again. Then he told the said master of Morton, how the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, sir George Douglas, and the sheriff of Ayr, had dispatched the lord Somerville with letters and writings to the king's majesty, which letters, he said, were intercepted with the said lord Somerville, being about him when he was taken, and do contain no less than high treason; for that by the same it may appear that the said earls and lords intended to practise with the king's majesty, to the great mischief and confusion of this realm. And besides that, he said there was certain credence in the said letters committed to the lord Somerville, which he would gladly know; but he could in no wise cause the said Somerville confess the same. This communication, in effect, the said master of Morton told me that he had with the governor, who, he saith, is, by the persuasions of the cardinal, earnestly bent against England, and will, if he can, destroy and put down all such noblemen and others within the realm as do favour the same. Also I am informed that they have taken sir George Douglas's house of Pinkie, and the abbot of Dunfermling hath the possession of the same."

War with England seemed now inevitable, and on the 10th of November, the governor, who from his own private negotiations with him was perfectly well aware of Sadler's activity in keeping the lords of the English party together, wrote to the English ambassador in Tantallon castle, that understanding "he daily received and directed writings privately to and from sundry great

and small men within this realm, and sent thereupon advertisement to the king's majesty, being both very suspicious and hurtful to the common weal of Scotland," his desire was, if his commission continued, he should address himself unto him and declare his charge, and receive his answer thereupon; and if the same was expired, he was constrained by Sadler's "strange behaviour and practices," to charge him to depart forth of the realm with diligence. The ambassador wrote an immediate reply, disclaiming the imputation cast upon him by the governor, and stating that his commission endured until it should please the king to revoke it. "And also," he added, "standing such division in this realm, and such changes and alterations as I daily see chancing amongst you, I know not to whom I may repair, either to declare the king's majesty's mind, or to receive mine answer upon the same, till I shall know his majesty's pleasure; which known, I shall not fail to address myself for the execution thereof accordingly." This was followed, on the 17th of November, by a letter from the governor to the earl of Angus, directing him to expel the English ambassador from his castle, which produced only an evasive reply, the tenor of which may be understood by a new summons dated on the 26th of November, in which the governor addressed the earl in the following words:—"We have received your writing from Rothesay herald, bearing in effect that ye believed not we would have been miscontent that sir Ralph Sadler had been entreated (*entertained*) in your place of Tantallon; and now, seeing us altered towards him, ye desire a charge subscribed by all the lords to send him forth of your house. And truly, if he had used himself like an ambassador this time bygone, we would not have been miscontent of his treatment; but knowing nothing done by him according to such an office, seeing daily his great practices made to seduce and corrupt true faithful subjects of this realm to the opinion of England in this time of war, no way resorting towards us, in whose hands stands the authority of this realm, we thought necessary to charge him to depart, and you to devoid your house of him. And, where ye desire the whole lords to send you a charge thereto; we find it strange that ye should think our authority insufficient to discharge an Englishman of this country in time

of war. Wherefore we have sent the said Rothesay again unto you to charge you, in the name of the queen's grace and of us (conform to your desire) that ye cause him to pass homeward to his own country; desiring you to obey the same, as ye love to declare yourself wilful to do your duty to the queen's grace and this realm." At length, early in December, Sadler was recalled, and he returned to Berwick; and soon after his departure, Ray the English herald, arrived in Scotland, bearing a summons from the English monarch to the Scots, calling upon them at once to fulfil the late treaties, or take the alternative of war between the two countries. "If," said the king's message, "ye do like noblemen, and observe your covenants as the three estates have agreed unto, laying in such hostages as ye have promised by the same, ye shall be mercifully received and benignly handled. If ye do follow and persevere in your conjuration already commenced to the contrary, the quarrel of truth and honour shall be with force and puissance so maintained against you, as with God's help shall be shortly to your confusion. If, in the prosecution of such as be the authors and causers of the mischief, the innocent shall suffer, the king's majesty will be sorry. If such as mislike the conspiracy shall use any ways or means to declare their own dissembling from the rest, the king's majesty shall be glad to know them, and spare them, and help their deliverance from this inconvenient." "To this message," concluded the herald, "I ask answer within four days; after which time, if ye say nothing, your silence must be construed for the worst answer ye could devise."

The governor was perhaps taken by surprise with this message; he was not yet prepared for war, and, anxious no doubt to gain time by negotiation, he immediately despatched a Scottish herald with letters and a message to the English king. But the herald was stopped by the duke of Suffolk and sir Ralph Sadler on the border, and he was not allowed to proceed in his mission, as Henry declared he would receive no message unless it came from the three estates assembled in parliament. With the Scottish herald was a servant of the cardinal patriarch Grimani, who was recommended by the governor to obtain a safe-conduct for the patriarch to pass through England on his way to Rome. The letter of the English

privy council to Suffolk and Sadler, directing them to send back the herald, ends somewhat characteristically; after telling them they were to return the herald home again, it is added, "and the patriarch's man with him; to whom his majesty would your lordship should say, that it is not unknown to the said patriarch, in what terms the bishop of Rome, his master, and the king's majesty do stand; and therefore his majesty marvelleth he would send any servant of his into his realm without safe-conduct, or make any request himself to pass through the same. And much the rather, seeing that whensoever it fortuneth any servant or subject of his majesty's to come where the said bishop of Rome hath to do, he causeth the same to be used most cruelly, without respect of honour or charity. Nevertheless his majesty is contented, for this time, that he, the said patriarch's servant, shall return to his master without any hurt to be done to him by his majesty's commandment; wishing that his said master, and also his master's master, had more charity than they do use, and would rather endeavour themselves to set peace and quietness where dissension is, than travail to increase variance, and be occasion of the shedding of christian blood; and so to send the said herald and patriarch's man home together."

Meanwhile the parliament met at Edinburgh on the 3rd of December, and, acting under the guidance of the cardinal, resolved that the treaties with England should not be ratified. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the earl of Angus and the other lords who had signed the bond at Douglas castle. The offer of the French king to renew the ancient league was eagerly accepted, and ambassadors were sent to the kings of France and Denmark, to the emperor, and to the duke of Bavaria, to strengthen the continental alliances of Scotland. Some changes were at the same time made in the ministry. Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, a staunch supporter of the English party, was deprived of the office of treasurer, which was given to Arran's brother, the abbot of Paisley, who had been an active agent of the party now in power, and through whose vigilance the lords Somerville and Maxwell had been captured. The high office of chancellor was taken from the bishop of Glasgow and given to the cardinal.

The influence of the cardinal in this



parliament was also shown by the passing of an act against heretics, which was the more offensive to people in general, on account of the acts of Arran's government passed in a previous parliament for encouraging the reading of the scriptures, and the progress which the doctrines of the reformation had since made in Scotland. It was now declared by parliament that complaints were daily made to the governor against the heretics who were everywhere busy spreading opinions contrary to the true faith; and all prelates were enjoined to make inquisition within their dioceses and proceed against all who held such opinions, according to the ecclesiastical laws. The political embarrassments of the moment hindered the projects of persecution implied in this act from being immediately put into execution; but some open acts of the cardinal showed but too evidently the spirit by which he was guided. In a visit to Perth, where the reformed opinions had been openly professed, Beaton caused four men of that town, named Lamb, Anderson, Ranald, and Hunter, to be seized, and they were convicted of heresy on the evidence of a friar named Spence. Lamb was accused of interrupting the friar during a sermon, and of denying that prayers to the saints was a necessary means of salvation; while the three others were charged with treating an image of St. Francis with ridicule, and of eating meat during Lent. The men were hanged; and the wife of one of them, who was accused of refusing, during her recent labour, to pray to the virgin Mary, was drowned with circumstances of great cruelty. The fate of this poor woman especially excited general sympathy.

The increased power given to the cardinal by the proceedings of this parliament, and the accusations hanging over their own heads, alarmed the earl of Angus and his confederates, and they sought to avert the danger by entering into a bond with the earl of Arran, which was to supersede their treasonable bond with the English monarch. They appear to have raised an army and advanced to Leith, where they were confronted by a large force brought hastily together by the cardinal, and it was no doubt the wish to prevent a civil war which induced the governor to take the lords into favour on condition of this bond. It was agreed to at the rood-chapel of Greensyde beside Edinburgh, on the 13th of January, 1544, and was signed on the part of the lords by

the earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and sir James Sandilands of Calder, on the part of themselves and of the earls of Angus and Lennox, who were not present. The object of this bond was stated to be "for stanching of apparent danger of battle instantly, and for perfect obedience through all the realm, to induce rest and quietness among all our sovereign lady's lieges, and forthsetting of her authority, and to take away all occasion of division, sedition, insurrection, and rebellion in the realm in time to come, and to have a perfect unity for the faithful, true, and manly resistance of our old enemies of England." The earls and their confederates undertook in this bond, that they should "in all time coming remain true, faithful, and obedient subjects to our sovereign lady and her authority foresaid; and shall assist and concur with my lord governor and the authority for the defence of the realm against our old enemies of England, and in actions concerning the common weal, and for liberty of holy church, and defence of the Christian faith." On the other side it was stipulated that my lord governor and all the lords and noblemen aforesaid shall accept and receive the said earls, their complices and part-takers, in hearty love, favour, and kindness, according to their degree and estates. And my lord governor shall, in the queen's grace's name, with his advice and consent, discharge the pretended summons of treason and else, execute against George Douglas, brother to the said earl of Angus, and the other decernit (*decreed*) and unexecute against any part of the said earls and their friends, in the best manner for their weal, security, and honour, as they can best devise; and similarly shall remit and discharge all faults and crimes committed by them, or any one one of them, their complices and part-takers, any time afore the day of the date hereof, as they shall best devise how soon and what time they shall require the same." Pledges were to be given by Angus and the other lords as security for their performance of the terms of this bond.

The sincerity of this agreement may be judged from the circumstance that so early after it as the fifth of March following, the earl of Angus wrote a letter to the king of England, in which he made use of the following words:—"Pleased your majesty, that I would be very glad to know that

your highness were fully persuaded of my faithful mind, the which shall endure the time that I have to live, with the uttermost of my power, ever to be ready to your majesty's contentation, notwithstanding the contrary hath been vehemently shown to your highness; trusting you be persuaded with the truth, as concerning my part herein ere now; not doubting your majesty's good mind and benevolence towards me in all sorts, even as your highness always has done. And give credence to this bearer, your majesty's chaplain, as to myself, the which will declare my whole mind to your majesty at more length." We learn from a letter of the earl of Hertford to the king, what was the nature of the communication which the chaplain was instructed to deliver to the king on the part of the earl of Angus. "The chief cause of his repair now to your majesty is, as he saith, to accelerate your royal army and power into Scotland, which he saith all your majesty's friends there so specially desire, and they would and have devised, as he saith, that your highness should send in a main army by land to enter by Berwick, and a convenient army by sea to repair to Leith, there to join with the army that shall enter by land, and to bring victuals for the same. And also they would that your majesty should send the number of ten or twelve ships, well equipped and furnished, by the west seas, to do some annoyance to the earl of Argyle, leaving also a garrison of two or three thousand on the borders to annoy the lairds of St. Johnstoun and Buccleuch, and such others as be not your majesty's friends there. This he saith is the advice and opinion of the noblemen your majesty's friends in Scotland, which, as he saith, will join with your majesty's power, and make all the force they can to serve according to their promise. And, if your majesty send not your power shortly, before the aid looked for do come out of France, they think it will much hinder your highness's purposes, and put them, being your majesty's friends, to great lack and danger of destruction."

A continued correspondence was now carried on between the lords of Angus's party and England, the object of which was to hasten and facilitate the English invasion. In the course of this correspondence, a proposal was made, in the middle of April, for an attempt against the person of the cardinal. The laird of Brunstoun, a stanch protestant, sent a mes-

senger named Wishart to England, to say that Kirkaldy of Grange, with the master of Rothies (Norman Leslie), and John Charteris, were willing to undertake to apprehend or slay Beaton as he passed to or from St. Andrews through the Fyfe land, and, in case they took him alive, to deliver him into the king's hands. They desired to know the king's pleasure in this matter, and what support and maintenance he would afford them after the execution of the deed, in case they should be prosecuted by their enemies. They also wished the king to advance them sufficient money to keep a thousand or fifteen hundred men in wages for a month or two, in order that, while the king's army invaded Scotland, they might destroy the cardinal's towns and houses, "and all the other bishops' and abbots' houses on that side the water thereabouts, and to apprehend all those which they say be the principal impugnators of the amity between England and Scotland; for the which they should have a good opportunity, as they say, when the power of the said bishops and abbots shall resort towards Edinburgh to resist your majesty's army."

Before the English army marched, an agreement between the earl of Angus and his friends, and the king of England, was drawn up, by which the former were, to the utmost of their power, first, "to cause the word of God to be truly taught and preached among them and in their countries, as the sure and only foundation from whence proceedeth all truth and honour, and whereby they shall judge who proceedeth with them godly and justly, and who abuseth them for their own private glory and purpose." In the second place, they were to remain for ever perfect friends and servants to the king and his realm of England, and never to make any agreement, private or public, contrary or prejudicial to them, but to renounce the league with France, and any leagues they might have made with others against the English king, and they promised to serve the English king in his wars for the same wages as his English subjects. Thirdly, the said earls were diligently to foresee and take heed that the young queen of Scots should not be conveyed or stolen away, and do what they could to the uttermost of their power to get her person into their keeping, and thereupon to deliver her into the king's hands, to be educated in



his court with a view to her marriage with the prince. The fourth article was, that the earls were to assist the king in obtaining possession of Jedworth, Kelso, Roxburgh, Hume castle, the Hermitage, and other strongholds. The fifth and last article was, to use the words of the original document, that "the said earls shall, with all their force and power, join and concur with us, and do the uttermost they can to help us to be director and protector of that realm, and so shall use us, accept us, and name us director and protector of the said realm, and in all things obey us accordingly."

In consideration of these services, the king, having already dispatched his armies by sea and land into Scotland, promised that the lands of the earls of his party should be carefully spared from the devastations of war. "Second," the king proceeds to say, "whereas the earl of Lennox maketh suit unto us for the office of governor underneath us, we are contented that, having attained ourself first the direction and rule of the said realm, we will grant him the said office under us, with certain such others to be of counsel with him in the said government as we shall appoint, so as he do accept us for the director and protector, and do from time to time advertise us of all matters of any weight or importance, and do in no wise call or consent to the calling of any parliament, nor do any act contrary to the common law and order of that realm, nor give or dispose anything that shall be confiscate or otherwise grow to the crown, without our express consent." The earl of Lennox, as governor, was to receive such portion of the revenue of the kingdom as should be judged meet and convenient; and the king reserved the appointment of his council, and he was to have in his own custody such of the strongholds "as shall be to us thought necessary, being the

director and protector of the said realm, for the stay of the country and keeping the same in good order." The king promised further to aid and assist the earl of Lennox against his rival the earl of Arran. Further, "to the intent that the said earls of Lennox and Glencairn shall extend all their powers and force for the accomplishment of all such things which we have required them to do, we are contented of our liberality to give forthwith to the said earl of Glencairn one thousand crowns, and so to continue in pension, upon condition nevertheless that both he and the said earl of Lennox do first agree unto our foresaid demands, and lay in the hostages for the performance of the same accordingly. And whereas the earl of Lennox, as well by his secretary as other ways, hath made suit unto us to have in marriage the lady Margaret our niece, if the said suit shall be now afterwards renewed on the behalf of the said earl, and he for his part do and perform such covenants as are to be done and performed by him, and in his doings and proceedings shall use himself according to our expectation, that then, if they our said niece and he, seeing one the other, shall agree and well like together for that purpose, we shall not only agree to such order touching the said marriage as shall be to the said earl's just contentation, but also have such further consideration of his good service towards us as shall appertain."

A private treaty in conformity with these articles was entered into and signed at Carlisle, on the 17th of May; and towards the end of June Lennox repaired to London, where he received letters of naturalization, dated on the 6th of July, and his marriage with the lady Margaret, daughter of queen Margaret and the earl of Angus, probably took place within a few days after. By him she was the mother of the celebrated lord Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart.

## CHAPTER XIV.

INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY THE EARL OF HERTFORD; EDINBURGH AND LEITH BURNT; THE EARL OF ANGUS MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL; PROCEEDINGS OF LENNOX; BATTLE OF ANCRAM MOOR.

ALTHOUGH Henry's preparations for invasion were notorious, no plan had been formed for resistance, and when, on the 1st of May, the English fleet, of two hundred sail, appeared in the Forth, the Scots seem to have been entirely taken by surprise. It was not till the English ships approached near to Leith, that the citizens of Edinburgh were really aware of the danger which threatened them, and then there seems to have been nothing but terror and confusion. The earl of Hertford was allowed, without interruption, to disembark his troops and artillery during four days, at a place called Granton Craig; and it was only when the English army was on its march to Leith, that the earl of Arran and the cardinal, with a few troops raised by themselves and the earls of Huntley and Argyle, made a show of disputing their progress; but they were immediately repulsed, and then the governor and his friends made a hasty retreat to Linlithgow. The English entered Leith without further opposition, and it was delivered up to the army to plunder. The inhabitants of Edinburgh took up arms under their provost, Otterburn of Reidhall, and barricaded their gates; but it was determined to attempt to avert the danger by negotiation, and Otterburn was sent to the English camp, to propose an amicable adjustment of the differences between the two countries. Hertford replied that he came as a soldier, and not as an ambassador, and that his commission was to burn and destroy. He stated, as the only condition on which he could withdraw his army, that they must deliver up their young queen to the English monarch. The citizens, thereupon, prepared for their defence, but at this moment they were deserted by their provost, who had, perhaps, been tampered with by the English commander. Nevertheless, when Hertford approached the city, the inhabitants made so obstinate a defence, that he was obliged to withdraw until he could bring up his heavy artillery from Leith. Time was thus given to the citizens to reflect on the folly of resistance, and, during the night which followed, they quietly carried off the principal part of their moveables, and abandoned the town. When Hertford

returned next day, he found Edinburgh deserted, except by the garrison, which, under Hamilton of Stenhouse, occupied the castle, which was defended with so much vigour, that the English, after trying in vain to construct a battery, and losing some of their men, were constrained to raise the siege; and in their disappointment they set fire to the city, which is said to have burned during three days. The English army had been reinforced by a body of nearly four thousand cavalry, under lord Eure, which had marched overland from the border, and it was employed for many days burning and plundering the country for a great distance round, without meeting with any effective resistance. At length, as though weary with destroying, the English commander prepared to return, and, after the town of Leith had been delivered to the flames, one portion of the English army was re-embarked in the fleet under the lord high admiral, lord Lisle, while the other marched southwardly, commanded by Hertford in person. The fleet proceeded slowly along the coast, destroying all the Scottish shipping they met with; while the earl of Hertford, equally remorseless, wasted the country on his way, burning the towns of Seton, Haddington, Dunbar, and Renton.

The English in this invasion had not received the assistance they had been led to expect from their friends in Scotland. This was, perhaps, partly owing to the precaution of the earl of Arran, who had placed under arrest the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, with one or two of their confederates. Having hastily raised an army, though too late, the governor, as a matter of policy, set them at liberty, believing that they would co-operate with him for the defence of their country; but the first use sir George Douglas made of his liberty was to repair secretly to Leith, for the purpose of giving advice to the earl of Hertford for the further carrying on of the war. Nevertheless, king Henry was provoked at the little assistance he received from his Scottish friends, and in the return of his army, the lands of the Douglasses, through which it passed, were ravaged with unrelenting



severity. The earl of Angus and his brother were indignant at this attack, and they immediately joined the party of the governor and the cardinal.

According to the counsel which had been given to Henry before the expedition against Leith set out, the earls of Lennox and Glencairn were sent to the west of Scotland to raise their strength, and draw the attention of the governor from the more serious attack on the other side. Their presence in Scotland had the effect anticipated, for, Lennox having established himself at Dumbarton and Glencairn at Glasgow, Arran found it immediately necessary to raise troops and proceed against them, and he soon advanced to Glasgow at the head of a body of a thousand men. Glencairn had not yet had time to raise his dependents and followers, and perhaps he found them less willing than he expected, but with five hundred men who were with him in Glasgow, he boldly marched out and encountered his opponents on an extensive plain near the city. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, but it ended in the defeat of Glencairn, who lost one of his sons and many of his men. The governor immediately marched into Glasgow, and the city, because the citizens were said to have taken part with Glencairn, was given up to the troops, who plundered it so remorselessly, that they even carried away the doors and window-shutters from the houses. The earl of Glencairn fled to Dumbarton, where he was received by the earl of Lennox, who immediately entrusted that strong fortress to his charge, while he himself proceeded to England to solemnize his marriage with the princess Margaret.

Although Arran was thus successful in the west, the sufferings which the country had undergone, and the little which had been done to prevent it, seemed to have weakened his influence and that of the cardinal. It was at this moment that a coalition was entered into between the queen-dowager and the earl of Angus, which appears to have had the support of the greater part of the nobility. A convention of the nobility was appointed at Linlithgow on the 28th of May, for the purpose of considering the state of the kingdom, and to cause justice to be done to the queen's lieges, "which has not been done but little in times bygone;" and to provide for resisting "the old enemies of England," who were threatening another invasion. The con-

vention was adjourned to Stirling, where the lords assembled in great force on the 3rd of June, and, after long consultation, certain matters were referred to the consideration of "a sage number of lords," "who should pass by themselves, and find the causes why inobedience hath been in times bygone, and justice not done nor executed, and all other things where-through the common weal is hurt, and to find remedies thereunto; and as they find, so to article in special with their aid and counsel." After three or four days' continual deliberation and debate, the committee of lords "finally found that one great part why inobedience hath been within this realm sithens the king's grace's decease, and that other inconveniences have happened, was and is in my lord governor and his council that was chosen to have been with him for the time." The committee made its report on the sixth, and recommended by an unanimous resolution, "for remedy hereof in times coming, and that perfect obedience may be to our sovereign lady's authority, unity, concord, and perfect amity may be had among all our sovereign lady's lieges, and specially among the great men, and that they may convent (*meet together*) at all times to give their counsel in all matters concerning the queen's grace our sovereign lady and her realm, and that justice may be done and executed among the lieges thereof, and that resistance may be made to our enemies, the queen's grace our sovereign lady's mother should be adjoined with my lord governor in the using of the authority of government in all times coming, and should be equal with him thereunto; and that one great council should be chosen of sixteen persons, twelve of them the greatest earls and temporal lords of the realm, and four spiritual men."

After this resolution of the committee of lords had been read, the governor, who was present, was asked to give his consent to it, but he requested time to consider. For this purpose he was accordingly allowed till the evening of the next day, but that day passed over and Arran gave no answer. On the ninth, a formal summons was sent to the governor requiring him to attend the meeting of the lords on the day following, there to give in his adhesion to their resolution, announcing to him that if he failed, "the lords would determine him to be suspended from the administration of his offices and would provide how the same should be

used in time to come, while further remedy were found thereto."

On the morning of the tenth of June, the lords assembled in their usual place of meeting, the refectory of the Grey Friars, and waited for the earl of Arran's reply from ten o'clock to midday, but he neither came himself nor wrote. "Then the lords gave their decree, decerning (*decreeing*) my lord governor to be suspended, and suspending him from the administration of his offices, while further remedy were found therefor. And because of the urgent necessity of the realm, and invading of the same by our old enemies of England, and for the forthsetting of our sovereign lady's authority and perfect obedience to be had thereto, unity and concord to be had among all them of this realm, both great and small, without the administration of the government were put in some person's hands most convenient therefor; the said lords without variance have thought no other person more convenient thereto than the queen's grace our sovereign lady's mother, for the good and urgent causes before expressed; and therefore have chosen her grace to use and minister in the said office of government, with the advice of the lords of council, conform to the acts and ordinances made thereupon of before, while further remedy be made hereto." The lords present, both temporal and spiritual, thereupon took their oaths to the queen dowager. Among the signatures to the act of this convention, that of Angus stands first, and there can be no doubt that he had been a prime mover in this new revolution, the earlier progress of which is wrapped in the deepest mystery. It did not produce the effect which was expected from it, for it was a coalition of parties without sincerity; "every lord," to use the words of the contemporary *Diurnal*, "did for his own particular profit, and took no heed of the common weal, but tholit (*suffered*) the Englishmen and thieves to overrun this realm. There was no credit among the nobility at this present."

This revolution only rendered more complicated the embarrassments of the country. The cardinal and the earl of Arran stood aloof, and the latter persevered in using his title and exercising his authority of governor; while, on the other hand, the coalition which supported the queen was in many respects an insincere one. To increase their embarrassments, the highlands and isles were disturbed to such a degree with pri-

vate feuds, that at last they assumed the graver character of open rebellion, which it required the presence of the earls of Huntley and Argyle to reduce. A contest between two rival clans at Inverlochy in Invernesshire, eight hundred on one side and five hundred on the other, was remarkable for its ferocity. They met to decide a quarrel between lord Lovat and the chief of the Macdonalds, and, on account of the heat of the weather, they fought in their shirts. At the conclusion of the battle, there remained alive only four on one side and two on the other, and the two were slain after the earl of Bothwell arrived to mediate between them. At Perth, the cardinal, in his late ecclesiastical progress thither, had interfered with the internal government of the town. Beaton suspected that lord Ruthven, who was then provost of Perth, favoured the preaching of the reformers in that town, and he deprived him of his office, and ordered the citizens to elect Charteris of Kinfauns in his place. Neither Ruthven nor the citizens were inclined to submit quietly to the orders of the cardinal, and they took up arms to defend their provost, who brought some of his vassals to their assistance. Lords Gray and Glamis, and Norman Lesley, master of Rothes, took part with Charteris, and they collected their followers and made their way into Perth to install the new provost by force; but they met with such an obstinate resistance, that they were ultimately driven out of the city, with considerable loss. Although the apparent object of the cardinal was thus defeated, he had succeeded in sowing dissension between barons who were equally hostile to himself.

While these events were taking place in Scotland, the long-projected expedition, under the earl of Lennox, was preparing in England to sail to the western coasts. Lennox had possession of the important castle of Dumbarton, which he promised to deliver into the hands of the English monarch, with the other strongholds which should be taken in this expedition. Lennox set sail early in August, with a squadron of ten ships, and a small force of hagbutteers, archers, and pikemen. They first directed their course to the isle of Arran, which was attacked and plundered, and they proceeded thence to Bute, which also, with its castle of Rothesay, was taken possession of with little resistance. They



were both taken in the name of the king of England, and were delivered to sir Rise Mansell and sir Richard Brooke. Lennox next proceeded up the Clyde to Dumbarton, where he found an unexpected resistance. On his departure from England, Lennox had entrusted this fortress to the care of one of his retainers, Stirling of Glorat, and he expected that it would be delivered up to him the moment he appeared to reclaim it; but the garrison refused to surrender it to the English who accompanied him, and learning that George Douglas had marched into the town of Dumbarton with a force of four thousand men, that the earl of Glencairn, who was to join with him in this expedition, had deserted his English alliance, and that the earl of Argyle, with a strong force of highlanders, had occupied Dunoon, a castle which commanded the strait between Argyle and Renfrew, it was thought best that the squadron should immediately return down the Clyde. In passing Dunoon, they were fired at by the enemy, on which Lennox landed under cover of the fire of his own ships, and attacking the highlanders, defeated them with considerable slaughter. He then invaded Kentire, and plundered the adjacent coasts of Kyle and Carrick, and thus ended an expedition from which such important results had been expected.

King Henry was at this time at Boulogne, engaged in a new war with France, but he looked forward with anxiety to learn the result of the expedition under Lennox. He was indignant at the conduct of the earl of Glencairn; but well satisfied with the faithful service of Lennox, he soon afterwards sent him to Carlisle, to watch the progress of affairs in Scotland. Although the Douglasses pretended to have left their league with England, yet it is evident that their professions were not sincere; and we learn from the instructions given to Lennox by the king, that one of his objects was to obtain a communication with the earl of Angus, who it appears had sent a messenger to England to promise his services. "Then," say the king's instructions, "whether the earl of Lennox himself meet with the earl of Angus or send unto him, neither he nor his messenger shall enter any purpose of the king's majesty's affairs, but only devise and practise with the said earl of Angus upon their own private affairs, how to come to the rule of governor, and to depose him that now is; and for that purpose shall hold

up the said earl of Angus with all the best words and means he can set forth, making fair weather with him. Then, in case the said earl of Angus shall break with him concerning the king's affairs, he shall then on his own behalf, and as it were of a good will he beareth to him and his honour, specially having married his daughter, charge him with the great ingratitude he hath used towards his majesty and his realm, rehearsing what kindness and benefits his majesty hath shown and done for him and his blood continually, and how all the world noteth him for the doings he useth against his majesty for the same, being now a principal worker, he and his brother, against his honour and conscience. And, if the said earl of Angus shall set forth the matter of the marriage, and offer that the treaty made concerning the same and the peace shall be observed, the earl of Lennox shall say, as of himself, that he cannot with his honour speak in it, or move it to his majesty, they have had so little regard to their faiths and promises. But, if they would concerning that matter so proceed, as his majesty may have cause to put a trust and confidence in them, he would be glad, both for the affection he beareth to his own natural country, and also for the singular love he is beholden to owe to the king's majesty and this realm, that both the realms were in a quiet; the only way whereunto, and that the foresaid marriage may take effect, he shall say is to deliver the young princess into his majesty's hands. For as touching hostages to be given for the delivery of her hereafter, what trust can his majesty have thereunto, seeing that they have so small regard unto the discharge of hostages? They be bounden already to his majesty, a great sort of them, to re-enter, when they be called for; and have laid hostages for that purpose, some their sons, some their brothers and nephews; whose redemption how little they esteem all the world seeth to their great dishonour. And greater hostages than their children, brothers, and cousins, they cannot lay, which having neglected, as they have done already, how can his majesty give faith and trust to them upon any hostages."

From the time when Lennox started on his unsuccessful expedition to Dumbarton until the date of the instructions just given, Scotland was suffering under all the evils of divided counsels. Arran and the queen-dowager claimed rival powers, and attempted to hold rival parliaments. The earl of



Angus, who professed to have deserted his English leagues and to be acting cordially with the queen, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, on the 14th of July; and a parliament having been called to meet at Edinburgh on the last day of the same month, Arran and his friends, collecting a sufficient force of men, established themselves in the capital to prevent it. Each party now marched about in force, and there appeared the prospect of a civil war totally unconnected with the intrigues of the English agents. We are told in the old diurnal of occurrences, that, on the 17th of August, Arran, as governor, arrested the lord St. John and the lairds of Calder and Dundas, and threw them into prison in the castle of Blackness, upon which sir George Douglas captured lord Borthwick, a stanch supporter of the governor, and imprisoned him in Dalkeith until the laird of Calder was set at liberty. On the 5th of November, the governor held a parliament in Edinburgh, in which the earl of Angus and his brother were charged with high treason, and threatened with all its penalties; while only eight days after, on the 13th of November, the queen held her parliament at Stirling, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, discharging all classes of persons from their allegiance to the governor. This moment was seized upon by the cardinal to negotiate a reconciliation between the two rival parties, which was loudly called for by the melancholy state of the country; for during the whole of the autumn, the southern districts had been exposed to continual invasions from the English, which had reduced them almost to a desert.

No sooner had Angus been appointed to the office of lieutenant, than he made a show of energy by summoning the whole force of the kingdom to be ready to accompany him against "their old enemies of England;" but this bravado seems to have had no result, which was also the case with another similar proclamation in the beginning of October. Better prospects, however, seemed to open, when, in the middle of November, through the inter-mediation of the cardinal, Arran united with the queen, the immediate consequence of their reconciliation being a proclamation made in the governor's name, by the queen's consent, summoning the lieges to assemble in arms at Dunbar on the last day of November, with twenty days' provision. On the day appointed, seven thousand men

mustered at Dunbar, and the artillery being taken from the castle, they marched to lay siege to the church and priory of Col-dingham, which had been seized and fortified by the English. But they had hardly commenced operations, when suspicions of treason began to spread through the Scottish army, and to alarm the chiefs. The governor, informed falsely of the advance of an English army from Berwick, and persuaded that it was the intention of his army to deliver him up to the enemy, suddenly left the camp, and with a few of his friends hurried to Dunbar. The flight of their commander-in-chief caused a general discouragement, and the army was already beginning to disperse, when the English, whose numbers amounted to about two thousand, set upon them. The panic was now complete, and the Scots were in an instant defeated and driven from the field. It is difficult, among the contradictory reports of the time, to ascertain the exact causes of this disaster; the one party ascribed it to the pusillanimity of the earl of Arran, while the other imputed it to the treason of the earl of Angus, who, they said, with his friends the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, lord Somerville, and the sheriff of Ayr, having the command of the vanguard, set the example of flight. Bothwell, they say, on the contrary, distinguished himself by his patriotic courage in rallying the rear and resisting the attacks of the enemy. The other party tell us, that it was Angus and his associates who made the best resistance, and that by their bravery alone the artillery was saved.

The country was now reduced to a melancholy state; overrun and ravaged by the English without opposition, and the inhabitants of whole districts, receiving no protection from their own government, sought safety by swearing allegiance to the king of England, and wearing the English badge of the red cross. Those who were still able to preserve their independence, entered into bonds among themselves for mutual defence. The nobility were still occupied chiefly in their personal intrigues. In the beginning of December there was a parliament held in Edinburgh, at which Angus and his friends obtained a reversal of the sentence of treason which had been proclaimed against them. It was then resolved to raise, by means of a land-tax, a sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, to



support a thousand horsemen for three months, to serve under the earl of Angus, as lieutenant-general; but so general were the suspicions under which this nobleman now lay, that neither money nor horsemen could be raised. Angus was equally unsuccessful in his appeal to the chiefs of Lothian to meet him at Haddington on the 17th of December; and he passed thence to Tantallon, where he held the feast of Yule, or Christmas, with his friends, "and took little heed to the country, but let them do for themselves." The opening of the new year brought a renewal of the ravage of the Scottish territory; for while the garrison of Wark crossed the border, and their plundering parties scattered destruction far and wide, the garrison of Coldingham, following their example, issued forth, and burned the towns and villages to a considerable distance. Such was the general distrust of the government, since the alliance with the Douglasses, that when, on the 23rd of February, 1645, the governor went to Lauder, and summoned the country by proclamation to join his standard, they would not rise, "because the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas were with him."

That this suspicion was not without ground is evident from the correspondence which is preserved in the English State Paper Office. Early in February sir George Douglas had had a secret interview with sir Ralph Eure, the English warden of the middle marches, and on the 15th he wrote a letter from Edinburgh to Henry VIII., deprecating the king's displeasure, and promising him his service. This letter was accompanied with notes of intelligence on Scottish affairs which had been given to sir Ralph Eure by Douglas, in which he informed him that by his persuasion his brother the earl of Angus had offered to resign his office of lord lieutenant, on the ground "that the promises that were made to him were not kept." He stated that no one would accept the office, which, as we have seen before, Henry insisted that Angus should lay down. "They (the council of state) required of me," writes sir George, "how this country should be defended; and I said the governor should defend it, for it was his office, and he hath both the profit and the pleasure, and was a lusty young man, and meet to be exercised in warfare, and my brother should be ready to serve the queen's authority, similarly as other noblemen of the realm did." Angus's re-

signation was not accepted. "Nought the less," adds sir George, "I shall cause him to use himself in such a sort, that ye shall have no cause to complain of our kindness, the king standing good and gracious prince to us and our friends." In the conclusion of this remarkable document, sir George Douglas proceeds to advise, "Ninthly, methinks it were good that the king's majesty, if it may stand with his most gracious pleasure, make proclamations on the borders both of England and Scotland, and to send a herald with his coat of armour upon him, declaring to all those that would favour and assist to the peace and contract of marriage that was made at London by the ambassadors of Scotland, having full commission to complete and end the same, and was fully ended on both the parts, and thereafter falsely broken by evil Scotchmen, to the great hurt and damage of the country, and to their great dishonour and manifest falsehood that so did. Nought the less all good true Scotchmen, that will favour and assist to the honour of our sovereign lady the queen's grace, the common weal and quietness of their realm, and to maintain and fortify the foresaid peace and contract, they shall be favoured and defended by the king's majesty of England, both their bodies, lands, and goods, and taken and accepted as true men; and they that will do the contrary shall be persecuted with fire and sword to the most extremity. This article being wisely set forth, I trust surely it shall cause the most part of Scotland to favour the king's opinion, he performing this same in deed, and so put him to no cost nor charges; for ye have been too cruel as well upon your friends as enemies, in so far that the whole people believe that, if ye be masters, there is nothing but death to them all, man, woman, and child. Therefore there must be comfort again to bring their hearts towards you, in hope of gentle handling to those that will assent to your opinions, and to gar (make) them understand that it is a common weal, and no particular matter of yours. Wisdom, mixed with force, will help much in great affairs. Tenthly," says sir George, "I am sore slandered for my speaking with you (sir Ralph Eure), both with the queen and governor; nought the less will the king's majesty handle these matters wisely, his highness shall have my service, God nought offended, my poor honesty saved, and that it may stand with the weal of both the realms, and the safety of Christian people,



and quietness of the same; which I pray God send his grace amongst us. Lastly, I desire you heartily to remember my poor friends, and be good unto them, which shall give me occasion to serve with the better heart; for truly I and my friends have had more hurt by England nor any man within the realm of Scotland, I never offending to his majesty, as I take God to my record."

King Henry ruined his best projects by the overbearing tone he assumed in conducting them. Douglas, in his communications with sir Ralph Eure, had made excuses for his conduct "in labouring so much to have the favour of the queen, the governor, and the cardinal;" he had sought the king's indulgence for this, on account of the services he was ready to perform; and among other things he suggested that ambassadors should be sent from Scotland to negotiate a reconciliation between the two countries. The king replied in a letter of the 19th of February: "We let you to wite (*know*)," he said, "that, albeit having done so much both for you and your brother as we have done, and as yourself at the foresaid meeting did confess, and all the world knoweth besides, and in recompense thereof, finding you not only slack in the advancement of our affairs, but more adverse and against the same than any our most mortal foes within that realm have been, and using dark fashions anempst (*towards*) us, in all your doings and proceedings, as we have good cause to conceive an evil opinion of you, and to bear you our displeasure justly for the same; yet, we being a prince of clemency, not desirous of revenge where we see humble submission, forasmuch as we perceive by the information of our said warden that you are sorry for that which is past, and desire of us pardon therefor, showing that it should be much to your comfort to hear from us that we were your good and gracious lord, upon the hope we have that your words proceed from a sincere heart, albeit you have heretofore given us occasion to think the contrary, and that from henceforth you for your part will serve us according to your promise and our expectation, and likewise cause your brother to leave the office of lieutenantship, which he hath taken upon him in hand, we are contented to remit and pardon you of all that is past, and to accept you unto our favour and grace again; trusting you will give us cause to be good lord unto you, like as indeed we determine to be

in case your doings be correspondent to your sayings. As touching the coming in of ambassadors, and also the desperation amongst the noblemen of Scotland, for that it is bruited (*rumoured*) that we will no way but an extreme war, and that we intend to conquer the realm, and to make all the noblemen shepherds; surely that bruit (*rumour*) is most unjust, and devised by them which would rather your mischief and your destruction, than any good way between these two realms. And for our part we have never given that whereby you or any other should gather or think by our proceedings any such unjust opinion of us, what just occasion soever hath been ministered unto us to work extremities, and to seek revenge of dishonourable and most disloyal proceedings of those amongst you there with us. Somewhat God hath already plagued that realm, and without short amendment, will undoubtedly plague it more vehemently. Nevertheless, for our part, we were never so much given to seek revenge on that realm, what cause soever we had ministered unto us, but to them that would submit themselves earnestly and seek unfeignedly to redub things by-past, we could be contented to incline our heart to grace and clemency, which you may be bold to notify to the rest on our behalf. And therefore, seeing that the governor, queen, and nobles of that realm make now sute and request to treat with us upon the marriage of our son and pronepte (*great niece*), and the establishment of a peace, if that they mean it effectually, and to the intent there may be amity and concord between both the realms, will shortly, within eight or ten days after the delivery of these our letters unto you, and *bona fide* proceed with us, and send your commissioners, we are contented to grant a safe-conduct to any two or three they will send for that purpose to come to our town of Alnwick, so as yourself be one; trusting you will travel (*labour*) that the other two also shall be men of reason and good disposition to bring the things to a good perfection. Signifying unto you that, when you shall advertise our lieutenant of those which shall be sent out of Scotland be ready to come, appointing the number of twenty in their company, fully instructed and authorized by the governor, queen, and the consent of the whole parliament to commune and conclude upon the said purposes, wherein



we advertise you we look to have more substantialler hostages and more larger conditions than before we agreed unto, when those which be now our enemies were our friends, we will address to our said lieutenant a safe-conduct, with a blank for the names of them to be inserted that shall come, who shall send it unto you upon your request for the same; and likewise will appoint commissioners to meet you at our said town, full authorized and instructed to commune and conclude on our behalf. Requiring you that, unless it be meant there to work sincerely and directly with us, there be none sent; for if you should practise with us to seek delay and win time, you shall lose your credit for ever, both with us and all other, and provoke our displeasure the more against you, purchasing thereby at length your own confusions; whereas dealing uprightly and truly, as besemeth men of honour and noble blood, winning therewithal reason and indifferent conformity, it cannot be chosen but honour and good will ensue thereupon, and such a quietness, peace, and tranquillity as shall be benefieial to both the realms."

The answer of sir George Douglas to this letter is interesting for the further light which it throws on the character of the men who were thus intriguing between their country and its invaders. "Pleaseth your most graecious highness, that I received your letter at Lauder the 24 of February, dated at Westminster the 19 of the same, which makes mention of the receipt of my letter with certain communication that was betwixt sir Ralph Eure and me, and that I should have confessed that I feared your majesty's displeasure towards me. I was so informed, and is very glad to have your most gracious favour; for I never deserved to have no displeasure, but bade extremely at your majesty's opinion, unto such time that I was put in the castle of Edinburgh in prison, and there kept long, and had lost my life, if God had not provided your grace's army to come in Scotland; and in the present time of my imprisonment, your majesty's subjects burnt and destroyed and took away all my goods, and all my friends' goods and servants that longed to me. I had a thousand pounds worth of hurt more nor any Scotchman within Scotland, notwithstanding my true service toward your majesty, which, I take God to my record,

that being advertised of your majesty's high displeasure contrair (*against*) me, and of my great hurts that I have taken by your subjects, I was constrained of force to take such a life in Scotland as I might have. Therefore I trust, if your grace had known the truth, ye would not alledge no falsehood in me, which shall be sore to commit any, but always to remember your goodness, and to make such cause as a poor man may to such a noble prince of honour. And, where your majesty's pleasure is to write, that the Scots is informed that ye should stand extreme unto them, if ye were master of this realm, and that ye would make the gentlemen no better than shepherds; I declared such words to sir Ralph Eure, for I hear the report accordingly; and, by reason of the extreme war that is used of killing women and young children, and Scottish prisoners that comes forth from England hear reporting of gentlemen, saying that your majesty will have a plain conquest of this realm, and that ye will kill men, women, and children. This bruit (*report*) puts a great fear in the people's hearts, and turns their hearts clearly from you; while gentle handling and good words will turn the favour of the people, which may be a great help to your majesty's affairs. And farther, where your majesty's pleasure is to write that the queen and governor and nobles of this realm make suit for the intreating of the marriage betwixt the prince's grace, your majesty's dearest son, and the queen's grace our sovereign lady, and to have peace and quietness betwixt these two realms; at my last communing with sir Ralph Eure, he showed unto me that your majesty would not be contented to treat upon these matters, but if ye had the Scottish prisoners first entered, and thereafter ambassadors should have a passport to come to Darneton to your majesty's lieutenant, and there to show their commissions and articles to my said lord. These matters I moved to the governor and lords. The queen was departed from Edinburgh to Stirling or (*before*) my returning; and I found the governor and lords not at the entering of the prisoners, nor at the showing of the ambassadors' commission nor articles to your majesty's lieutenant, and by the reason hercof it proceeded no farther in these matters unto the time that I know your most gracious pleasure; but now according to your mind I shall move these



matters as it come of myself unto the queen, governor, and lords. But I may not send your grace so hasty an answer as ye desire, for these causes; the queen is into Stirling, the governor is in Lauder, within ten miles of Jedburgh, and the lords the most part of them are at home in their own countries. Nevertheless I shall labour as diligently as it shall be to me possibly, to know their perfect mind in these behalfs, and thereafter shall not fail to give your majesty sure advertisement without any driving of time of delays, for I will not fail to do my utter power in the setting forward of these good works, which I trust, by the pleasure of God, shall be the saving of Christian blood unshed, and wealth of both the realms. I shall pray for grace that this purpose may come to a good perfection."

This letter was written on the 25th of February, at Lauder, when Arran was collecting an army to protect the border. For some time the English had met with no resistance in their inroads, and the country for miles had been reduced to absolute desolation; and so confident had the English borderers been made by their uninterrupted course of success, that they talked of conquering the whole country to the Forth. The two wardens, sir Ralph Eure and sir Brian Layton, proposed a scheme for that purpose to the English monarch, and Eure is said to have obtained a grant, or at least a promise, of all the country he could subdue in the Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale. These districts contained much of the hereditary property of the Douglasses, and it is not to be wondered at if the earl of Angus was deeply offended at this measure of confiscation; and he is said to have sworn that, if Eure acted upon this rumoured grant, he would write the act of entry upon his estates on his back with steel pens and bloody ink. While the earl was in this temper, he learnt that the English wardens had crossed the border with an army of 5,000 men, consisting of foreign mercenaries, English archers, and border Scots who fought under the English badge of the red cross. This inroad was marked by scenes of unusual ferocity. The lady of Broomhouse, with her whole family, was burnt in her tower, or castle; and not content with plundering and burning the town of Melrose, the invaders defaced its ancient abbey, and broke up the tombs of the earls of Douglas, whose family burial-place it was.

This new insult provoked the earl of

Angus to the highest degree, and he determined to revenge it. According to the statements of one party, he reproached Arran with pusillanimity and remissness, and urged him to show himself worthy of his country. It is certain that he raised his vassals, and joined the army of the governor at Lauder, whence they advanced to Melrose, but they were there attacked by the English and defeated with considerable slaughter. This disaster was also laid to the charge of sir George Douglas's treachery. The English, having again plundered Melrose, fell back upon Jedburgh, followed at a distance by the forces under Angus and Arran, until the invaders encamped on a level moor above the village of Ancram. The Scots encamped also on a neighbouring eminence, discouraged now by their own inferiority of numbers, but at this moment they were joined by Norman Lesley, who was known as one of the most chivalrous knights of Scotland, and who brought with him twelve hundred lances. The laird of Buccleuch arrived almost at the same moment, with information that he had armed his warlike vassals, and that they were near at hand. It was determined now to await the enemy, and by the advice of Buccleuch, the horses were sent attended by the camp boys to a neighbouring hill, and the fighting men being all dismounted, were placed in the hollow below, so as to be concealed from the English. The effect of this stratagem was to make the English believe that the Scots were preparing to fly in the night, and they determined immediately to attack them, although they were already fatigued by a long march.

The English army was marshalled in three divisions. The first, commanded by sir Brian Layton and sir Robert Bowes, rushed forwards at full speed; the main body followed under sir Ralph Eure; and the third division formed the rearward. When the first division had passed the eminence, breathless, and their ranks disordered by the rapidity of their march, they found to their astonishment the Scots drawn up in array of battle ready to receive them. They were too near to allow the English to halt even to reform their ranks, and their commander led them on bravely to the charge; but the Scots, who were on foot, had all the advantage of their long spears, and after a desperate fight, and the loss of many men, the English in the vanguard fell back upon their main battle and both retreated



together and in confusion upon the rear. The English were fighting under other disadvantages, for they had the sun and the wind in their faces, and their leaders seem to have fallen early in the battle. The consequence was, that they were soon thrown into the utmost disorder, and this was no sooner perceived, than the borderers, who fought under the banner of England, threw away their red crosses, and joined in the slaughter, and even the peasantry of the surrounding districts rose and pursued the English in their flight. About eight hundred are said to have been killed, and not less than a thousand, including many knights and gentlemen, taken prisoners; and the triumph of the Scots was complete, when they found among the slain the bodies of their two most detested enemies, sir Ralph Eure and sir Brian Layton.

The battle of Ancram Moor was fought on the 27th of February, 1545. The governor marched thence to Coldingham, which, having been deserted by its English garrison, he committed to the custody of sir George Douglas. He next proceeded to Jedburgh, and in a very short time recovered the greater part of the Scottish territory which had been occupied by the enemy. He was accompanied by the earl of Angus, to whom and his friends the victory at Ancram was chiefly ascribed. King Henry was highly enraged at the active part which Angus played on this occasion; he accused him of base ingratitude, and threatened to make him feel his utmost resentment. We are told, although on authority which is not quite unexceptionable, that the earl, when he heard of Henry's anger, expressed his astonishment that his royal brother-in-law should be offended at his revenging on sir

Ralph Eure the violated tombs of his ancestors; and that he added scornfully, "They were better men than he, and I ought to have done no less; and will he take my life for that? Little does king Henry know the skirts of Kernetable, where I can hold myself against all his English host."

If Angus did speak in terms like this, it was but the outburst of momentary anger, for within a month we find him speaking of the English monarch in a very different tone; and on the 2nd of April following, the earl of Cassillis wrote from Edinburgh a letter in cypher to Henry VIII., excusing Angus for the part he had taken in the late engagement. "And further," writes the earl of Cassillis, "your majesty shall know that the earl of Angus, perceiving by me your majesty's good mind to the weal of Scotland, has this day discharged (*resigned*) his office of lieutenantry, to give occasion to the 'leif' to offer such things to your majesty as may stand with your majesty's pleasure and the weal of this country; whereby your majesty may perceive he minds to have all things furthered to your majesty's pleasure in honourable and good manner for both the realms. And as anent the last business (the battle of Ancram Moor), where your subjects got displeasure, your grace may be sure, on my honour, as I can spair (*discover by inquiry*), it was so far suited (*followed up*) by your majesty's warden on the earl of Angus, that he behaved to fight, or to take great shame. Therefore your majesty will consider their part therein, for in my life, as I can perceive, they are as far minded for the sure performance of the peace and marriage in sure and honourable manner, as any other in England or Scotland."

## CHAPTER XV.

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF ANCRAM MOOR; ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH AUXILIARIES; RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

THE victory at Ancram had infused new courage into the Scots, and roused them at once from the general despondency into which they had fallen. It also gave new strength to the party of the governor

and cardinal, which was increased by the arrival of more certain intelligence that the king of France was not only sending troops into Scotland, but that he had resolved to invade England simultaneously, with



a considerable force. Henry himself became alarmed at these preparations, and he seems at last to have perceived the error of the violent course he had hitherto pursued, and to have determined to try the effect of conciliation. His agent in this attempt was the earl of Cassillis, who, under pretence of returning to his pledge as one of the prisoners taken at Solway-Moss, repaired to the English court on the 28th of February, and remained in England during the month of March, at the end of which month he returned to Scotland with the king's instructions. His proceedings there will be best understood from the report which he addressed in cypher to the king from Edinburgh on the 2nd of April. "Please your most excellent majesty," he says, "to be advertised that I came to this town the twentieth day of March, and thereafter the same day I passed to Melrose, where I found the governor and divers noblemen, and on the morn the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and divers other came to him, which were all at the borders to have defended this realm, if the same had been invaded by your majesty's subjects, as was believed here. And so on the last day of March we all returned to this town, where we found the cardinal and the earl Marshal, that was not at the borders; and, when they that were in this town were convened, I showed them that I had communed with your [majesty on such things as concerned the weal of this realm; and, if it would stand with their pleasure, I would declare the same unto them. And the governor, the cardinal, and divers others, said that they would not enter into communication of such great matters, unto the time the quecn and the earls of Argyle and Huntley be here; and to that effect have appointed them the fifteenth day of April to convene in this town." He found the earls of Angus, Marshal, and Glencairn, with sir George Douglas, the sheriff of Ayr, and others, fully prepared to support the king's proposals for the peace and marriage, which he thought also would be popular generally, though he anticipated considerable opposition from those who were influenced by the queen and the French ambassador. "Wherefore," Cassillis adds, "it will please your majesty that, unto such time as I may be at your majesty after the convention, or advertise your grace the uttermost of all things, to command your majesty's

wardens forment (*towards*) Scotland to make no great invasion on Scotland, since there is none that intends to invade your subjects. And if your majesty does otherwise, ye will gar (*make*) them be together (*united*), for fear of your majesty's army, if any come, ere the convention, that will be sondry in opinions, if the hasty coming of the army be no impediment. But it is best your army be in readiness; that, if the matters proceed not to your pleasure at this convention, your majesty, with them that will assist to your majesty here, may force our enemies to such things as shall be your majesty's pleasure. And were it not I see so good appearance in many noblemen, I would not write so far to your majesty in this matter." Henry paid due attention to both the suggestions of the Scottish earls; the wardens were ordered to refrain from hostilities, while a powerful force was collected in the north under the command of the earl of Hertford.

The haughty tone in which the king appears to have directed Cassillis to make his proposals seems again to have deprived them of the weight which they might otherwise have had. The tenderness which was to be shown to the king's injured dignity was strongly pressed on the earl in a letter from the English privy council written on the 10th of April. "It shall not be needful," they say, "to repeat unto your lordship at this present, how promises heretofore made have been observed, what occasions have been given since that time to his majesty sundry ways to seek revenge by sword and fire. All which notwithstanding, his majesty, of his great clemency, more tendering the unity of Christendom than the revenge of his own injuries, hath been pleased, in respect as well of christian charity as of the weal of that realm, to come to such honourable means of unity as was declared unto you at your late being here; which as then proceeded of his most godly disposition to the quiet of Christendom and the weal of that realm; so, if it shall be thought to your noblemen and council expedient for the common weal there, and they will also make suit for the same, his majesty remaineth of that self-same good disposition which was then declared unto you, notwithstanding that, since that time, great occasions have been ministered to the contrary; the revenge of which although his majesty deferreth for a season, for the respects aforesaid, yet, if things do not now out of hand



proceed to a good conclusion, his majesty trusteth in short time to provide for things in such sort as they shall have no great cause to rejoice much of the death of his highness's late warden at Melrose." This threat was followed by a bitter taunt on the faithlessness of the earl of Angus. "Touching the earl of Angus, his majesty would not that we should either repeat unto you what good occasion he hath in honour to serve his majesty, nor yet to make rehearsal what diversity hath been heretofore between doings and sayings. Only of this much your lordship may be a good witness, that his highness is always more glad of the good amendment of things to come, than desirous of revenge for things by-past; and as my lord of Angus and George Douglas, with the rest, shall in deeds show themselves willing to set forward his majesty's affairs there, so will his highness both forget things by-past, and consider their doings from henceforth in such sort as they shall have good cause to think their labour well employed if they do well."

The convention was held at Edinburgh on the 17th of April, when the earl of Cassillis presented himself as the agent of the English king, and stated to the nobles that, if they consented to the treaties of peace and marriage which had been formerly agreed to, he was authorized to assure them that Henry would forget and forgive all that had passed, and that he would not revenge further the injuries he had received from them. As might be foreseen, the time was past for such language, for the queen and the cardinal were in daily expectation of the arrival of troops from France, and they at once rejected Henry's proposals, and determined to join themselves cordially with his rival Francis. The report of the earl of Cassillis to Henry VIII. on this occurrence is worthy to be given in his own words, as it pictures so forcibly the treacherous conduct of the lords who were now again taking up the English party. "Please your majesty to be advertized," said Cassillis, who again wrote in cypher, "that the lords of this realm convened in this town the seventeenth of this month, and I was put off the council, and deferred of audience, to declare your majesty's good mind till the twentieth day, that I got audience by labour of the earl Marshal and George Douglas. Not the less they, nor I, and others that I find are favourable to your majesty's affairs anent the peace and marriage, find that the mat-

ters are so handled by the queen, the governor, and the cardinal, and other great men that assist to them, that we perceive they intend nothing but deferring of your majesty's purpose and the weal of this realm, for their own particular profit. Wherefore, sir, we think that it is force (*reason*) to your majesty to invade all that is within this realm that are contrary to your majesty's affairs, in such substantial manner, with your whole puissance, that your majesty may repress them that are enemies to your good purpose and weal of this realm, and may be a perfect and friendly surety to the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, and all such as shall indeed favour your majesty's purpose; and this with the greatest haste your majesty may goodly, and so provided to remain for to have your majesty's purpose at a perfection, or their returning with the favour I think your majesty shall have in these parts. For if your majesty does not this, we will think in this realm that both your majesty's high courage is failed, and your majesty's substance decreased, that your majesty is not able to follow to such promise as was made to your majesty, like as is said already here by your majesty's enemies; as I hear, and the same I can do no less nor advertise your majesty thereof. Farther, sir, we think that the most displeasing way is to invade your majesty's enemies by sea; and it were best, with your majesty's pleasure, that ye caused sir Ralph Sadler, or some other, repair to the border, with commission to assure the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, and other that are great men, what your majesty intends to do, and how your majesty will stand to them in all sorts, both in helping them in contrair (*against*) all unfriends, and other pleasures, and thank as your majesty will please; and siclike (*similarly*), that your majesty may know in special what help they will make to your majesty's affairs. And, on your majesty's advertisement, they shall cause another come to him with all their minds, and make a clear way betwixt your majesty and them. For my own part, I will keep my promise, do to me as your majesty thinks cause (*right*.) We look after Lorges Montgomery on the west sea with two thousand footmen. Your majesty will provide therefor, as ye think. For the earl Marshal, George Douglas, and I, have laboured that we may, to have the queen our sovereign in keeping of the earl Marshal, or some other of our opinion; but



the same is not granted. I assure your majesty the kindness betwixt the earl Marshal, George Douglas, and the cardinal, is past, since they perceive he is contrair the peace and marriage, and put them in belief of the contrair. And, please your majesty, it is needful to devise some proclamations, how your majesty intends for the weal of our sovereign lady and her realm, and to be sure of the fulfilling of such promises as were made to your majesty, in good form, for to draw the hearts of the people to your majesty, as we shall inform the servant your majesty sends to the border; for otherwise your majesty will tyne (*lose*) the hearts of the whole country. Farther, sir, I believe that suit shall be made for a conduct to commissioners to treat on a peace, and your majesty's friends here think best your majesty grant the same, but abstinence, to show your majesty ay ready to good ways, and to invade, if need be; for so your majesty shall obtain the hearts of the people, give fear to your enemies, courage to your favourers, and come most easily to your majesty's purpose. But haste your majesty's armies, as said is, till ye have a perfect final end of your godly purpose. I pray your majesty do so, that the earl of Angus, George Douglas, the earl Marshal, Glencairn, and others that will be friendly indeed have a perfect hope and knowledge of your majesty's good mind toward the weal of this realm and themselves, and that all fear be avoided. And thus I write my opinion to your majesty truly, and shall be glad to take my part of the same, conform to my promise."

This letter, as we have before remarked, gives an extraordinary picture of the unpatriotic conduct of the Scottish nobility at this period, when faction and personal feuds were the principal motives which guided them. The authority of the cardinal, whose ambition seemed to have no bounds, was increased by the arrival of a papal commission, appointing him *legate a latere* for Scotland; but with the increase of his power and his pride, increased also the number and animosity of his personal enemies, and we trace at this time the plots against his life to which he at last fell a victim. Sadler was, according to the suggestion made by the earl of Cassillis, sent to the border, and he there received information from that nobleman of an offer "for the killing of the cardinal, if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was

done, a reward." Cassillis had discussed the matter with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Marshal, and sir George Douglas proposed that an English prisoner named Forster, who could visit Scotland without suspicion, should be sent to communicate personally with them. The earl of Hertford, who then commanded in the north, sent the letter to the privy council, and requested immediate directions, whether the offer of assassination should be accepted, and whether Forster should be sent to Edinburgh. The king directed that Forster should be sent into Scotland without delay, but the proposal to slay the cardinal was treated with more caution. "His majesty," write the privy council to the earl of Hertford, "hath willed us to signify unto your lordship, that his highness, reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his majesty, will not seem to have to do in it; and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh not convenient to be communicated to the king's majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter; he shall say, that if he were in the earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the king's majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and would trust verily the king's majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not of his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him."

In obedience to these instructions, Sadler wrote to the earl of Cassillis, while Forster proceeded to Scotland, and had an interview with the earls of Angus and Cassillis, and sir George Douglas. Forster's narrative of his proceedings, written after his return to Darlington, on the 4th of July, is so curious that it deserves to be given entire. He stated that, "according to my lord lieutenant's (Hertford) commandment, he entered Scotland at Wark, and so passed to his taker's house in Scotland (the house of the man who had taken him prisoner, and from whom he was absent on bond), as though he had repaired for his entry, to



save his bond; and declaring to his taker that he had occasion to speak with George Douglas, his taker was contented, according to the custom there, that he should go at his pleasure. Whereupon he came to Dalkeith to George Douglas, and showed him the occasion of his thither coming to speak with him and the earls aforesaid, with message from my lord lieutenant and master Sadler, who then willed him to go to Douglas, whereat he would cause the earls of Cassillis and Angus to meet him; for he said he could not get them to Dalkeith without great suspicion. And thereupon, going towards Douglas, he met with the earl of Angus at Dunsire, whereat he was a hunting, who bade him welcome, saying he would give him hawks and dogs, and caused him to pass the time with him that night, and on the morrow brought him with him to Douglas, and that afternoon sent for the earl of Cassillis, who, riding all night, came thither the next day early in the morning. Whereupon he and the earl of Angus went into a chamber together, and called the said Forster unto them; who then declaring the occasion of his coming, by whom he was sent, and the full of his instructions, as to the first article they answered that they were very glad he was come, and he was welcome to them. To the second article they said, truth it is it was their desires he should come unto them, and that every word of his message was true. And first the said earl of Cassillis said, that he is the same man that he was, and would do as much as he had promised to the king's majesty at his parting from his grace. Whereupon the said Thomas Forster asked of him, how and after what sort he could advance and set forth the king's majesty's godly purpose for the peace and marriage. He answered, saying that it lay not in him to set forth the king's purpose, but that rested wholly in his majesty; nevertheless to his power he would help forward the same, both with his body, goods, and all his friends, to the uttermost of their powers. The earl of Angus for his part then answered to the same article, saying, that by his truth he would stick to the marriage and peace to the uttermost of his power; and further said, that, if it were thought meet to the king's majesty and his council, he should come to the field, or that he should tarry at home, he would do therein according as the king's majesty should will him to do; and,

being in the field, he said that he would plainly say that the peace and marriage was for the weal of both realms, which he and his friends would maintain against any he in Scotland, that would be against the same or say to the contrary. Whereunto the said Forster said, that, if he would so do, their offence to the king's majesty was not so great, but his grace's mercy and goodness was much more, and his majesty would forget all that was bypast, so that they would now show themselves indeed according to their words and promises, and willed them frankly to proceed to the same, so that his majesty might perceive their hearts towards him. And then they both said they would perform to his highness all that they had promised, to the uttermost of their powers, both with bodies and goods." Forster then "desired them to show unto him such matter as they would have sent with the gentleman that should have met Mr. Sadler at Alnwick, to the intent he might at his return declare the same to my lord lieutenant. Whereunto they answered, that the effect of that matter was none other than they had already declared; but the earl of Cassillis said that such other matter as should be at the convention, he would write it in cypher, and send it to Mr. Sadler. And so he departed from them."

Forster's mission was as yet but imperfectly fulfilled, and he proceeds to inform us that "returning again to Dalkeith unto George Douglas, he declared to the said George all his conference with the aforesaid earls, requiring him to show him his opinion therein, and what he thought in the same; who answered he would so do at length, but willed him to tarry there at Dalkeith till his return from the convention, and then he would tell him all the whole matter. Who went to the convention within a day or two after, but in the meantime he had no talk with him more, than that the said Douglas said to him that he would be the same man to the king's majesty as he had promised. After George Douglas was ridden to the convention, where he tarried seven days, Forster walked a-foot with two or three Scotchmen to Musselburgh, and so along the sands towards Leith, where he saw the coming in of the Mary Willoughby (as the Scots said), and six other ships with her, laden with wine, sundry small pieces of brass for the field, and some hackbutts, which came about by the Irish seas; and



then returned again to Dalkeith, where he remained till the coming home of George Douglas, which was the seventh day after his going forth. And at his coming home the said Forster demanded of him the news of the convention, and what he would do for his part for the advancement of the king's godly affairs. He answered that for his part he would stand to it with all his power, the rather for that he himself was one of them that procured and promised the same, and that there was never an honest man in Scotland (if he were of any honesty), that would be against that promise, for it was the doings of all the nobles of Scotland, and that the governor's part was therein as deep as the best of them; and therefore it were not for their honours to be against it, and that for his part he would maintain it to the best of his power, according as the earl of Angus had said and promised. Forster asked him what the earls of Glencairn and Marshal would do therein? He said that as for the earl Marshal, he was not at the convention, but he had spoken with the earl of Glencairn, who said he was the same man, and will do according as he had promised the king to be, and that he was willing the peace and marriage should take effect. And George Douglas said that he knew well that the earl Marshal would the same, and do in everything as the foresaid other earls would do. Lastly, the said Forster, declaring the third article of his instructions to the said George Douglas, and also to the said earls of Cassillis and Angus at his being with them, that it should not need them to doubt the king's majesty's favour and goodness towards them, if they would now tender his majesty's affairs, which also they might the better perceive by his grace's letters lately written to George Douglas to that effect, and lastly signified by mouth by the earl of Cassillis; whereunto they answered, and said they trusted none other but that his majesty would be good lord unto them. He also said that George Douglas willed him to tell my lord lieutenant that the queen, the governor, the cardinal, and all the lords of Scotland in manner, had met together in Stirling in the convention, and that they were all agreed and fully resolved and contented to fulfil all such things as Lorges Montgomerie had laid in amongst them, which was that they would keep the old bond and league between France and Scotland. Another thing was

that they would raise an army against the 30th of July, and to have them upon Rosslin Moor, three miles from Dalkeith, with a month's victuals, and so passing to invade England, by which time he saith the said Lorges Montgomerie hath undertaken, on the French king's behalf, that the army out of France by sea shall be ready to aid them at their hands, or else or (*before*) that time should invade in some other place of England. The said George Douglas told him also that, if my lord lieutenant thought meet the army of Scotland were stayed, that then it should be well done to send some ships with diligence with three or four thousand men to aid the gentlemen of the isles, which would stay at home, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, and by that means he thinks it would stop the rest of the army from coming forwards; and if he do not so, then to prepare a great power of England to come to the borders against that time, which must come very strongly, for all the lords and power of Scotland (as he saith), will be wholly there as they have promised, and by reason of the encouragements of the Frenchmen, and the fair behests (*promises*) that the French king hath promised them by Lorges Montgomerie, they are fully bent to fight, as he saith. But he saith, though that he must needs be also there with them, he will do them no good, but will do all that he can to stop them, and saith, that if they may be stopped, since they have made so great brags and avaunts to do much, it would (as he thinketh), pull away all the commons' hearts from them for ever. Also he saith that, many and sundry times, George Douglas said to him, that such men as have promised to be true to the king are greatly desirous to know what the king's goodness should be unto them, if it should chance Scotland to have the overhand of England, they taking his part and setting forth his affairs, who being then known to follow his desires, might not tarry in Scotland, and therefore are desirous to know how they should be used in such cases."

The next subject on which Forster touched was the plot to assassinate the cardinal. "He said also that the said George Douglas willed him to tell my lord lieutenant that, if the king would have the cardinal dead, if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that ad-



venture would be proved; for he saith the common saying is, that the cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead by that means, how that reward should be paid; but he saith, if that reward were promised, if the thing were put in adventure and not done, there should be no reward given, nor none demanded."

"The said George Douglas," Forster proceeds to say, "willed him also to tell my lord lieutenant in case the king do send a main army to the borders, which must come very strongly, that it should be well done that there were open proclamations made, that, whosoever would stand to further and assist the king's godly purpose for the peace and marriage, which was promised by the lords of Scotland, for the weal of both realms, that they should sustain no manner hurt, neither in body nor goods; and, who would be against that, to have the extremity of the wars with fire and sword shown to them. The said Thomas Forster also saith that, lying at Dalkeith, he saw sundry the Frenchmen's great horses, which he saith be very fair pieces; and lying there he spake with one Gawin Hume, a Scotch gentleman, being one of the French king's guard, who told him, and would lay his great horses upon a wager with him, that the Frenchmen would be in England by such a day as he would appoint; for the furniture whereof he said there was great store of ordinance brought already to Newhaven; which Forster said he heard also of sundry their mouths, that be of the French king's guard and now in Scotland. . . . Finally, he said that George Douglas told him, that there is commandment given, and proclamation made through all Scotland, that all men between sixty and sixteen years be in their best array, upon pain of death, with victuals for a month, at the said Rosslin Moor, the said twenty-eighth day of July."

We trace the further progress of the plot against the cardinal, in a letter from sir Ralph Sadler to the laird of Brunston, about the 11th or 12th of July. The Scottish lords seem to have felt no delicacy with regard to the commission of murder, if it were to carry off an enemy, and they made their proposals without disguise and without hesitation. The design appears to have been again pressed by the laird of Brunston, and the reward was only to be a "small sum of money." Sir Ralph Sadler replied to him

much in the same style as he was previously directed to write to Cassillis. "In one part of your said letters," Sadler writes, "I note chiefly that certain gentlemen, being your friends, have offered, for a small sum of money, to take him out of the way that hath been the whole worker of all your mischief, and the principal impediment and let (*hindrance*) of all good purposes there, so that they might be sure to have the king's majesty their good lord, and that his majesty would reward them for the same. Of this I judge that you mean the cardinal, whom I know to be so much blinded with his own affection to France, that, to please the same, he seeth not, but utterly contemneth, all things tending to the weal and benefit of his own country; and, indeed, hitherto he hath been the only cause and worker of all your mischief, and will, if he continue, be undoubtedly the utter ruin and confusion of the same. Wherefore I am of your opinion, and, as you write, think it to be acceptable service to God to take him out of the way, which in such sort doth not only as much as in him is to obscure the glory of God, but also to confound the common weal of his own country. And, albeit the king's majesty, whose gracious nature and goodness I know, will not, I am sure, have to do nor meddle with this matter touching your said cardinal, for sundry considerations, yet, if you could so work the matter with those gentlemen your friends, which have made that offer, that it may take effect, you shall undoubtedly do therein good service both to God and to his majesty, and a singular benefit to your country. Wherefore, like as if I were in your place, it should be the first thing I would earnestly attempt, thinking thereby, for the respects aforesaid, chiefly to please God and to do good to my country, so I shall give you mine advice to travel (*labour*) in the same effectually with the said gentlemen your friends, and to cause them to put the matter in execution; assuring you that I know the king's majesty's honour, liberality, and goodness to be such (which also is not unknown to you), as you may be sure his majesty will so liberally reward them that do his majesty honest service, as they shall have good cause to be contented. And, if the execution of this matter do rest only upon the reward of the king's majesty to such as shall be the executors of the same, I pray you advertise me what reward they do require, and if it be not unreasonable, because I have been in



your country, for the christian zeal that I bear to the common weal of the same, I will undertake it shall be paid immediately upon the act executed, though I do myself bear the charge of the same, which I would think well employed. For surely, if he were taken away, who is the root of all your misery, your country would soon flourish with God's word and his truth, and many good purposes, whereof he hath been the only stay, would then proceed to an end, and take such effect as should be to your wealth and quietness for ever, which it is every good man's part to advance to his power; as I doubt not for your part you will further it accordingly. Thus I write to you mine own phantasie and mind in this matter, as one that would be glad to give you such advice, as whereby you should do that service to God, the king's majesty, and your own native country, as might also be to your own profit and good fame; not doubting but you will consider it like a wise man. And what you may and will do therein, I pray you advertise me with as much speed as you can." The indirect encouragement thus given seems to have been unpalatable to the conspirators, and we hear no more of the design at this time. Perhaps the cardinal or his friends had obtained some intimation of it, and had taken measures of precaution. He escaped on this occasion, but the weapon of the assassin was already prepared for him.

This extraordinary plot against the person of the cardinal, has led us somewhat out of the regular course of events. On the last of May, 1545, the long-promised aid from France arrived at Dumbarton, under the sieur Lorges de Montgomerie, and was received with the utmost joy. These auxiliaries consisted of three thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and they brought with them not only munitions of war, but a considerable sum of money, a body of a hundred archers to serve for a body-guard to the governor, and the insignia of the order of St. Michel, to be presented to the earl of Angus. It was immediately proclaimed that a convention of the nobility would be held at Stirling on the 24th of June, when it was resolved to renew the ancient league with France, and to commence hostilities against England without delay. As it has been already stated, the whole force of Scotland was summoned to assemble on Rosslin Moor on the 28th of July. The islands were at this time again in a state of insurrection, and

when the day of the muster arrived, it was found that the earl of Argyle was detained in the north by the turbulence of the islesmen. By a new proclamation, the day of muster was prorogued to the 9th of August, when a Scottish army of thirty thousand men, with the French auxiliaries, assembled on Fawnerig Muir, and the same day they passed into England, and burnt a few villages and hamlets, and took one or two small border fortresses. The Scots were weakened by their own dissensions, and their suspicions of each other, and the vanguard, which was commanded by the earl of Angus and the other lords in the English interest, impeded their progress by the slowness and apparent reluctance of its movements; while the English had made excellent preparations to resist them, and strong bodies of well-disciplined Spanish and Italian auxiliaries, in king Henry's pay, assisted in protecting the English border. On the 13th the whole Scottish army, without having performed any exploit worth recording, made a hasty retreat, and, as soon as it had reached Scotland, dispersed, each chief returning to his home. Three days after this disastrous conclusion of a campaign commenced with so much ostentation, the principal lords of the English party, the earls of Angus, Cassillis, Marshal, and sir George Douglas, then at Melrose, addressed the following letter to the English council in the north:—"Right worshipful, after most hearty commendation; ye shall understand that we have communed together, and are determined all in one of union to serve the king's majesty at the uttermost of our powers in setting forwards of the peace and marriage, which we know surely stands with the pleasure of God, the king's majesty's contentation, and the common weal and quietness of both realms. Therefore, we think for our opinion (if it stands with the king's majesty's pleasure), that his grace should hastily prepare his substantial armies in this time of harvest, both at the east and west borders, provided to remain a good time; for, without long remaining, there can no high purpose be made to the king's majesty's pleasure. Therefore look well on that point; and when the king's army comes in this realm, ye must set forwards your proclamations, declaring how that your purpose is not to hurt this realm, nor no subject that is in it, that will assist to the sure performing of the peace and marriage. And, if any nobleman please to commune with you on the causes aforesaid, ye shall make



them sure to their own reasonable contentation. Further, if the king's majesty finds this opinion of ours good, it will please his grace to send full power with his lieutenant, to the effect that we may know his highness's special good mind to us, and he our service to the causes aforesaid. For we are sure (if the king's majesty stand not good prince to us), it will return to our great damage. If the king's armies come forward, it may please his grace to cause them follow part of our counsels which shall be (will God) to the king's majesty's honour and pleasure. Further, as to this last journey of ours; it was devised by the queen, cardinal, and this French captain Lorges Montgomerie. Huntley fortified his army at his power, notwithstanding (at short) all that they devised was stopped by us that are the king's friends. Their whole intent was to have besieged the king's houses, unto the time they had gotten bargain (*terms*), but all was stopped, whereof they stood nothing content. This captain Lorges will not remain on our borders; wherefore the people think it a sure argument that he is not come into this country for our weals, but only to put forwards the pleasure of France, and to cause us make battle together. We pray you make us the most hasty answer that possibly may be had, so as we may know the king's majesty's mind in all these affairs; and, that we may be in a readiness conform to his majesty's pleasure, we doubt not but you will make us hasty answer. And thus we pray God ye fare well."

That there were good grounds for the boast that these lords had defeated the object for which the Scottish army was assembled, is evident from the general opinion at the time, as recorded by the old diurnalist, who says the retreat was caused by "the deceit of George Douglas and the vanguard." Their professions of friendship were received by the English with suspicion, for they had so long played a double game, that they enjoyed the confidence of no party. The council of the north, in sending the above letter to the king, speak of it as a communication "whereof we judge many things; either that indeed they be afraid of our invasion, hearing percase of some preparation to be made here for the same, and would therefore make their own way with your majesty before; or else, supposing that your majesty is not furnished at this present to invade with any main power, they would seem to be your majesty's friends, in giving

your highness advice to do that thing which they think that your majesty is not able to do at this time. This we conjecture the rather, for that they have been so cold in their proceedings towards your majesty all this while, because they would see what the Frenchmen were able to do, and whether they would land here on this coast, as they bragged; whereof we think, if it had so come to pass, they would have been content to have taken the advantage; but now that they perceive nothing to come of the French brags, these men, we think, remembering what promises they have made to your majesty, and knowing that they cannot continue against your highness's force, do the rather devise means how to persuade your highness to believe that they are your majesty's friends. And yet it may be that they mean well at this time; not doubting but your majesty will weigh it by your high wisdom, and use all their practices to your best commodity; and in our poor opinions this journey and enterprise intended to Kelso will thoroughly decipher them. It seemeth also, that they be partly of our opinion in the setting forth of the proclamation, which surely we think can do no hurt, and may percase do much good; referring nevertheless the whole unto your majesty, in whose gracious hands it remaineth to have done therein as to your high wisdom shall seem convenient."

The earl of Hertford was at this time preparing to take bitter vengeance for the recent invasion of England by the Scotch. At the beginning of September he moved his army forwards, and as he approached the border four French deserters were brought in who came to offer their service to king Henry, "and," says Hertford, "much they reprehend the misery and evil treatment which they have sustained and had in Scotland, and specially by evil payment of their wages, saying that they think a great number of their companions will come away from Lorges to serve the king's majesty, if they knew they might be received here." He adds, in the conclusion of the letter, "I am now advertised from Wark, that there is another Frenchman come hither, a soldier, to offer his service to the king's majesty, and saith that two or three hundred of his companions will do the like, which if they do, I would gladly know the king's majesty's pleasure how I shall order them." The reply to this communication shows the spirit in which these hos-



tilities were carried on. "And whereby your said letters you advertize of certain Frenchmen of Lorges' band, which have already rendered themselves unto you, desiring to know his majesty's pleasure what you shall do if any greater number of them shall sue to make the like submission; his majesty, thinking it scarcely good policy to give credit to any men of that nation, with whom his highness has mortal wars, except something was by them first done that might give good occasion thereunto, thinketh good that, if they shall make any means to you for that purpose, you shall give them such answer as is aforesaid, and therefore advise them to do some notable damage or displeasure to the enemies before their coming there; as trapping or killing the cardinal, Lorges, the governor, or some other man of estimation, whereby it may appear that they bear the hearty good mind to serve in deed; which thing, if they shall have done, your lordship may promise them not only to accept their service, but also to give them such reward, as they shall have good cause to be therewith right well contented."

It was the king's wish, on this occasion, that the Merse and the adjoining districts should be reduced to subjection to the English crown, and occupied permanently; and Hertford's instructions were that he should first take in Kelso, and that if, on a careful survey of the position of that place, it was found convenient for the purpose, he was to erect there a strong fort. Roxburgh was also to be surveyed with the same object, and garrisons were to be placed in Hume castle and the town of Duns. The English army began its march on the 5th of September, Hertford having first sent word to the earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn, and to sir George Douglas, directing them to join him with their vassals. On the afternoon of the 8th, Hertford came before Kelso. The town was occupied without difficulty, but about a hundred Scots, of whom twelve were monks, had taken possession of the strong abbey, and set the English at defiance. A body of Spaniards had rushed forwards rashly to the attack, but it was found necessary to withdraw them, and Hertford, having brought up his ordnance, made a breach in the walls. The Spaniards again marched to the assault, and having forced their way into the church, drove the Scots into the steeple, where they held out till the next morning, when the

steeple also was taken by assault, and its defenders put to the sword. On examining the place Hertford was convinced that Kelso was not a fit place for a fortress, and the reasons which he alleges show the strength and importance of its ancient abbey. "We find here," he says, "so great and superfluous buildings of stone, of great height and circuit, as well about the church as the lodgings, which, to make any convenient fortress there, must of force be down and avoided, and that the taking down and avoiding thereof only, will ask at the least two months." He adds that, "as well the Italian fortifier, as the rest, do affirm unto me that they had liever undertake to make two fortresses in less time in the plain fields, than they would to make one of the said abbey. Therefore," he continues, "first we have resolved to raze and deface this house of Kelso, so as the enemy shall have little commodity of the same, and to remain encamped here for five or six days, and in the mean season to devastate and burn all the country hereabouts, as far as we may with our horsemen. As to-morrow we intend to send a good band of horsemen to Melrose and Dryburgh, to burn the same, and all the corns and villages in their way, and so daily to do some exploits here in the Merse, and at the end of the said five or six days to remove our camp, and to march to Jedworth, to burn the same, and thence to march through a great part of Tevyotdale, to overthrow their peels (*castlets*) and stone houses, and to burn their corns and villages, with all the annoyance to the enemy that we can; which in our opinions will be such a scourge and impoverishing to the enemy as they shall not be able to recover a long season."

All these professed intentions were fulfilled in the most barbarous manner, and the inhabitants escaped from none of the miseries of war. It is stated that in some instances Irish plunderers were employed in the work of devastation, because the English borderers showed a disposition to relent. The Douglasses and their friends again evaded the summons to join the English forces, who, in return, visited their extensive territories with fire and sword. Henry had fitted out an expedition against the western islands, which compelled the earls of Argyle and Huntley to remain with their forces in the north; and Arran, unable to raise a sufficient force to protect the districts which were exposed to the English invaders, was obliged to hold



himself aloof, while they were ravaged without resistance. He however succeeded in raising a body of ten thousand men, who were probably most of them undisciplined, and the inconstant Douglasses again marched under his banner. They attempted to make a diversion, by crossing the English border near Norham, but they had done no more than burn a village, when an alarm was given, and they fled and dispersed. This retreat was again attributed to the treachery of the earl of Angus.

The English army began at length to be straitened for provisions, in a country which it had literally reduced to a desert.

Hume castle was reconnoitred, but the earl of Hertford considered it so strong, that it was not worth the labour and delay of a siege; and, after having, according to an official calculation of the time, burnt seven monasteries and religious houses, sixteen castles and towns, five market-towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals, he withdrew his army. He reached Horton, near Morpeth, in Northumberland, on the 23rd of September, and there dismissed his English forces, and sent the Spanish and Italian mercenaries to be distributed in the various border fortresses.

## CHAPTER XVI.

STATE OF SCOTLAND; DESIGNS OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST THE WESTERN COAST AND THE ISLES; VIOLENT PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN SCOTLAND; GEORGE WISHART; ASSASSINATION OF THE CARDINAL.

No sooner had the English army disappeared, than a parliament was called to meet at Linlithgow on the 28th of September. Recent parliaments had been but slightly attended by the nobility, but on this occasion, understanding that it was intended to attain the earl of Lennox, and confiscate his extensive estates, the barons came in great numbers, drawn together, as it was observed satirically, by the prospect of prey. Accordingly, one of the first acts of this parliament was to declare the earl of Lennox, and his brother the bishop of Caithness, guilty of high treason. The largest part of the property of Lennox was given to the earl of Argyle, who was, with the earl of Huntley, one of the chief supporters of the existing government; and the latter nobleman received the rest of Lennox's estates, with the bishopric of Caithness for his brother. It was determined at the same time that, for the defence of the kingdom, a force of a thousand men should be maintained on the border, for the support of which a land-tax of sixteen thousand pounds was ordered to be levied. It was also proposed to send the cardinal, with the commander of the French auxiliaries, Lorges, to France, to obtain a much larger force from that country.

But whatever attempt at vigour was

shown by the government, it was neutralized by the secret treason of the lords of the English party, who, in spite of the injuries they had received during the recent invasion, continued to offer their advice and assistance to the invaders. Their conduct in many respects is quite inexplicable. The earl of Hertford was followed in his retreat from Scotland by a messenger from sir George Douglas, bringing him a letter in cypher, which he forwarded to the king from Newcastle on the 27th of September, the day before the meeting of the Scottish parliament. In this letter sir George Douglas gave the following as "his opinion" of the steps most likely "to bring the king's majesty to his purpose." "In the first, that there be two armies to come in Scotland, one at the west parts, the other at the east parts; their victuals to come up the Firth by ships, and if it will be thought that there is danger to the ships by reason of the long nights, there is as good roads for all manner of winds as is in Christianity (*Christianity*), and therefore they may be sure of their victuals at all times conveniently; for the one army shall come from Berwick along the sea-side to Edinburgh, the other land at Dunbarton, and meet at Stirling, both the said armies; but they must be provided to

remain in this country while they win the strongholds, and thereafter to put garrisons in the same; that being done, with other discreet handling of the noblemen, with gentle proclamations to be made, will obtain the hearts of the people, which will be a great advantage to the king's majesty's affairs in these parts." There can be no doubt that Douglas's counsel in this point was wise and prudent, and that the English king's cause was ruined by the barbarous manner in which his armies treated the Scots. "Secondly," continues sir George, "it should be done this year, ere they had support forth of France or other countries, and the sooner that the king might be provided, he shall with the more ease come to his purpose; and good it were the earl of Lennox come in at the west parts with that army, for he will find many favourers in those parts; that country loves him, and has hatred to the governor and cardinal; and that will make the king's majesty's affairs to go the better forward." Sir George next proceeded to stipulate especially for the protection of the king's friends in Scotland. "Thirdly," he says, "ye must advertise me with a full power of the king's majesty's, that how many noblemen and gentlemen that will assist to the peace and contract of marriage, shall be unhurt in their bodies, lands, or goods, and that they shall be rewarded after their good service, for they must be well treated that make good cause, and sharply put at that is in the contrary. There are noblemen that lie in far parts, that I trust shall be persuaded to this effect; they lie in divers parts of the realm, and therefore we must have knowledge of the king's purpose before the time of coming of the two armies. The king's majesty must give us trust, if he will we serve him; we must needs know before, for serving of the king's majesty according to our honours. I desire you to have pardon of my homely writing, for, if ye will use counsel, ye shall the rather come to your purpose. Fourthly, ye have been sharp at this time to gentlemen that would have done service to the king's affairs, and ye have spared the king's enemies; ye may ken (*know*) the friends from the enemies; and ye should not have been angry at this time with no man that would have been your friends; for if ye had made us of counsel, and then thereafter they had failed, ye might have done your pleasure to them. Ye must not be so sharp to your favourers, if ye will have the service

of them that stands of good mind toward the king's majesty's affairs. Fifthly, wise men should use their friends gently, to give occasion to them to serve well, and that others should follow the same tread; for all things may not be done by force, but mixed with wisdom. The king's majesty will never recover this country with fire and sword, but with gentle handling of his friends, which I trust might be done with no unreasonable charges. And I take unto my record Almighty God, how my mind has been to the union of these two realms, and saving of Christian blood unshed; and, if it be your pleasure, that I may know your mind in writing with this bearer, who is trusty enough." With regard to himself, sir George Douglas said, "I will desire no thanks for the good-will and service I have done at this time, but, if it were known to you perfectly, ye would say that I am worthy gramerey; for, as I am true gentleman, I stopt the whole purpose of them that was in your contrary (*i.e. opposed to you*), which I fear shall be shortly to my displeasure. Therefore I desire you to advertise me surely, what the king's part shall be towards me and the rest of his friends here, if we be troubled for his cause; for we can have as great favour in this country as any man of the whole realm, we declaring us extreme enemies towards you, which shall never be in our default."

Such an invasion as sir George Douglas suggested might indeed have been fatal to the independence of Scotland, for the government had already shown its incapacity for defence, and the whole kingdom had fallen into a state of the utmost disorder. Many began to waver in their allegiance, for the overbearing and persecuting spirit of the cardinal had rendered him unpopular, and the Scots were already tired of their French auxiliaries. Fortunately, the English were not inclined to renew the invasion immediately. When, in the beginning of October, the earl of Hertford, who was well-informed of the state of things in Scotland by his spies and agents, was asked if he anticipated any attack on the English border, in case his own army were separated, he gave a melancholy picture of the weakness of the Scottish government. "You shall understand," he writes to the secretary, Paget, "that, touching the Scottish army that was assembled at my being in Scotland, the same, as I have been certainly informed since my return from thence,



exceeded not the number of six thousand men, Frenchmen and all, although the governor did as much as he could for his life to assemble a power for our resistance, as well by proclamations throughout the realm, upon pain of death, as otherwise, which was nothing obeyed. And upon, or rather before my return out of Scotland, they were all scaled (*dispersed*), and the governor himself departed sick out of the field, for very melancholy, that he could not assemble a sufficient party to resist us; of the which sickness, although I sent you news as they came to my hands that he should be dead, yet I have perceived since that the same is not true, but rather that he is recovered. Now, to tell you my opinion what likelihood there is of any attemptate or notable incourse to be made into this realm by the enemies; when I do consider the state of Scotland, what disobedience is used there to the governor, as well by the nobles and gentlemen, as also the commons, which do little or nothing esteem him, what diffidence, jealousy, and contention is among themselves, as now I am credibly informed that the earl of Angus and the governor are at great difference, and part-takers on both sides, and also considering that now, at my being in Scotland with the king's majesty's army, they were not able to assemble any greater power for our resistance than as before his mentioned; it persuadeth me fully to resolve and think, that they cannot assemble or call any force together, specially this winter, able to make any incourse or notable attemptate into the realm. And though they were able to assemble any force for that purpose, yet their country being so divested, and their houses, corn, and fuel so burnt and destroyed as it is, it is impossible for them, in mine opinion, to come with any number to their frontiers, where they can have neither forage for their horses nor victuals wherewith to sustain them. And now the gentlemen and surnames of the Merse and Tyviotdale, as well those which were burnt and harried of late, as others which I did forbear upon such respects as I advertized, and also some of Lothian, do make special sute and means for assurance, and to be received into the king's majesty's protection and defence as his highness's subjects and servants, as they were in sir Ralph Eure's time, which I think they would not sue for, if they saw any likelihood that the governor were able to make any power to defend them, or to annoy the king's majesty's

frontiers. Also the Frenchmen do find such misery and scarcity in the country, that both they be weary of the same, and likewise the Scots be weary of them; and Lorges himself, as I am credibly informed, wisheth himself in France, and agreeth so ill with the Scots, and they with him and his whole band, that he seeketh and deviseth all the means he can to convey himself home." This statement of king Henry's lieutenant in the north confirms fully the opinion of sir George Douglas, that, by a more conciliatory policy, the Scots might at this time have been induced to agree to a union between the two countries.

It appears that the cardinal's personal enemies were still plotting against his life. This is distinctly intimated in a letter written on the sixth of October in cypher to the king, by the laird of Brunston (Alexander Crichton), who had already on a former occasion been active in a similar design. Brunston gives the king information of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, and of the report that the cardinal was to be sent immediately to France to obtain further assistance, adding, "but I hope to God his journey shall be shortit (*cut short*) to his displeasure." The laird of Brunston stated further, in this communication, that the cardinal was anxious to get the two queens into his castle of St. Andrews, and that he tried to gain over the governor to this measure by offering to bring about the marriage, so often talked of, between the young queen and the governor's son, "and the queen dowager makes her angry withal, but I believe she dissembles." On the 20th of October, the laird of Brunston addressed another letter to the English monarch, requesting a secret interview with sir Ralph Sadler at Berwick, for the purpose of consulting on matters of great importance for the advancement of Henry's designs on Scotland. He urged the necessity of secrecy, as he had matter to communicate in which he risked his own life and property in Scotland, and as the answer was to be returned to Coldingham, which belonged to sir George Douglas, we can have little doubt that the Scottish earls of the English party were acquainted with Brunston's communications.

We are unacquainted with the result of this application of the laird of Brunston; we only know that the earl of Hertford and sir Ralph Sadler had left the north and were then in London, and that Henry himself was occupied with an attack on the

western coasts, which had been retarded during the invasion by the earl of Hertford. The expedition itself, which was placed under the command of the earls of Lennox and Ormond, was fitted out in Ireland, and promised the most important results. Not long before it set out from Dublin, the king had obtained possession of a fortress in the west of Scotland, which he had long been anxious to obtain. Lord Maxwell happened to be in England, as Henry's prisoner; he had been one of the most zealous of his Scottish partizans, but his conduct had since been so faithless and vacillating, that in his displeasure the king even threatened to commit him to close imprisonment in the Tower of London. Lord Maxwell was possessed of three strong castles in Scotland, Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, and Thrave, and, anxious to return thither, he at last reluctantly agreed to place the English in possession of Caerlaverock, which was delivered to them on the 24th of October. But Henry was soon disappointed of the advantages he expected to gain by this acquisition. The governor, when he heard of the occupation of Caerlaverock by the English, borrowed some of Beaton's energy of character, held a sudden council, at which the only persons present with himself and the cardinal were eight bishops and abbots, and by their advice a proclamation was issued summoning "all manner of men" to meet the governor at Caerlaverock on the 2nd of November, with ten days' provisions. The garrison seems to have taken alarm at these preparations, for when the governor came to meet his forces at the day appointed, he found that the castle was deserted, and he took possession of it, and placed in it a captain of his own, named Bannatyne. Not content with this success, Arran determined on a new "raid," as it is called by the writer of a contemporary diurnal, against the possessions of the lord Maxwell. Having assembled a strong force at Dumfries, on the 21st of November, he laid siege to Lochmaben and Thrave, which were commanded by two of Maxwell's sons, who held out two or three days, and then surrendered them. The lord Maxwell himself was taken soon afterwards, with some of his English confederates, and thrown into prison on a charge of treason. It was remarked, that the earl of Angus did not accompany the governor in this expedition, and he is said to have excused himself on the

ground that the lord Maxwell was his godfather.

It was near this time, on the 17th of November, that the long-threatened expedition against the Scottish islands set sail from Dublin. Donald, lord of the isles, who, in his hatred to the Scottish government, had become the devoted partizan of the English king, had passed over to Ireland with his fleet in the preceding August, to join his forces with those to be assembled under the earl of Lennox; but the expedition having been delayed while Lennox was employed with the English army in the lowlands, Donald, in the interval, returned to his own dominions, and died there. His successor, James Macconnell of Dunyveg, partook in his political prejudices, and looked with impatience for the arrival of his English allies. Lennox's departure was now hastened by an intimation from the earl of Glencairn that the moment was favourable for gaining possession of the castle of Dumbarton, and having sent his brother, the bishop of Caithness, to Dumbarton, he himself opened a communication with the new lord of the isles. Dumbarton castle was still held by Stirling of Glorat, Lennox's constable, who having before refused to deliver the castle to Lennox himself, now persisted in declaring that he would hold it in spite of all claimants until the young queen should be of age to receive it from his hands, but he admitted the bishop into the fortress. This alarmed the governor and the cardinal, and a strong force was again raised, with which Arran, assisted by Huntley and Argyle, laid siege to the castle; but this strong fortress defied their utmost efforts. The attack was now made under another form, and, after some secret tampering, the cardinal and the earl of Huntley succeeded in corrupting both the bishop and the keeper of the castle. The former deserted his brother on being promised restoration to his see; and Stirling was bribed by the prospect of a great reward to surrender the castle. This occurrence seems to have disconcerted entirely the expedition to the isles, and as we have no further account of it in contemporary records, it is probable that Lennox and Ormond returned with their fleet to Ireland.

We must turn from this abortive attempt at invasion, to scenes of a different description which were now about to be exhibited



in Scotland, where the animosities between Romanists and reformers were becoming every day more bitter. The cardinal was a fierce persecutor, and the earl of Arran, though in the earlier days of his government he had professed the doctrines of the reformation, and had kept two protestant chaplains, had apostatized, and was now willing to countenance the cardinal's excesses. Had the influence of the crown been at this time unbroken, the reformation in Scotland would no doubt have been in the utmost danger; but amid the general spirit of insubordination which prevailed throughout the kingdom, Beaton could only indulge his taste for religious persecution at intervals, while the notorious profligacy of his own life and of that of others of his ecclesiastical friends, tended to throw disgrace on the establishment which he was endeavouring by such violent means to support. On the other hand, the reformers were protected by the open support of the nobles and gentry who were hostile to the cardinal's influence, such as, with the Douglasses, the earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshal, the lords Maxwell and Somerville, the laird of Brunston, Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, Douglas of Lang Niddry, and many others, who held out the overthrow of papal tyranny and the salvation of protestantism as one of the chief causes of their leaning to England.

One of the names most distinguished among the Scottish reformers at this period was that of George Wishart. He is believed to have been the son of James Wishart, of Pittarro, justice-clerk to James V., and was patronized in his youth by one of the most celebrated early Scottish protestants, Erskine of Dun, from whom perhaps he imbibed his hatred to popery. George Wishart is first known as the master of a school in Montrose, of which town Erskine was provost, and having provoked the catholic elergy by his attempt to introduce the study of Greek, to escape persecution he fled to England. There he first established himself in Bristol, where he preached openly against the offering of prayers to the Virgin Mary, and proceedings having been taken against him for heresy in 1538, he was obliged to save himself by a public recantation. He remained in England, where a rapid change in opinion was going forward, and we find him in 1543 residing at Cambridge, where he was remarked for his great learning, his

profound and apparently sincere devotion, and his meekness and charity, although, when excited in controversy against the partisans of Rome, he exhibited a fierceness of zeal which astonished those who knew his gentleness at other times. During the negotiations for the peace and marriage in 1543, he returned to Scotland with the commissioners, and under the direct protection of the earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marshal, sir George Douglas, and the lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, he began to preach earnestly against the errors of popery and the profligacy of the ecclesiastics, in the towns of Montrose, Dundee, Perth, and Ayr. He was listened to with the greatest enthusiasm, and at Dundee the excited multitude proceeded to acts of violence against the catholics, and destroyed the houses of the Black and Grey friars. Similar outrages were attempted in Edinburgh, and in other places. It is not to be wondered at if this man became an object of bitterest hatred to the cardinal, who, fearing to attempt openly to seize him, is said to have kept watch upon his movements in order to entrap him into his power, and even on one occasion to have hired assassins to make an attempt upon his life. From this time, when he went to preach, a two-edged sword was always carried before him by one of the most zealous of his followers, and when he held forth, his audience was composed in part of armed barons and their retainers.

During more than two years, George Wishart escaped all the attempts of his enemies to arrest him. At the close of the year 1545, while the governor was keeping his Christmas with the cardinal at St. Andrews, the earl of Cassillis invited Wishart to meet him and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham at Edinburgh, where they expected to obtain for him the occasion of publicly disputing with the bishops. For some reason or other, the earl and his friends were detained, and when the preacher arrived in Edinburgh, he found it necessary to remain for awhile in concealment; but finding himself well protected by the barons of Lothian, and sir George Douglas, he resumed his courage, and preached with his usual earnestness at Leith and Inveresk. Towards the middle of January, 1546, the governor and the cardinal returned to Edinburgh, and then the lairds of Brunston and Ormiston, considering Leith no longer safe, removed Wishart into West Lothian, where



he might remain concealed till Cassillis arrived. At this time Wishart was fully aware of his danger, and he appears to have had an almost prophetic anticipation of his approaching fate. Nevertheless, he preached an impressive sermon at Haddington, in which he warned his audience of the misfortunes which were hanging over his country; and, as he departed on his way to the house of Ormiston, escorted not only by the laird of Ormiston himself, but by his friends the lairds of Brunston and Calder, where John Knox, who had recently made his acquaintance and attached himself warmly to his person, offered to carry the two-edged sword, he begged him to depart, observing that one sacrifice was sufficient for that occasion. During the evening Wishart appeared remarkably cheerful; after supper he addressed the friends assembled round him in an impressive manner, taking for his subject the death of God's children. He then sung a psalm, and retired to rest. This was the 16th day of January.

On his return to Edinburgh, the vigilance of the cardinal had been aroused by the reports of Wishart's recent preaching, and when, on the 16th, information was brought him that he had preached at Haddington, and that he was lodged at Ormiston, he determined that his victim should escape him no longer. The earl of Bothwell, with a strong party of soldiers, was sent forward, and, reaching Ormiston at midnight, surrounded the house, while the cardinal himself, with a force of five hundred men, stood at a distance of about a mile, ready to assist him if necessary. Wishart was roused from his slumber by the clang of arms in the court below, and the voice of Bothwell was soon heard summoning the inmates to make no resistance. The call was obeyed, after some little negotiation, and, on Bothwell's assurance that his life and person should be safe, the preacher yielded himself into the hands of the soldiers. He was carried to the cardinal at Elphinston; but when Beaton was informed that he only had been arrested, he sent in haste to take the lairds, his friends, against whom his hostility was, perhaps, greater than against Wishart himself. Brunston had made his escape, but Ormiston and Calder were captured, and committed to close confinement in Edinburgh castle. The earl of Bothwell considered Wishart as his own prisoner, and carried him to his house at Hailes; but, though at first he seemed resolved to keep

his promise of protecting him from violence, he soon yielded to the expectation of a high reward, and sold the victim to the cardinal.

Beaton now called a convention of the bishops and dignified clergy, who met at St. Andrews on the 28th of March. It appears that the intervening time had been spent in endeavouring to overcome the scruples of the governor, who was unwilling to lend the authority of the civil power to sanction the proceedings of the clergy. Even the weakness of Arran became firm in resisting such a bold act of persecution, though it is said that he owed his resolution partly to the earnest admonitions of a relation and friend in whom he was accustomed to place confidence, David Hamilton of Preston. This baron is represented by Buchanan as pleading in words to the effect, that he should be amazingly astonished if the governor permitted such an arbitrary proceeding against the servants of God, accused of no crime except preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, and deliver up innocent persons to be tortured by men of the most flagitious turpitude of conduct, and more than brutal ferocity of manners; persons whose integrity of life even their enemies unwillingly confessed, and whose doctrine he himself was not ignorant of, for he had lately been warmly devoted to it. It was that, he said, which had recommended him to the supreme power; he had publicly professed his attachment to it by edicts, and had undertaken openly to defend it, and he had exhorted the people in general to read and acknowledge it, and to exemplify it in their lives and conduct. "Reflect, therefore," he continued, "what men will think and say of you in future; reflect upon the mercies showered upon you by Providence. The late king, an active man and your enemy, was cut off in the midst of the same career which you are now pursuing; and they who hurried him to his fate by their counsels, are endeavouring to drive you on to your ruin. They opposed you at first with the whole weight of their power, and now they would beguile you into a snare by their deceitful advice. Recall to your remembrance the victory obtained over your countrymen, without murder or bloodshed, and over your enemies, trusting to their great superiority of force, a deed redounding so much to your glory and to their disgrace. Remember for whose favour you desert your God, and oppose your friends; awake at last, and dissipate the shades thrown by wicked men around you; place



before your eyes Saul, the king of Israel, raised from the lowest situation to the supreme power; mark how the favour of God followed him while obedient to his law, and in how much misery he was involved when he neglected his precepts; compare your successes with his prosperity; and, unless you change your counsels, expect no better, but rather a worse end, for he only intended what you now are doing, and that to conciliate the favour of bad men, who can neither hide their vices, nor even will they attempt to do it."

Listening to such counsels, the governor refused to authorize the cardinal's proceedings, and the latter determined to act on his own authority. On the day above mentioned, the 28th of March, Wishart was arraigned before the spiritual tribunal. We are told that a learned preacher, named John Winram, who was secretly attached to the doctrines of the reformers, was employed to deliver a sermon on this occasion, and that he preached in equivocal language, his rebukes applying rather to the judges than to the accused man. A bigoted priest named John Lauder was next brought forward as public accuser, and stated in violent and odious terms the charges against Wishart, who defended his opinions meekly, but firmly, and exhibited a profound knowledge of the holy scriptures. The result was, however, what might be expected; Wishart was found guilty of heresy, and condemned to be burnt. He was carried back to the castle, where, Buchanan tells us, "he spent the night in the governor's apartment, employed during the greater part of it in prayer. Next morning the priests sent two Franciscans to him, to acquaint him that the time of his execution drew near, and to ask if he wished to confess his sins to them, as was customary. He replied, that he had nothing to do with friars, nor would willingly converse with them; but if they would gratify him so far, he wished to converse with the learned man who had preached the day before. Winram, when he had obtained permission of the bishops, came to the castle, and held a long conversation with George Wishart, intermingled with many tears. At length, after he had ceased weeping, from which he could not at first refrain, he kindly asked him whether he would not wish to partake of the sacrament of the supper. 'Most willingly,' replied Wishart, 'if, according to Christ's

appointment, it be shown forth in both kinds, namely, in both bread and wine.' Winram, on this, returned to the bishops, and having informed them that the prisoner solemnly affirmed his innocence of the crimes with which he was charged, and that he did not say so to deprecate his impending death, but only to leave a testimony to men of that innocence which was known to God, the cardinal, inflamed with rage, replied, 'As for you, we know very well already what you are.' Winram then asked whether he should be allowed the communion of the holy body and blood of the Saviour? on which the other priests, after consulting awhile together, gave it as their opinion, that it did not appear proper that an obstinate heretic, condemned by the church, should enjoy any ecclesiastical privilege. This answer being returned to him, when, at nine o'clock, the friend and servants of the governor assembled to breakfast, George was asked whether he would partake with them. He answered: 'willingly, and with more pleasure than I have done for some time past; for I now perceive that you are good men, and fellow-members of the same body of Christ with me, and because I know this will be the last meal I shall partake of upon earth. And I beseech you,' he continued, addressing the governor, 'in the name of God, and by that love which you bear towards our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to sit down at this table a little, and attend to me, while I address an exhortation to you, and pray over the bread which we are about to eat, as brethren in Christ, and then I shall bid you farewell.' In the mean time, the table being covered, as is the custom, with a linen cloth, and bread placed upon it, George began a short and clear discourse upon the last supper, and the sufferings and death of Christ, and spoke about half an hour. He especially exhorted them to lay aside wrath, envy, and malice, that their minds might be filled with love one to another, and so they might become perfect members of Christ, who daily intercedes with the Father, that we through him, our sacrifice, may obtain eternal life. Having thus spoken, when he had given God thanks, he brake the bread, and gave a little to each, and in like manner he gave the wine, after he himself had tasted, entreating them now to remember in this sacrament for the last time along with him, the memorial of Christ's death; as for himself, a more bitter portion was prepared, for



no other reason except preaching the gospel. After which, having again returned thanks, he retired into his chamber, and finished his devotions."

During this time, the preparations for his execution had been actively going on, and not long after Wishart had left the breakfast-table, two officers came to take him into their charge, who clothed him with a coarse black linen shirt, and affixed bags of gunpowder to different parts of his body. A scaffold had been erected on a pile of wood in the court before the castle, and upon this a stake was raised. Everything had been done to make it a grand exhibition of ecclesiastical triumph. The windows and battlements of the castle which looked on the place of execution were covered with tapestry and silk hangings, on which cushions were placed for the cardinal and his friends, that they might witness the spectacle, and receive the congratulations of the assembled crowd. The whole garrison was placed under arms, and all the cannon belonging to the castle were brought out and displayed ostentatiously, pointed direct to the scaffold, the gunners with lighted matches standing beside them. A flourish of trumpets announced the arrival of the victim, who mounted the scaffold firmly, and made a short address to the people, in which he exhorted them earnestly not to let the sufferings he was about to undergo, turn them from the truth of the gospel; and he declared that he freely forgave his judges and all his enemies. The executioner then approached him, and falling on his knees, begged that he might have his forgiveness, especially as he was not guilty of his death. Wishart kissed him, and forgave him, adding, "Now be of good courage, my heart, and do thy office, for thou hast received a token that I forgive thee." He then knelt, and prayed aloud, repeating three times, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me; Father of heaven, into thy hands I commit my spirit." When he had done this, he rose from his knees, and surrendered himself to the executioner, who fixed the hooks in an iron chain that was girt round his loins, and he was thus raised on the gibbet. Fire was then applied to the faggots, and at the same time the rope was tightened round his neck, and he was thus strangled before the flames reached him. The fire was kept up until his body was reduced to ashes.

Few occurrences ever produced so great a

sensation in Scotland as the martyrdom of George Wishart. The boldness of his preaching had itself made him popular, while the absence of the sanction of the civil authority caused the sentence generally, except by the violent kirkmen, to be regarded as equally unjust and illegal. Brunston and his friends determined to take vengeance, and they were soon joined by men of higher character, who thought that in ridding the world of such a persecutor they were performing a deed that would be acceptable to God. John Lesley, the brother of the earl of Rothes, declared openly that he would have blood for blood; and his nephew Norman Lesley, (the master of Rothes), with Kirkaldy of Grange, and others, shared in his resentment. People in general were impressed with the belief that some great calamity hung over the cardinal's head.

Beaton, nevertheless, paid little attention to the public sentiments, secure in the belief that his late act of severity had cast terror into his enemies. He was at this time busily engaged in strengthening himself by private alliances with the nobility, and soon after Wishart's death he proceeded to Findhaven castle to be present at the marriage of one of his illegitimate daughters, Margaret Bethune, with whom he gave a princely dower, to David Lindsay, master of Crawford. While there, the cardinal received intelligence from some of his agents that the king of England was preparing for another invasion, and that the attack was this time to be directed against the coasts of Fife. As this would expose his castle of St. Andrews to danger, he hastened thither to strengthen its fortifications, and at the same time he summoned the gentry of the neighbourhood to meet him for the purpose of consulting on measures for defending their lands from the terrible devastations which had fallen upon other parts of the kingdom. At this meeting, Norman Lesley claimed of the cardinal the fulfilment of an agreement relating to an interchange of lands between them, and, receiving an equivocal answer, he went away in great anger, and carried the tale of his grievances to his uncle John, with whom it was resolved that the design which had been for some time harboured against the cardinal should be carried into immediate execution.

The numerous labourers employed on the new works of the castle rendered access to it at this moment much more easy than



usual, and the conspirators determined to seize upon this favourable opportunity. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of May, Norman Lesley came with five followers to take up his lodging at his usual inn in St. Andrews, where Kirkaldy of Grange had already arrived, and they were joined after nightfall by John Lesley, whose known hatred to the cardinal rendered it necessary that he should avoid observation. At day-break next morning they proceeded to the castle, and when the drawbridge was lowered to admit the masons, Norman Lesley and three of his followers passed in with them and entered into conversation with the porter. While they were thus engaged, the rest of their party, including James Melville and Kirkaldy of Grange, entered unnoticed, or at least unsuspected, and they were followed by John Lesley, who purposely came last. When the porter saw John Lesley, his suspicions were excited, and he attempted to raise the drawbridge, but he was anticipated by Lesley, who leaped across. The conspirators in an instant dispatched the porter with their daggers, took from him the keys of the castle, and threw his body into the fosse. They then proceeded silently and deliberately to turn the workmen out of the castle, and having disposed of fifty gentlemen of the household in the same manner, they closed the gates, lowered the portcullis, and became entire masters of the fortress. Kirkaldy, who was well acquainted with the castle, having stationed himself at a private postern which offered the only chance of escape, the other conspirators proceeded to the apartments of the cardinal, who was roused from his sleep by the unusual bustle. He immediately threw on a nightgown, and inquiring from the window the cause of the disturbance, was told that Norman Lesley had taken the castle. He then rushed to the postern gate, but finding it guarded, he returned to the room he had left, seized his sword, and with the assistance of his page barricaded the door in the inside by placing the furniture against it. He had hardly done this, when John Lesley came to the door, and demanded admittance. The cardinal asked who was there? and on being told Lesley, he exclaimed, "Is it Norman? Norman Lesley I must have, for he is my friend?" It appears that the cardinal had taken from Norman Lesley and other barons a bond of manrent, on the force of which he now

reckoned; but he received for reply, in a fierce tone, "Nay, I am not Norman, but John, and with me you must be contented!" At the same time Lesley called for fire to burn the door, and Beaton, perceiving that further resistance was useless, threw it open, and earnestly pleaded for mercy. Lesley and another of the conspirators, Carmichael, rushed upon him, stabbed him in several places, and would have dispatched him at once, but they were reprovved and restrained by Melville, who urged that a judgment of God like that with which they were intrusted should be executed with gravity. Beaton had now fallen back upon a chair, and Melville, whose character was deeply tinged with religious fanaticism, placing the point of the sword at his breast, accused him of his numerous crimes, and especially of the death of George Wishart, and bade him repent of the innocent blood he had shed. He then said impressively, "Remember that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and his holy gospel;" and then thrusting the sword through his body, the cardinal sank back on the chair and expired.

By this time it was noised abroad that the cardinal's enemies had gained possession of the castle, and the alarm having spread through the town, the common bell was rung, and the populace, with their provost, rushed tumultuously to the castle gates, and shouted from the outside of the fosse that they wanted to see their prelate. Some of the conspirators, who had mounted the battlements, recommended them to go to their homes, assuring them that he whom they called was not able to come to them. As they became more clamorous, insisting that they must speak with the cardinal, Norman Lesley presented himself, and reprovved them with their folly in wishing for an audience of a dead man; and at the same time the corpse was dragged to the place, and was hung naked and bleeding over the wall. "There," said Lesley, "is your god; and now that you are satisfied, go home to your houses." The crowd dispersed immediately, and the conspirators proceeded to take possession of the castle, and of the wealth which the cardinal had laid up in it, consisting not only of money, but of a large quantity of plate and jewels.

## CHAPTER XVII.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ASSASSINATION OF BEATON; CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS HELD BY THE CONSPIRATORS; DEATH OF HENRY VIII.; WAR WITH ENGLAND; BATTLE OF PINKIE.

THE removal of the cardinal from the stage, could not fail to create a great change in the acting of the political drama. Beaton's temper was violent and overbearing, and he was personally far from popular, except with the extreme papal faction. His death was a great blow to the ecclesiastical party, and it opened a door for conciliation among the nobles, which had been shut before; for many feared his offers of friendship, lest it should be a mere trap to ensnare them. The first consequence of the assassination of the cardinal was a coalition between the governor and the Douglasses. During the recent troubles and intrigues, many of the nobles had entered into manrents or bonds with Arran, to promote the marriage of his son with the young Scottish queen, while others had entered into similar bonds with the queen-mother to oppose this ambitious design. Arran now formally relinquished this design, and the bonds on both sides were by mutual consent annulled. The earl of Angus and his friends promised zealously to support the interests of the queen-mother; they relinquished all further support of the marriage with England, and renounced for ever their alliance with king Henry VIII. Twenty nobles were chosen to form a secret council, four of whom were to act in rotation each successive month, and be in attendance on the governor for that purpose. One of the five principal lords of the late English party was to be included in the council of each month: sir George Douglas first, the earl of Angus second, and so on in succession the earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, and Marshal. Lord Maxwell was restored to the office of warden of the western marches, and to the possession of the strong castle of Lochmaben; while Beaton's office of chancellor was given to the earl of Huntley. It was agreed to take advantage of a clause in the treaty of peace just concluded between England and France, which stipulated the comprehension of Scotland, if that country were willing to agree to it; and Adam Otterburn, with Paneter, bishop elect of Ross, were sent as ambassadors to England. All these arrange-

ments were brought about in a convention held at Stirling, on the 10th of June.

While the Scottish government was thus composing itself, another scene was enacted in the castle of St. Andrews. The early reformers had adopted extensively the belief, that the slaughter of an enemy of God's word was a justifiable act, and the cause of those who had murdered Beaton met with great sympathy. They retained possession of the castle, which had been so strongly fortified by the cardinal, that it might be defended by a few men, and they not only had possession of the cardinal's riches, and his stores of various kinds, but they held as a hostage the eldest son of the governor, who had been taken and kept by Beaton as a pledge for his father's fidelity to his league with the ecclesiastical party. The actual perpetrators of the murder were but a small party, but others soon joined them, some from an honest belief in the goodness of their cause, and others from the love of riot and plunder, so that within a few days their numbers amounted to no less than seven score Scottish gentlemen. Among those who entered into the castle from conscientious feelings were the celebrated John Knox, and John Rough, Arran's protestant chaplain who had been turned away when the governor joined the cardinal's party. The Scottish government at first attempted to negotiate with these men, who, from their holding the castle were termed the Castilians, for its delivery, but in vain; and a parliament was called on the 29th of July, by which they were declared guilty of treason. A proclamation was made forbidding all persons from aiding or encouraging them, and it was decreed that the kingdom should be divided into four parts, and that the military force of each should be brought in rotation to carry on the siege. The people of Lothian commenced on the 1st of September; but, although the governor directed the siege in person, and no means were left untried to force the garrison to capitulate, the walls of the fortress set at defiance all the engines which the besiegers could bring against it.



A recent historian of Scotland, Tytler, has attempted, we think unsuccessfully, to show that the murder of the cardinal was a plot which originated in England, and was urged on and fostered by English influence. It seems clear that the first proposal of assassination originated with the laird of Brunston and his confederates, although when communicated to the English king, he showed an earnest desire for its success. No doubt the knowledge that their design was secretly approved in England, encouraged the conspirators to carry it on; but wherever we trace its progress, we are convinced that every new step originated with the conspirators themselves, and that it was only communicated to the English government to obtain a promise of reward. The hostile proceedings against Brunston and his friends in the affair of George Wishart, with the events which followed, are quite enough to account for the final catastrophe. Yet when the deed was performed, the intelligence was welcomed on the southern side of the border, and it was to England especially that the Castilians, as they were called, looked for support. The younger Kirkaldy of Grange was sent to the English court, and, among other inducements, they offered to give up the earl of Arran's son to king Henry as a hostage. The Scottish parliament had provided against the inconvenience which might arise from the circumstances in which the heir of Arran was placed, by passing, with the consent of his father, a rather singular act, by which Arran's eldest son was declared to be disinherited until he should recover his liberty, and the earl's second son was made heir in the mean time. The English monarch, assenting at once to the application of the conspirators, directed a fleet to be sent to their aid, under the command of his admiral, William Tyrrell; and in the instructions given to this commander, the assassins of the cardinal and their colleagues are spoken of as "certain of our friends and servants in Scotland, who now remain besieged within the castle of St. Andrews, and, for their better defence against the malice of the adverse party, not concurring with them in the advancement of our godly purpose to the universal benefit of their country, require some aid to be ministered to them on our behalf." This expedition appears to have been got ready but slowly, and in the mean time Henry caused the Scottish ambassadors, who had then arrived

at his court, to write to Arran, and he also wrote to him himself, requesting that the siege of St. Andrews might not be persevered in. On the other hand, remonstrances were addressed to Henry both from Scotland and France, against any interference on the part of England in favour of the besieged.

Meanwhile the Castilians had received confidence from the promise of assistance made to them by the king of England, while the siege was carried on languidly and ineffectually. It was not till the month of November that Arran showed any real vigour in his proceedings; but then, having sent pressing demands to France for aid, he determined to push the siege forwards. The resolution of the little garrison was not shaken, and they made great havoc among Arran's gunners. But the castle was now closely blockaded, and, provisions running short, sickness began to thin the ranks of the besieged, while the continual fire of the besiegers had considerably injured their principal defences. At this time both parties showed an inclination to come to an agreement, the intentions of each being, as it appears, equally insincere. The garrison, reduced to the last extremities for want of provisions, sought only for the opportunity of revictualling the castle, while it was Arran's object to gain time for the arrival of assistance from France, as the Scottish nobles were all wearied with the slow progress of the siege. An armistice was accordingly agreed to, the besieged promising to deliver up the castle as soon as a papal absolution should be obtained for the murder of the cardinal, which was to be accompanied in Scotland with a free pardon, and in the mean time they were to retain the fortress, and the governor's son, James Hamilton, was to remain in their hands as a hostage. This cessation of hostilities was finally agreed to on Sunday, the 19th of December, and immediately afterwards the conspirators despatched a messenger to their envoy in England, with instructions to explain to the king the real posture of affairs, and to state that their only object in consenting to a truce was to gain an opportunity of recruiting their stores and victuals; declaring, at the same time, their resolution to co-operate with the English forces, when they should be sent into Scotland. "It is necessary," they said, "ye cause his grace to consider, that we must have support and aid of money, and this money to be sent to us by



sea, in such sort of gold as may not be suspected to be of his grace, but of the coins of France or other countries; by the which the said castle shall not be victualled only to the keeping thereof; but also we shall give our friends such part thereof, as well as of our substance recovered of the cardinal, that they without suspicion shall be ready with us, when his majesty's force come, to do such things as his grace shall give us commandment of. This appointment shall cause ourselves provide victuals, and relieve the king's majesty of great labours and expenses." It was suggested "to solicit the king's majesty to write to the emperor, causing him to write to the pope for the stopping and hindering of our absolution, which makes the longer continuing of all things in our hands." "*Item*," it is added in these instructions, "his majesty must send the support of money to us by sea in a ship, which must come to St. Andrews, and shoot a boat when they desire to speak us, and so deliver the money in quiet manner; and we incontinent (*immediately*) after their departing, to send to the governor, showing him that they come to offer us support of victuals, which we refused; and so there shall be no suspicion of any support, by the which our provisions may be and shall be made the starker (*stronger*) among our friends." "For," they proceed to say, "ye shall consider that the clause and condition inserted in the contract, not to receive Englishmen, behoved to be granted, or else the siege had not been withdrawn; but our minds you know well, and cause show the same to the king's majesty."

The governor, on his part, sent another messenger to France, to hasten the assistance promised by the French king, and requiring especially to be supplied with some experienced men skilled in the attack and defence of fortified places, and in the ordering of battles; for the late operations against the castle of St. Andrews had convinced him of the inefficiency of the Scottish army in these respects. Meanwhile the Castilians in St. Andrews took advantage of the truce to make excursions into the surrounding country, plundering and oppressing the wretched inhabitants, who were mostly the tenantry of their opponents. Having gained confidence from the forbearance of the governor, and consisting partly of turbulent chiefs who had no very settled principles, they indulged in riot and licentiousness to such a degree, as to merit the denunciations of Knox and

those who had joined them from conscientious motives. It was at this time that Knox first assumed the character of a preacher. He had entered the castle along with the lairds of Ormiston and Lang-Niddry, and their sons, whose education had been entrusted to his care, and he taught his pupils and delivered lectures on the scriptures to such as chose to attend in the chapel of the castle. The little congregation thus formed urged him to assume the ministry, and preach publicly to the people, but he refused, alleging his unwillingness to go where God had not called him. His refusal only made his auditors more anxious to overcome his scruples, and it was at length agreed that John Rough, Arran's protestant chaplain, who, as already stated, had joined the conspirators in the castle, should undertake the office of convincing him. One day, when the garrison were assembled to hear Rough's preaching, that minister chose for the subject of his discourse, the power resident in a congregation to elect their minister, and the danger of rejecting their call; and, after dwelling with great earnestness and feeling on this theme, he suddenly turned to Knox, and addressed him solemnly in the following words: "Brother, I charge you in the name of God, in the name of his Son, and in the name of this congregation, who now call upon you by my mouth, that you take upon you the office of preaching, and refuse not this holy vocation, as you would avoid God's heavy displeasure." Knox was deeply moved, and, rising, left the assembly in tears. He passed some days in great mental anxiety, and then, laying aside his scruples, yielded to the wishes of the congregation, and without further formality assumed the public office of a preacher of the gospel. In this character he reproved violently the vices and excesses of the garrison, and denounced against them God's anger, declaring that the Almighty would not be mocked, but that he would soon inflict upon them severe punishment, by those whom they least feared, on account of the profanation of his laws.

It was in the midst of these occurrences, on the 28th of January, 1547, that Henry VIII. of England died, leaving his crown to a child, Edward VI., and not long afterwards the grave also received his great rival, Francis I. of France. The new king of France, Henry II., was influenced by the councils of the house of Guise, and he determined at once to support in every way



in his power the catholic party in Scotland. Monsieur D'Osell, a creature of the Guises, was sent to Scotland as ambassador to confirm the old league, and he remained there to assist the queen dowager with his counsels in the difficulties with which she had to contend. On the other side, the English monarch is said to have recommended on his death-bed that his ministers should persevere in the war with Scotland, until they had forced that country to fulfil its engagements with regard to the marriage. Henry's policy of seeking a union between the two countries was a wise one, had he not overthrown it by the violent manner in which he attempted to enforce it; and the people of England, still labouring under old national prejudices and animosities, looked upon the opposition of the Scots as little better than rebellion, and were strongly excited against what they looked upon as their faithlessness and inconstancy; and it must be confessed that the conduct of the Scottish nobility tended to confirm them in this opinion. The people of England, moreover, now took a warm interest in the religious disputes, and we need not be surprised that one of the first acts of the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset and protector of the young king, was to continue the friendly communication with those who held the castle of St. Andrews against the government of Scotland. The Castilians, as they were called, no sooner heard of the death of Henry VIII., than they sent Balnaves as their envoy to the English court, where he was received with great favour, and all the promises made by the late king were confirmed. It was also determined to send money to the garrison of St. Andrews, to enable them to hire troops, and Somerset made no secret of his intention of assembling an army for the immediate invasion of Scotland. Balnaves was sent home to treat with the Scottish nobles who had formerly promised to aid the king of England in his designs, and he found many of them ready to repeat their old treasons. The garrison of St. Andrews, trusting to Somerset's promises, refused to fulfil their agreement when the papal absolution arrived.

Under these circumstances, it was to be expected that the two countries would not long remain at peace. The first act of hostility was the capture of a Scottish privateer, called the *Lion*, by an English ship named the *Pevensy*; the English, in

answer to the complaints of the Scots, declared that the *Lion* had been the aggressor. In April, an English army of five thousand men assembled on the western border, invaded Scotland, reduced and plundered the country, carried away the laird of Johnston and other captives, and seized and garrisoned many of the small Scottish fortresses in the country which they had thus overrun. The governor was indignant at this attack, and having assembled hastily a considerable force, marched to the border, and stormed and destroyed the castle of Langhope. Buchanan tells us that on his march, when encamped at the Meggat river, Arran was importuned by the friends and relations of the cardinal to bring to trial Norman Lesley's father, the earl of Rothes, who was with him, and whom they represented as dangerous from his doubtful fidelity. Arran consented, and the judges were chosen in the usual manner, but the earl of Rothes was unanimously acquitted.

After the capture of Langhope, Arran was preparing to reduce the other strongholds which had been occupied by the English, when he received intelligence that the long-expected French fleet had entered the firth. He immediately marched with such haste to St. Andrews, that the garrison found themselves besieged before they expected, and some of their party were shut out of the castle, while others who did not belong to them were obliged to remain inside. The French fleet consisted of sixteen armed galleons, commanded by Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, a knight of Rhodes, who was well known for his skill in warlike operations. He drew up his ships to the shore in such a manner that, at full tide, they commanded the outworks towards the sea, while the great ordnance he had brought with him was landed. Some large cannons were planted on the steeples of the abbey church and the college of St. Salvator, while others were formed into a battery against the walls.

The besieged, meanwhile, did not lose their courage, but, when John Knox reproached them with their excesses, and in prophetic denunciations threatened them with speedy defeat and ignominious captivity in foreign lands, they only pointed to their walls, and said scornfully, that they were strong enough to hold them till the arrival of their English friends. They had, however, miscalculated their strength, for the



well-directed artillery of the foreign engineers soon produced its effect. The cannon from the two steeples swept the court of the castle, so that it was impossible for the besieged to venture out into it without the greatest peril; and in a short time the whole of a new curtain wall was broken down by the fire of the besiegers, which made an effectual breach. The besieged now held a counsel of war, at which it was proposed to make a desperate sortie; but after some discussion this plan was abandoned, and it was determined at last to send a flag of truce, and offer to surrender if their lives and property were granted them. This proposal was instantly rejected, and they were told that they could hope for nothing but their lives, and those could only be granted conditionally. They seem most to have feared the vengeance of their own countrymen, and refusing to acknowledge the authority of the governor, who they said had acted treacherously towards them, they offered to surrender themselves prisoners to the king of France. They probably expected thus to obtain more lenient treatment; and we are told by some of the old historians that this was promised to them. They were accordingly marched out of the castle, and carried on board the fleet. The plunder of the castle, which was seized by the victors, consisted not only of the personal goods and treasures of the cardinal, but of those of some of the conspirators who had brought them there for safety, and it is said to have amounted altogether to not less than a hundred thousand pounds. The prisoners did not meet with the indulgence they expected; those who were landed in France, were distributed in the dungeons of the various castles in Brittany, while the rest were kept chained on board the galleys, and treated with the utmost rigour. Among the latter was the preacher Knox. Before Strozzi set sail to return to France, he, by the consent of the governor, totally dismantled the castle. Some say that this was done in obedience to a law of the Romish church, which ordered the destruction of any house in which a cardinal had been murdered; but others represent it as a mere precaution, to render the fortress useless to an enemy who might succeed in possessing himself of it.

The triumph of the government seemed only to be the signal for new divisions and intrigues. Among other articles in the chamber of Balnaves, who had been an

active agent between the conspirators and the English ministers, a register book was found, containing the autograph subscriptions of two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, including those of the earls of Bothwell, Cassillis, and Marshal, lord Kilmaurs, and lord Grey, binding themselves secretly to the service of England. Bothwell had agreed to give up his castle of the Hermitage to the English, and to renounce all allegiance to the governor, so soon as the English army entered Scotland, and he was to receive as a reward the hand of the duchess of Suffolk, the aunt of the young English king. Sir George Douglas had also again given a secret assurance of his readiness to join with the English. Lord Grey had been tampering with the earls of Athol, Errol, Sutherland, and Crawford, who showed themselves willing to serve the English king for a due consideration. Glencairn professed his readiness to cooperate in the invasion with his friends and vassals, and he proposed to raise two thousand men, to be ready either to join the English army or to keep possession of the districts of Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew. He asked for money to equip a troop of horse, with which he promised to hold the governor in check until the arrival of the English army; and he gave information and advice on the best means of holding in subjection the country through which it had to march. He also assured the protector of the devotion of the earl of Lennox, who was now in Scotland. It must not be concealed in defence of the conduct of many of these noblemen, that they pleaded as their excuse the necessity of protecting God's word and the true followers of the gospel from popish tyranny. Angus alone seems at this time to have remained true to his allegiance.

Arran was embarrassed in the highest degree by the discovery of the register book of Balnaves, and the imperfect knowledge he thus gained of the extensive confederacy forming against his government, and he seems to have hesitated as to the course to pursue. To have proceeded openly against all who were suspected of disaffection might have raised a spirit of opposition that would have been full of peril at a moment when the country was threatened with a formidable invasion, and the governor was not aware of the secret communications we have just described; but he chose the most dangerous of all courses, in arresting one only of the nobles, the earl of Bothwell, who was



committed to prison, while the others, left at large, were thus warned of the governor's intention towards them. The governor meanwhile took the best steps he could for the defence of the kingdom. A line of beacons was established on the hills near the coast, so as to form a chain of communication from St. Abb's Head to Linlithgow, and horsemen were kept at each station to carry intelligence. An appeal was next made to the people in a superstitious form which was derived from the most remote antiquity, and had never been resorted to except on some awful crisis. Two rods of hazel were formed into the shape of a cross, and the extremities were burnt in the fire, and, while still blazing, extinguished in the blood of a goat slain for the occasion. This was called "the fiery cross;" it was placed on the end of a spear, and transmitted from place to place by the heralds and pursuivants; and the call thus made was felt to be one of such a nature as few dared to disobey. In a very short time, an army of thirty-six thousand men was assembled in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh.

During this time the protector Somerset had made his preparations for war with deliberate foresight. He had sent an envoy to summon the Scots to fulfil their original agreement with regard to the peace and marriage, but he received only a direct refusal, and it was intimated that the young queen was to be sent to France. Upon this, Somerset directed his army, which was admirable in spirit and condition, to rendezvous at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he arrived to take the command in person on the 27th of August. A fleet under lord Clinton, consisting of thirty-four ships of war and thirty transports, attended on his movements. The English army now consisted of ten thousand foot, and about six thousand horse, which was divided into three principal wards or battles. The vanward was commanded by Dudley earl of Warwick, one of the most distinguished commanders of his age; the protector in person led the main battle; while the rear was entrusted to the aged veteran lord Dacre of the north. Lord Grey of Wilton, high marshal of the army, commanded the cavalry, under whom served a body of mounted Spanish carabineers led by Don Pedro de Gamboa. Each division of the army was accompanied by wings of horse, and by a certain number of pieces of artillery, each with its guard of pioneers.

The English army began its march on the 2nd of September, and advanced steadily along the coast, in sight of the fleet. While at Newcastle, the protector had received a friendly visit from the laird of Mangerton, and it would seem that the disaffection of the southern barons to Arran's government led them to offer no opposition to the progress of the enemy. On the 4th of September, Somerset reached the defile called the Peaths, a difficult pass on the northern extremity of Berwickshire, where it had been rumoured that the Scots would make an attempt to stop his march. It consisted of a valley six miles in length, stretching towards the sea, with declivities on either side so steep that it could only be passed by paths leading slope-wise, from which circumstance it was said to have received its name (the Peaths, or paths). When the English army arrived here, they found no force collected to resist them, though the Scots had attempted to impede their progress by cutting trenches across the paths. These were not deep enough to do much mischief, but a whole day was spent in leading the army through the pass, and conducting it into the county of Haddington. The castle of Douglas, commanded by a son of the lord Hume, was surrendered without a blow, but the strong forts of Thornton and Innerwick made more resistance, and were only surrendered when their walls were beginning to give way under the fire of the English artillery. All these fortresses were dismantled. The protector, continuing his march, left Dunbar within gun-shot on his right, and encamped that night near Angus's castle of Tantallon. Next morning he advanced to East Linton, and the infantry crossed the river Tyne by a narrow bridge, while the horse and artillery passed at a ford. The castle of Hailes opened upon them an ineffectual cannonade, as the English army passed, and soon afterwards a body of light horse under a noted borderer called Dandy Car, advanced to reconnoitre, but they were quickly dispersed by a party of English cavalry under lord Warwick. The same evening—it was the 7th of December—Somerset encamped at Lang-Niddry.

Next morning, the eighth of September, Somerset communicated by signal with his fleet, which lay at anchor near Leith, and the admiral, lord Clinton, came on shore to him. The protector was aware that the whole Scottish army lay encamped near Musselburgh, and he directed that the



larger ships should cast anchor near that town, while the transports and victuallers should keep close in to the shore to attend on the movements of the army. After these directions had been given, the English commenced their march from Lang-Niddry. The vicinity of the enemy was proved by the frequent appearance of bodies of light cavalry, who approached on hills near enough to watch the proceedings of the invaders. The rugged character of the road obliged the army this day to march slowly, and at night they had only reached the now celebrated little town of Preston-Pans, where they encamped in a good position, having on the south the hill of Faside, not far distant, the firth of Forth to the north, and the Esk to the west; on the other side of which, distant about three miles, and within sight of the English position, the Scottish army lay encamped in a very strong position at Edmonstone edge.

Early on the morning of the ninth, a force of fifteen hundred light horse under the command of the lord Hume, forming the main body of Arran's cavalry, showed themselves on the neighbouring hills, and rode up close to the English vanguard, shouting and doing everything in their power to provoke the English to attack them. It appears to have been their design, as on several other occasions during the previous day, to draw the English cavalry into an ambush, and they had concealed near them a body of five hundred foot. Somerset was led by the boldness of the lord Hume's horse to suspect that he was better supported than he seemed to be, and he gave strict orders that none of his troops should leave their ranks to interfere with them. Their forbearance seems to have emboldened the Scottish cavalry, who rode up close to the English ranks setting them at defiance. At length lord Grey obtained leave of the protector to attack them, and just as they came within a stone's-throw of the English line, and were wheeling about to return, he dashed forward with his own demi-lances and a thousand men at arms. The Scots faced about, and bravely withstood the charge, and the conflict lasted about three hours, but it was fatal to the Scottish cavalry, of whom thirteen hundred were slain, the English pursuing them for three miles, till they came close to their own camp. The lord Hume was himself severely wounded, and his son, the master of Hume, was taken prisoner. The loss of

the English was very trifling; it is said but four killed. This imprudent affair was disastrous in every sense to the Scots; it not only deprived them of a very important part of their force, but it spread discouragement through the whole army, while it encouraged their enemies. It is said that they complained that the English on this occasion gave no quarter, and that the latter in reply reproached them with their cruelty at the battle of Ancram Muir, in which sir Ralph Eure was slain.

Immediately after this affair, Somerset, anxious to reconnoitre the enemy's position, took with him the earl of Warwick and three hundred horse, and descending the hill of Faside, rode along a lane which led north to the church of Inveresk, and which gave him a view of the whole front of the Scottish camp. It formed nearly a square, of about a mile in circumference, defended on the right by a morass extending to the south; on the left by the firth of Forth, parallel to the shore of which a turf wall was raised, defended with a few field-pieces; to the west, the retreat lay open to Edinburgh, and in front the river Esk flowed between the two hostile armies. The bridge of Musselburgh, by which the river was to be passed, was occupied with artillery. Somerset saw at once the strength of this position, and that it would be perilous in the highest degree to attempt to attack the Scots while they held it; but it did not escape his military eye that it was partly commanded by the hill of Faside and by several points of the lane, and he determined to occupy these points next morning with his ordnance, in the hope of compelling the Scots to dislodge from their position. When he had made these observations, the protector and his party returned, and they had ridden about half-way to the English camp, when they were overtaken by a Scottish herald with his tabard on, accompanied by a trumpeter, and bringing a message to the duke of Somerset. The herald stated that he was sent by the governor of Scotland, first, to ask for an exchange of prisoners; and secondly, to state that his master, wishing to avoid the shedding of Christian blood which must result from the battle that now seemed unavoidable, was willing to allow him to return home with his army without molestation, if he would retreat without doing further injury. When the herald had delivered his message, the trumpeter



stepped forward, and said that his master, who was the earl of Huntley, had charged him to say that, in order to bring the quarrel to a speedy issue, and with less injury to both armies, the earl was ready to encounter Somerset twenty to twenty, or ten to ten, or, if he preferred it, in single combat. To the herald the protector said, that he had not come into that land in order to march back without effecting anything, but that his object was to obtain a solid peace for both countries. He said that his quarrel was just, and that God would prosper it, and since so many former demands had been made, and conditions offered, in vain, it must now be decided by an appeal to arms. Then turning to the trumpeter, "Tell thy master," he said, "that he seems to be somewhat wanting in discretion, seeing that he is himself so much inferior in dignity, to send his challenge to one who has the whole government of a kingdom placed in his hands; though, if I had been my own master, and not the bearer of so important a charge, I would not have refused a personal encounter. Meanwhile," he added, "there are many in my army who are equal in nobility and rank to Huntley, whom, if he think fit to challenge, he will find perhaps readier to fight than he wishes." Upon this Warwick stepped forward, and offered to accept the challenge, but Somerset interfered, stating that he also was higher in rank than Huntley, and then turning to the herald, he said, "Tell the governor and Huntley both, that the army I have with me, compared with the forces under their command, is small and weak; nevertheless, if they will come out here and give me battle, they shall both have fighting enough." Warwick and others still pressed forward, and urged to be allowed to accept Huntley's challenge, but the protector refused, and, dismissing the governor's messengers, he returned to his camp. There, after consultation with his officers, the protector determined still to make an effort to avert further hostilities, and he addressed a letter to the governor, offering to withdraw his army from the Scottish territory, on the sole condition that the Scots should agree to keep their young queen in her own country, and enter into no treaty with France relating to her, until she should be of an age to judge for herself, and decide whether she would accept the English marriage or not. It

is said that Arran, on receiving this letter, showed it to his confidential friend Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews, who, in his bigoted zeal for the Romish church, urged him to listen to no further proposals from the enemy; and the governor himself, persuaded that the letter was only a proof that the English army was afraid to risk a battle, gave ear to his arguments. It was determined between them that the contents of Somerset's letter should be entirely suppressed, and a report was sent abroad that an arrogant message had been received from the English commander, requiring the Scots to deliver up their queen, and submit to his mercy. Thus the last hope of an accommodation was destroyed.

Pains, however, seem to have been taken to convince the Scottish soldiers that the English would not venture to fight, and both the men and their commanders adopted the mistaken notion that the ships had been brought near the shore in order that the English army might embark suddenly, and so escape without the dangers of a march overland. They were now anxious that their enemies should not escape, and it is said that, to prevent them, they formed the project of attacking their camp by surprise during the night, but that when they examined the approaches, they found that Somerset was too skilful and prudent a general to let his army be exposed to a danger of that kind. But the opinion that Somerset meditated a flight seemed confirmed when, early on the morning of the 10th, he broke up his camp, and began his march towards the hill of Inveresk, where he intended to plant his ordnance on the eminence which commanded the Scottish position. Arran was convinced at once that the English had commenced their retreat to the fleet, which now lay in the bay of Musselburgh, and that it was their intention to embark, and, resolving to anticipate them by throwing himself between them and the shore, he gave orders for the whole army to leave the camp and pass the river. Many of his best officers urged him not to quit his present strong position until he was more certain of the enemy's intentions, and the earl of Angus, who commanded the vanguard of the Scottish army, refused to obey, until he was charged to march on pain of treason.

The Scottish army was divided, as cus-



tomary, into three divisions, of which the vanward, ten thousand strong, consisted of the forces of Fife, the Mearns, Angus, and the west country, commanded, as we have just stated, by the earl of Angus. It was flanked on the right by some pieces of artillery, and on the left by four hundred light horse. With it marched a large body of priests and monks, who carried a white banner, on which was painted a figure kneeling with dishevelled hair before a crucifix, with the motto, *afflictæ ecclesiæ ne obliviscaris*, [forget not the afflicted church.] The men of Lothian, Fife, Strathern, Stirlingshire, and the great body of the barons of Scotland, formed the main battle. It was covered on the right by four thousand west highlanders under the earl of Argyle, and its left wing consisted of men from the isles, under Macleod, Macgregor, and other chiefs. It was defended on both flanks by artillery.

The English army was on its march to occupy the position at Inveresk, when, to the surprise of everybody, the Scottish forces were seen passing the river, and approaching rapidly to encounter them. Somerset immediately formed his army in order of battle, and quietly watched the movements of his opponents, uncertain of their intentions. It was soon evident that the design of the Scots was to throw themselves between the English and the sea, but as they moved for that object, one of the English war-galleys drew in near to the shore, and opened its fire on the wing of the rearward with so much effect, that the master of Graham and others were killed, and the whole body of the highlanders were thrown into disorder. On receiving this check, the Scots altered their plan, and turning to the southward, they made a rapid march towards the west end of the hill of Faside, in order to gain that eminence and attack the enemy with the advantage of the ground. Somerset immediately gave directions for a corresponding movement in order to defeat their purpose. At this time the protector was standing with the earl of Warwick, watching the advance of the Scots. When the latter saw their enemies also moving towards the hill, they suddenly halted in the middle of the course, to the surprise of Somerset, who expressed to Warwick his opinion that they would advance no further, and that there would be no battle that day. But that experienced commander thought differently, for he judged rightly that the Scots

had not halted from fear, but in order to recover themselves from the fatigue of their rapid march, that they might not come upon the enemy breathless. Accordingly, after a very short pause, they resumed their march, moving so quickly that many who saw them could hardly be convinced that they were not cavalry.

The protector and the earl of Warwick now congratulating each other on the certainty that the Scots would fight, separated, each proceeding to his respective post. Lord Grey and sir Ralph Vane, who were stationed at the extreme left of the English army with the veteran cavalry known by the name of the Bullenens, and the demilances under lord Fitzwaters, were now ordered to move forwards and charge the right wing of the Scots, and keep them in check till the English vanward should advance further on the hill, and till the other divisions should come up to form the line. Lord Grey executed this movement with the utmost gallantry. After halting for a moment on the hill, he dashed down at full gallop against the left wing of the division under the earl of Angus. This consisted of footmen, armed with spears eighteen feet in length, who, forming according to the usual practice of Scottish warfare, presented a front which is compared by the old writers to the bristles of a hedgehog. It was impossible for any cavalry to make much impression on an obstacle like this; nevertheless Grey and the division under his command pressed forward. Before they reached the enemy, they came unexpectedly upon a wide muddy ditch or slough, which lay between them, through which they struggled with difficulty. They had no sooner cleared it, than lord Grey, with the foremost companies, charged the Scots. But the advantage of infantry over cavalry was soon experienced in this encounter. Two hundred of the English, including many of their bravest officers, were thrown from their horses, and dispatched with the short daggers, or whingers, which the Scots carried at their girdles. Andrew Flammoek, the standard bearer, saved the colours with the utmost difficulty, leaving the staff in the hands of the enemy. The horses, many of them desperately wounded, became furious, and increased the disorder, and the confusion of the whole body of the men-at-arms became so great that lord Grey, himself severely wounded, had the utmost difficulty in withdrawing them without much



more serious loss. If the earl of Angus's division had been properly supported, the consequences might have been very serious to the English army. But the Scottish centre and rear were still at a considerable distance, and Angus now felt the want of the cavalry which had been so rashly sacrificed on the preceding day. The English had retreated with the utmost confusion up the hill, but Angus's division, unsupported, was hindered from pursuing them by the fear of exposing themselves too far in face of the English forces, and the earl of Warwick, with sir Ralph Sadler, who now held the office of treasurer of the army, galloped up, and after great exertions, restored order among the disordered ranks of their cavalry, which had become intermixed with the infantry sent to support it. The Spanish carabineers, a fine body of men, perfectly disciplined, and covered both man and horse with mail, were now brought forwards, and advancing to the edge of the ditch which had been passed by the cavalry in the former encounter, discharged their pieces in the faces of the Scottish infantry, when they were within half-musket range. They were supported by the foot hagbutteers under sir Peter Mewtas, and by the English archers, who discharged upon the ranks of their opponents a destructive shower of arrows. At the same time a battery of artillery, which had been placed on the hill, opened its fire upon the Scots with great effect. Unable to support this combined attack, Angus gradually withdrew his men from their exposed position.

It was at this moment that, as on so many former occasions, the Scots were ruined by the rashness and indiscipline of the troops from the north. The highlanders in Angus's division had already, according to their practice, broke from their ranks, and scattered themselves over the field to strip and plunder the slain; and as usual, when they saw their companions giving way, they imagined that the Scots were already defeated, and, anxious to secure their booty, fled in all directions. This sudden panic communicated itself to the other troops, and they all began to separate and run off in the utmost disorder. Angus himself was struck down, and only escaped by lying still between the furrows of the ground, till one of his followers brought him a horse. The centre division, which was still a quarter of a mile behind, followed the example of the van, and the general confusion was increased by

the conduct of the governor, who commanded it in person, and who, instead of attempting to rally his troops, shouted out, "treason! treason!" It is said that he dismounted from his horse, and, slipping through the broken ranks, till he had disentangled himself from them, mounted another and fled unobserved. All was now lost; for the whole Scottish army was almost in an instant broken up and scattered over the plain, every man throwing away his arms and other encumbrances, and endeavouring to make his escape in the best way he could. The ground is described by those who witnessed the battle, as being covered with pikes like a floor strewed with rushes, and among them lay scattered in every direction steel-caps, helmets, bucklers, swords, and daggers. The flight began at one o'clock in the day, and the pursuit continued till six in the evening. The English cavalry, irritated at their first defeat, and still more so when on advancing they beheld the bodies of their companions, stripped by the highlanders, lying naked and mangled about the ground, swept over the field and slew without mercy all they overtook. When any of them seemed to slacken in their vengeance, their companions called on them to remember the slaughter of their companions at Ancram Muir, or, as that battle was often called, Peniel Heugh. The English writers tell us that fewer were saved owing to the circumstance that they were all dressed meanly, and few bore any kind of ornament or ensign to distinguish the chiefs from their men, and the English spared none but those from whom they expected to obtain a heavy ransom. The Scots fled in three different directions; many of them directed their course towards Edinburgh, others rushed into Leith as the nearest place of refuge, while the greater number fled to Dalkeith, in the hope of receiving protection from the morass on the right of their camp. Great numbers were drowned in the Esk, the waters of which were red with blood. Many who sought to conceal themselves among the rushes, by immersing themselves in the water up to the mouth, were dragged out by their pursuers and put to death. The number of the slain is differently stated at from ten to fourteen thousand men. Those who were present state, that the ground for five miles, in a breadth of four miles, was covered with the bodies of the dead as thickly strewn as cattle in a well-stored



pasture field; and it is said, that no less than three hundred and sixty widows were made that day in Edinburgh alone. The priests were slaughtered without mercy, and their sacred banner was found trampled in blood and dirt. The prisoners taken in this battle were estimated at not more than fifteen hundred. Among them were a few nobles, who seem to have escaped slaughter by accident. The earl of Huntley, surrounded by hostile soldiers, against whom he was defending himself with difficulty, was rescued and taken prisoner by the timely arrival of sir Ralph Vane.

This great and unexpected disaster was called at the time, from the neighbouring town, the battle of Musselburgh, but it has since become more usual to call it, from the spot on which it was fought, the battle of Pinkie. It was near night when the English army mustered again on the ridge of Edmonstone Edge, beside the Scottish camp, and they there gave one long and loud shout, which was said to have been heard in the streets of Edinburgh, and then encamped on an eminence near, called Edgebuckling Brae. All the Scottish artillery, baggage, camp, and many of the colours, fell into the hands of the victors. The governor reached Stirling in safety, where he found the two queens, and if Somerset had pursued him thither, they would probably have fallen into the hands of the English. Fortunately, however, for Scotland, the protector had received intelligence of intrigues against his authority in England, which made him anxious to return. His first movement, after the battle, was to seize upon Leith, where he quartered his horse, and he immediately afterwards received the submission of the earl of Bothwell, who had been released from prison. Meanwhile his forces ravaged the country around in a cruel manner. They burnt the town of Kinghorn, and several smaller fishing ports on the coast of Fife, and placed a garrison in an old monastery on a small

island 'called Inchcolm, in the firth. The English remained in their position at Leith about a week, and on the 18th of September, after setting fire to that town, and having already plundered and unroofed the abbey of Holyrood, Somerset commenced his retreat. The fleet, in its way home, took possession of the strong castle of Broughty, at the mouth of the Tay, which was delivered up to lord Clinton by lord Gray; and the chiefs of the Merse and Teviotdale, including the lairds of Cessford, Fernyhirst, Ormiston, Mellerstair, and many others, surrendered their castles to the protector as he marched through those districts, and took the oath of allegiance to king Edward. The protector seized the strong castle of Hume, and placed a garrison in it, and he erected a new fort on the ruins of the dismantled castle of Roxburgh. It is said that, in his anxiety to complete this latter work, Somerset himself, with his lords and officers, laboured with their own hands, and that within a few days it was ready to receive a garrison.

Scotland had at this time been exposed to invasion from another side. Two days before the battle of Pinkie, a body of five thousand men, under the command of the earl of Lennox and lord Wharton, entered by the west marshes, took Castlewick, which was given to the charge of sir Edward Dudley, and ravaged the country around. They destroyed the town of Annan, and blew up its church with gunpowder, because it had been bravely defended against them by an officer named Lyon, with the master of Maxwell and the lairds of Johnston and Cockpool. The whole of Annandale now submitted to the English, and the chiefs gave pledges for their fidelity to king Edward. In fact everywhere the population had sunk into despair; and without any hope of assistance from their own government, they saw that the only hope of safety, for themselves and their families, as well as for their goods, was to submit to the invaders.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

CLOSER ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE; ARRIVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS; MARY STUART SENT TO FRANCE; PACIFICATION OF 1550.

THE disastrous result of the battle at Pinkie cast a gloom over the minds of the catholics, as well as of all patriotic men throughout Scotland, but the courage and high spirit of the queen-dowager at this moment formed a rallying-point for the nobles of the party. These assembled immediately at Stirling, and it was determined that another army should be raised, and that ambassadors should be sent in haste to France, to press urgently for assistance. The young queen, under the charge of her governors, the lords Erskine and Livingston, was hurried for safety to the monastery of Inchmahome, on a little island in the lake of Menteith; and her mother, no doubt prompted partly by the French ambassador, D'Oysell, who remained with her, seized upon the occasion for urging the necessity of a closer alliance with France. As soon as the retreat of the English army was known, the queen-dowager and the governor called another council at Stirling, and it was proposed that her daughter should be sent to France for her education; and the suggestion was then made by Mary and the French ambassador, that, in order to defeat entirely the English designs with regard to the marriage, a treaty should be entered into for a matrimonial alliance between the young queen and the dauphin of France; a scheme which was unpalatable to the governor, who had not yet relinquished the hope of securing the royal match for his own son; but his influence was now rapidly declining, and the somewhat imperious will of Mary of Guise seems to have been predominant in the Scottish councils.

The nobles, however, had not learnt from the recent disaster to compose their differences, and join together in the national cause. Many of them, probably from an honest fear of the ill effects of French influence, secretly withdrew their support from the governor and the queen-dowager, and many others, with less honourable motives, renewed their old practices with England. Among these were the earls of Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and Lennox, the lairds of Ormiston and Brunston, and many others, most of whom had signed the secret articles with England, and many of

them had given hostages for their fidelity. Some even of those who professed the greatest attachment to the queen, were not found true at the hour of need. Among these was the earl of Argyle, a nobleman of great power, who had been looked upon as one of the main supports of the existing government. In the January of 1548, he raised a strong force, and marched to reduce the castle of Broughty, and drive the English from that part of the country. But he advanced no farther than Dundee; there he agreed to accept a bribe of a thousand crowns and embrace the service of England, and he retired from Dundee on the 5th of February, without committing any further act of hostility. The earl of Huntley, who had been looked upon as the great support of the catholics in Scotland, and whose challenge of the protector on the eve of the battle of Pinkie has been already mentioned, was taken in the battle, and carried a prisoner to England; he, also, embraced the service of his captors, and was sent to Newcastle on a solemn promise that he would promote the views of the English government. Lord Maxwell, another prisoner, but whose previous conduct had been more wavering, followed his example. The earl of Bothwell, also, professed to be the firm ally of England. Sir George Douglas had again proposed a plan of invasion, which he asserted must lead to the entire reduction of the country to subjection to England.

Relying on all these promises of support, the English again prepared to enter Scotland in force, but they soon found how little the engagements of such men could be trusted in. On the 18th of February, the English warden, lord Wharton, assembled the power of the English marches, and crossed the border, when he was joined by Lennox, who commanded the Scottish borderers in the service of England. They were to have been joined by the master of Maxwell and the Douglasses, but the former was bribed to desert the English alliance, by a promise of a rich marriage, and the Douglasses, after making a slight demonstration, broke their agreement. Lord Wharton



was enraged at the faithlessness of these Scottish allies, and determined to take revenge by treating the country with more than usual severity. Lord Wharton's army at this time consisted only of three thousand men, which he incautiously separated, sending on the cavalry, under his son, in advance, while he followed more slowly with the foot. At this moment, the earl of Angus, in spite of his secret engagements to England, collected a strong body of Scots, and, having first dispersed the English cavalry, attacked and defeated the English foot. Fortunately, the cavalry had rallied, and came to their assistance, but the Scots in the English service, when they saw their countrymen likely to be victorious, threw away their red crosses, and joined in the slaughter of their allies, and it was not without great exertions, and considerable loss, that Wharton succeeded in rescuing his men, and making good his retreat to Carlisle. The Scots, although victorious, suffered severely, for no less than six hundred of them are said to have been slain, or drowned in the river Nith, and several of their chiefs were made prisoners in an unexpected charge of the English cavalry.

While Wharton undertook this unfortunate expedition, lord Grey had entered Scotland on the eastern border, and advanced as far as Haddington. The barons in the districts through which he had passed were more faithful to their promises, and he was joined on his march by the lairds of Ormiston, Brunston, and others, who brought him a force amounting together to about a thousand horse. But when Grey received intelligence of the defeat of lord Wharton, as his own force was a very small one, he found it necessary to retreat also. He appears to have treated the districts through which he passed as a friendly country, and to have received everywhere the submission of the inhabitants.

In the meantime the Scottish governor had recovered his courage, and assembling as strong a force as he could under the melancholy circumstances in which his country was placed, made an attempt to wrest Broughty castle from the English, but after losing some of his followers by the fire of the garrison, he was obliged to make his retreat. He received, about the same time, a small reinforcement of French soldiers. As soon as Arran was assured of the retreat of the force under lord Grey, he

marched into the country of the Scottish barons who had joined the English, and seized and plundered their houses, indulging in many instances in an impolitic stretch of vengeance. Ormiston was burnt to the ground, and Saltounhall having offered some resistance, the house was razed, and every man of the garrison hanged. This cruelty produced an equally severe retaliation. Lord Wharton, exasperated at the proceedings of the Scots, held a court at Carlisle, for the trial of the hostages which had been given by the Scottish chiefs for their fidelity, many of them youths of good family, and condemned ten of them to be hanged. Six were respited, but four were immediately led to execution, in spite of the earnest expostulations of their friends.

The queen-dowager, who ruled the councils of the Scottish government at this moment, and who regulated her policy in a great measure by the advice of the French ambassador, D'Oysell, was now resolved to accomplish the French marriage. After the retreat of the English, she had taken the young queen from her asylum in the monastery of Inchmahome, and carried her to the castle of Dumbarton, from whence she might be easily embarked for France before the fact could be publicly known. The intention of sending her away was, however, now well known in England, and the protector attempted to hinder it by new negotiations. At the beginning of February, 1548, he addressed a manifesto to the governor, in which he declared that, far from wishing to subjugate or oppress the country, his only desire was to unite the two countries by marriage upon a footing of perfect equality; and it was his wish that the two names of England and Scotland, which had been so often opposed to each other in hostile array, might be sunk in the common name of Britain. It was, no doubt, a wise policy, and might have led to incalculable benefits, but it was prevented by national prejudices and by foreign interference. There is little doubt that a great portion of the people of Scotland would have been willing to support it, and that they looked at this time with great jealousy and mistrust on the proceedings of the queen and the governor, nor were they desirous of the French marriage. Most of the nobility, indeed, were either intriguing with England, or held themselves aloof. But the dreadful reverses of the war with England had spread



such an entire discouragement through the kingdom, that the government had fallen entirely into the hands of the French and Romish party, who now, with the queen and the governor, did everything at their pleasure. It was against this party that the English government professed to be making war, and when the governor refused to listen to Somerset's manifesto, the latter prepared to invade Scotland again.

At the end of February, lord Grey entered Scotland with a strong force, and overran the country up to the gates of Edinburgh. The Douglasses and their friends were again acting the double part which drew upon them distrust and hatred from both sides, and now as before they broke their engagements, and would not act with the invading army. Lord Grey, who appears to have remained in Scotland from the end of February to the month of June, determined to take vengeance on the arch-traitor, sir George, who lay secure, as he imagined, in his strong castle of Dalkeith. Grey was obliged to imitate, in his dealings with him, the cunning of this able and crafty leader. "I pretended," he says, in one of his dispatches, "no manner of enmity against him, but that still I had hope of his conversion, to breed in him such trust, that the less doubting, the sooner I might be revenged, or get him into my hands." Meanwhile, sixty of the Spanish mounted hagbutteers, under their leader, Pedro de Gamboa, were employed in plundering the country in his neighbourhood, and under pretence of joining with them, an English party of six hundred foot and one hundred horse, under captain Wilford, unsuspected by Douglas, suddenly pushed across the Esk, and presenting themselves before the castle of Dalkeith, summoned it to surrender. Although taken by surprise, and unprepared for such an attack, sir George placed himself at the head of his pikemen, and boldly went forth to encounter his opponents, but he was soon overcome by superiority of numbers, and was driven back into the castle through a postern. After a desperate struggle, in which forty of the Scots were slain, the English made themselves masters of the base court, and they were proceeding to undermine and blow up the walls, when the garrison surrendered. Sir George Douglas escaped, but his lady, the master of Morton (his eldest son), the abbot of Arbroath (his illegitimate brother), Home, laird of Wedderburn, and many of the Doug-

lasses, were taken prisoners. Much wealth was found in the place, for all the country round had brought their goods thither, "thinking that nothing could prevail against George's policy." The English razed the castle of Dalkeith, as well as that of Musselburgh, and before returning to England, Grey placed a strong garrison in Haddington, which, as well as Lauder, had been taken and fortified. No small part of the population, and especially some of the towns, seem to have been aiding and abetting the English in this invasion; and the spirit which actuated many of them at this time, is shown in a letter written in the preceding November by the chief citizens of Dundee, who were stanch protestants, and who declared for England, offering to hold their town resolutely against the governor, and requesting some good preacher to be sent them, with a supply of English bibles and other godly books.

During these proceedings, Henry II. of France, who had taken up warmly the project for the marriage of his son with the young Scottish queen, and who seems to have looked forwards from the first to the ultimate reduction of Scotland to a mere foreign province of his hereditary kingdom, was preparing, at an immense expense, a formidable expedition to support the queen-dowager. The French king was regularly advertised of the events which were now going on in that country by his own agents there; and some of their letters, recently published, throw considerable light upon Scottish affairs at this time. We are told by Buchanan, that the queen-dowager rejoiced secretly at Arran's defeat at Pinkie, as an event which broke his personal influence, and threw him more entirely into her power; but, although it was probably already determined that he should be sacrificed in order to place the government entirely in the hands of the queen-mother and the French faction, it was still felt necessary to blind him with the appearance of favour. With this view, in the February of 1548, Henry II. had conferred upon him the title of duke of Châtellerault. One of the French envoys, M. de la Chapelle, in a letter written to the duke of Aumale from Edinburgh, in the month of March, speaks strongly of the danger of the Scots submitting to England, unless immediate succour arrive from France; for, he says, in describing the effects of the battle of Pinkie, "they would more easily have waited for help four years,



before the said battle, than they would now four months." In answer to these urgent applications, Henry had equipped an army of six thousand chosen men, under some of the best officers in the French service, and commanded by an experienced general, André de Montalembert, sieur d'Essé. Lord Grey was still with his army in Scotland, when he received intelligence that the French fleet, which had been retarded by contrary weather, had entered the firth, and that, on the 16th of June, the French army had disembarked at Leith, and he immediately retreated to Berwick.

The French force included three thousand Germans under the Rhinegrave, and a body of Italians led by the two Strozzi, Leo, prior of Capua, and Peter his brother; the first of whom commanded an excellent train of artillery to assist in the sieges, and the other was the captain-general of the galleys. They were received with the utmost joy by the queen-dowager and her friends, and it was determined that, without delay, the foreign auxiliaries should invest Haddington, while Peter Strozzi drew up a plan for the fortification of Leith, as a post to be held for the foreign troops, and submitted it to the approval of the governor. At the same time it was determined to raise immediately six thousand Scots to cooperate with the foreigners, and the three estates were summoned to meet without delay, in order to confirm the proceedings of the government. The French king had insisted that the principal fortresses of Scotland should be delivered into his keeping; and, this having been agreed to by the queen and governor, the castle of Dunbar was surrendered to a French garrison, and it was promised that that of Blackness should also be delivered without delay. Arrangements were at the same time made for the secret embarkment of the young queen, now in her sixth year; and by means of promises of great rewards from France, the queen-dowager had obtained privately the agreement, under their hands, of the earl of Angus, sir George Douglas, the earl of Cassillis, and others of their party to this plan. It is evident that she feared the opposition of the Scots, no less than that of the English, to the departure of her daughter.

The Scottish parliament assembled on the 17th of July, and the French commander delivered to them a friendly message from the French king, expressing his great anxiety to rescue them from

their English enemies, and his willingness to help them with any further aid of troops, money, or arms, which might be found necessary for that purpose. He then stated that the king was desirous of drawing closer the old alliance between the two countries, by a marriage between the dauphin and Mary Stuart, and proposed that they should send her over to France, where he would carefully direct her education at his court. To these proposals the Scottish parliament, which had thrown so many difficulties in the way of the English match, offered no objection, and the only condition they made, was that the French king should solemnly promise to preserve the laws and liberties of Scotland as they had existed under its own kings. Measures were now taken to send away the queen, and four galleys under Villegagnon, having sailed from Leith, as though on their return for France, after clearing the mouth of the Forth, suddenly changed their course, and passed round to Dumbarton. Mary was there delivered by her mother to M. de Brézé, who took her on board one of the galleys, with her governors, the lords Erskine and Livingston, her natural brother the lord James, who was in his seventeenth year, and four Marys, children of the same name and age as herself, selected as her companions from the families of Fleming, Beaton, Seton, and Livingston. The little squadron set sail on the 7th of August, and, in spite of the vigilance of the English fleet, reached the harbour of Brest in safety on the 13th of the same month. The young queen was carried thence to the palace of St. Germain, where she was received by the French monarch, and an establishment appointed for her according to her rank.

Meanwhile, before the meeting of parliament, the French army had invested Haddington, but they found that the reduction of that place was by no means so easy a matter as they supposed. It had been well, though hurriedly, fortified by the English, and was held by a brave garrison of fifteen hundred foot and nearly five hundred horse, commanded by a skilful and resolute captain, sir James Wilford. When the French first appeared before the town, a sortie was made by a small party of the garrison, but they were driven back by a superior force of the enemy, commanded by an officer of some reputation, named Villeneuve, who was slain in the encounter,



and Peter Strozzi was himself severely wounded. Batteries were subsequently opened against the fortifications, but they appear not to have produced the effect which was expected from them. The queen and the governor came both to the French camp, where the parliament was held, in the full confidence that the garrison would soon be obliged to surrender. But the latter defended themselves vigorously, and slew daily many of their assailants. It had been determined to hold the parliament in the camp, and thither the queen-dowager, as well as the governor, proceeded, very soon after the siege was commenced. Arran, or as he was now called by the French, the duke of Châtelherault, accompanying the French commander to view the walls, narrowly escaped with his life, several of his attendants having been killed by the fire of the garrison. Two or three days after this occurrence, the queen herself proceeded to view the town from behind a church which stood without the walls, when a sudden discharge of the artillery of the garrison slew many of her attendants, and frightened her so much that she fainted, and was carried away.

The siege now dragged on slowly, and the French and the Scots seem to have begun already to be dissatisfied with each other, for we find the former complaining that their allies, to whose assistance they had come so far, were always backward when any exploit was to be done. At length, on the 15th of July, French and Scots together marched to the assault of the town, but they were driven back with considerable loss. The next day, we are told that there was a violent altercation between the governor and M. d'Essé. The former, "seeing nothing but words and delays, without effect, began to murmur, and say that all the French did was to spoil and destroy the country; upon which Monsieur d'Essé, in a great rage, replied that the fault was his, who had suffered the English to work and fortify, when he might easily have hindered them, and declared that benefits were thrown away upon people so ungrateful as the Scots. And in this manner there were many high words between them. And the Scots are already so tired of these delays, that not less than a thousand of them have deserted and left the camp secretly this morning." In the midst of these disagreements, news arrived that lord Grey was on his march to relieve

the English garrison, and the French and Scots drew off their forces to a short distance from the town. The English troops in Haddington were thus emboldened to make frequent *sortiés*, and skirmishes occurred almost every day. On the 16th of July, however, a strong party of English cavalry, sent forward by lord Grey, under the command of sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer, advancing incautiously, were surrounded, and most of them killed or made prisoners by the French.

The siege of Haddington was thus carried on in a very ineffective manner, to the great disappointment of the Scots, who began to accuse their foreign allies of being nothing but boasters. The duke of Somerset, when he heard of the arrival of the French, ordered an army of twenty-two thousand men to be raised, which was placed under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury. The English forces reached Haddington at the end of August, when the French raised the siege, and retired to Musselburgh. The garrison of Haddington was thus fully supplied with provisions and ammunition, and it was strengthened with the addition of a body of four hundred horse. The English on this occasion burnt Dunbar, and took Dundee, and they began to erect a strong fort at Dunglas, which was left in the hands of three thousand Germans in the English service. Broughty was also strengthened and reinforced. While Shrewsbury marched into Scotland by land, an English fleet, under lord Clinton, appeared in the firth, and took and destroyed some of the French shipping, but attempting a descent on the coast of Fife, the English were defeated with considerable loss. After remaining a short time in Scotland, Shrewsbury commenced his retreat, and then the Scots and their French allies resumed their courage, and returned to the siege of Haddington. For a while the garrison of this latter place, emboldened by the presence of lord Grey and a strong English force under his command, issued from their stronghold, and harassed the country around with continual plundering excursions. The French had retired to Edinburgh and Leith, where they lived in so bad intelligence with the Scots, that on the 7th of October there arose a great tumult in the capital between the foreigners and the citizens, in which many were slain on both sides, and it required all the influence of Arran and the French commander, D'Essé, to restore peace. The



provost of Edinburgh, a Hamilton, was severely wounded, and his son was killed, and the Hamiltons, in general, from this time nourished a hostile feeling towards the French.

Early on the 9th of October the French attacked Haddington by surprise, and succeeded in establishing themselves in the base court of the fortress, but after a desperate struggle they were driven out with considerable loss, to the great joy of the Hamiltons. After this check, the foreign troops retired to their quarters at Leith, where they remained during the winter in a state of comparative inactivity. At the beginning of February, 1549, they passed to Jedburgh, and took the castle of Fernyhurst from the English. The French remained in Jedburgh about two months, during which time they made an excursion into England, and plundered the country about Flodden; but early in April they were driven out by the English, who burnt Jedburgh, and then retreated into England. About this time the French troops in Scotland received a reinforcement of a thousand foot and three hundred horse, under M. de Thermes, an experienced officer, who now assumed the chief command, and M. d'Essé was recalled. The summer of 1549 was consumed in hostilities of no great importance, and which are passed over almost in silence by the old historians. The political intrigues in their own country hindered the English from showing much activity, while in Scotland the French and the governor appear to have acted with little unanimity. The English had built and garrisoned a fort at Inchkeith, but they were attacked by the French, and compelled to surrender on condition of being allowed to return to their ships.

After being unsuccessful in all their attacks on Haddington, the French turned the siege into a blockade, and at length, in the month of September, the garrison was so reduced by famine, and by the effects of a pestilence which had broken out among them, that it was found impossible to hold out any longer. The English warden, informed of their condition, marched into Scotland with a strong force, and appeared before Haddington on the 19th of September, 1549. The French proposed to hazard a battle, but, according to their own account of the affair, finding themselves deserted by the Scots, they were obliged to retreat. The English then withdrew the garrison, which

had been greatly reduced in number, and having burnt Haddington before they left it, commenced their retreat the same day, and repassed the frontier in safety. Thus was Haddington recovered from the English, after a siege, with interruptions, of more than a year.

The English government was at this moment embarrassed with political troubles at home, and the Scottish queen-dowager, with the French commanders, determined to seize the opportunity of leading an army across the border. A force of between eight and nine thousand men marched from Edinburgh for that purpose, and were to be joined at the border by six thousand Scots. To oppose this attack, the English had at the moment only six thousand foreign troops, which were distributed in the border garrisons, and four thousand of their own borderers. But when the Scottish army reached the Tweed, they found the river so swollen with floods, and the weather altogether so unusually severe, that it was found necessary to relinquish the further prosecution of the design. This determination was partly to be ascribed to the illness of the French commander, M. de Thermes, who, as the queen complained in a letter to her brothers, the duke d'Aumale and the cardinal de Guise, was generally seized with an attack of the gout, when his services were wanted most, and when in that condition he was incapable of performing his duties. Before dispersing the army, it was determined to make an attempt upon Lauder and Dunglas, but both these places were found to have been so well fortified and provided by the English, that this design also was relinquished.

It was now the middle of November, 1549, and the state of Scotland, with the prospect of a severe winter, was most deplorable. Whole districts had been laid waste by the incursions of the English, who still held several strong posts in the country. The government was virtually conducted by the queen-dowager and the French officers, who studied but little the comforts and happiness of the people. The hostile feeling between the Scots and their foreign allies was increased by the excesses of the latter, who acted as though they were in a conquered country, and committed almost as much ravage as the English enemies. In some interesting letters of the queen-mother to her brothers in France, written at this period, she gives a strong picture of this



lamentable state of affairs.\* In a letter dated on the 12th of November, Mary complained that the French troops, especially the cavalry, lived among the country people at discretion, that they burnt their household furniture for fire-wood, and that they treated them in so tyrannical a manner, that they often killed themselves in despair. The disorder among the French troops had become so great, that it was no longer in the power of the superior officers to restrain it, and the finances were dissipated in the most profuse and extravagant manner. In a letter of the 29th of November, Mary recurred to the same subject. "I have thought it my duty," she says, "not to conceal from you what I see of the king's affairs here, which are not in such good order as they ought to be, for, in consequence of the oppressive conduct of soldiery, the people are driven to such despair, that they attack us and rise in rebellion, and where they used to love me, they now would like to see me dead, looking upon me as the cause of all their sufferings. For this reason we are constrained to have the soldiers in garrison in the town, at least the cavalry, where they can do us no service, being so far from the frontiers; but it is absolutely necessary, for a time, until money come for them. This part of the country is so entirely destroyed, that I believe there will be no seed sown this year, any more than if the enemies were in it. And although my health is very bad, and I have been expecting every day to be able to go away to take some repose, as I wrote to you before, I have been obliged to remain here till now, lest our people in my absence should kill one another. The governor is much grieved at it, for the people have the same animosity against him as against me. He made a remark to me which I think very reasonable, that he thought all those who loved the service of the king ought to labour to make themselves loved, in order to draw the hearts of the people to love him as the person who was to be their prince, and not to irritate them at

the beginning." At this time Mary was in the best possible agreement with the governor. "If it be true," she writes to her brother the duke d'Anmale, on the 10th of January, 1550, "that an unfavourable report has been made to the king of my cousin the governor, and his brother [Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews], I assure you there are not two more faithful servants than they are; and as to me, it is my fault if they do not do well, for whatever I want of them I have, and there is not a gentleman of my house from whom I receive so much honour and obedience as from them."

Hostilities had ceased during the winter, with the exception of an attack upon the castle of Hume, which was taken from the English in the middle of December. At the beginning of February, Broughty castle was compelled to surrender, the garrison being allowed to retreat to their ships. The war was at the same time carried on with some activity on the border, but without any very decisive advantage. At the latter end of March the foreign troops under M. de Thermes and the governor, laid siege to Lauder, which, in a fortnight, was agreed to be surrendered, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march away with their weapons, unmolested, till they arrived in the English territory. But before this agreement could be carried into effect, intelligence arrived that a peace between France and England had been concluded at Boulogne, and that Scotland was to be included in it. Hostilities were immediately suspended, and the castle of Lauder was left in possession of the English garrison until the terms of the treaty should be known and agreed to. When, however, it was found that the English had agreed to evacuate Scotland, to demolish the forts they had raised at Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Eyemouth, and to surrender Lauder and abstain from any invasion unless some new provocation were given, the governor and the Scottish council no longer hesitated in giving in their adhesion. The master of Erskine was sent to France as the Scottish commissioner to sign the treaty, and peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 20th of April, 1550. In the course of the next month a part of the foreign troops returned to France.

\* These very interesting letters, which are preserved in the National Library in Paris, have been recently published by M. Alexander Teulet, in his valuable collection of documents relating to the history of Scotland, printed for the Bannatyne club.

## CHAPTER XIX.

VISIT OF THE QUEEN-DOWAGER TO FRANCE; RESIGNATION OF THE GOVERNOR, AND MARY OF GUISE MADE REGENT.

It had been the evident aim of Mary's policy, not only to secure the triumph of the catholic party in Scotland, but to subject the kingdom entirely to French influence, if not to render it a mere dependence on France. She now resolved to advance a step further, and remove a probable obstacle to her designs, while she indulged her own ambition, by depriving the duke of Châtellerault of the government, and obtaining her own appointment as sole regent. But to effect this it was necessary to act with the utmost caution. To declare her intentions abruptly, or to have attempted forcibly to remove the governor, would probably have raised an opposition among the Scottish nobility, already dissatisfied with the behaviour of the French officers, which would have proved fatal to her design. She judged it best, therefore, to gain her object by intrigues, and no sooner was the peace concluded, than, under pretence of visiting her daughter, but in reality to consult with the French king and with her brothers on the best means of getting rid of the governor, she announced her intention of repairing to France. Accordingly, six galleys of the king of France, under the command of Strozzi, prior of Capua, came to Scotland in the autumn, and Mary embarked at Newhaven, in company with De Thermes, La Chapelle, and other French officers, and taking with her as many of the Scottish nobility as she thought might be most easily brought over to further her purposes by persuasions or by bribes. Among these were the earls of Huntley, Marshal, Sutherland, Cassillis, and Menteith; the lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell; the bishops of Caithness and Galloway, the abbot of Dunfermline, the lord James (who now held the dignity of prior of St. Andrews), the governor's eldest son, who, since his father had been raised to the dukedom of Châtellerault, assumed his second title of earl of Arran, and many others. They landed at Dieppe on the 19th of September, and, proceeding thence to the court, which was at Rouen, they were received with extraordinary marks of distinction. About the

same time two ambassadors, the master of Erskine, and Mr. Henry Sinclair, were dispatched to Flanders, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the emperor, Charles V.

Left to himself, by the departure of the queen-dowager with the French commanders and so many of the Scottish nobility, the governor now turned his attention to the unhappy state of the country, and he proceeded with a vigour he only showed on rare occasions. The final arrangements of the peace with England were left almost entirely in the hands of the commissioners of France, and, owing to numerous disputes which had arisen with regard to the borders, and of various reclamations made on both sides, it was not finally settled until the end of the year. About the same time the treaty was concluded with the emperor, and thus Scotland was at length left at leisure to look to its internal condition. Arran attempted to enforce the administration of justice throughout Scotland, which had been too generally neglected through the long period of war, and in a convention at Norham, wise regulations were established for the security of pacific intercourse with England. In the spring of 1551 the governor held a parliament at Edinburgh, and a second was held in the ensuing winter. The proceedings in these parliaments were, it is true, not of a very important character, but they were distinguished by some attempts towards a reformation of manners. Acts were passed for fixing the prices of wine and provisions, and for restraining the luxury of the table, and it was ordered that no archbishop, bishop, or earl, should have more than eight dishes at his table, that no abbot or prior should have more than six, that barons and freeholders should not exceed four, or wealthy burgesses three, each dish to contain but one kind of meat. Another act was directed against the sins of adultery, bigamy, blasphemous swearing, and indecent behaviour during public worship, which were declared to be extraordinarily prevalent. The press was subjected to a censorship, and printers were compelled to obtain a licence from the queen and the governor, as



they were accused of publishing, in great numbers, "lewd rhymes and ballads," with "scandalous songs and tragedies."

Meanwhile, in France, the designs of the queen-dowager had been warmly approved by the princes her brothers, and through them laid before the French king. They pointed out to him the necessity of preserving the French influence in Scotland and the ancient religion, and they contended that this could not be done unless the supreme power were taken from the governor and placed in the hands of the queen-dowager. It required a strong hand, they said, to check the progress which heretical opinions were then making in that country; and they added, that as Ireland was ready to separate from England, the king might have the glory of having protected the orthodox faith in both countries. The king was easily persuaded by such representations, and he agreed to use his influence in supporting the queen's designs, but it was thought better to obtain the governor's resignation by fair means. To promote this object, he loaded with favours the Scottish nobility who had accompanied the queen-dowager to France, more especially such as were relatives or friends of the Hamiltons; and by his position with regard to the young queen, he was enabled to confer honours in both countries. The governor's son, James Hamilton, who assumed, after his father's promotion to a dukedom, the title of earl of Arran, was made commander of all the Scottish soldiers in the pay of France, with the promise of a large annuity. The earldom of Murray, which had reverted to the crown of Scotland, was conferred on the earl of Huntley, whose son had married the governor's daughter. Norman Leslie and his brothers-german, having been set aside for the share they had taken in the murder of cardinal Beaton, the earldom of Rothes was given to a younger brother by another mother, who had married the daughter of sir James Hamilton, of Avondale, the governor's cousin. These and others were, from time to time, sent back to Scotland, and were employed to work upon the governor's weak disposition, and prepare him beforehand to listen favourably to the queen-dowager's proposals. But the agents more especially employed for this purpose were the Scottish ambassador in France, Panter, bishop of Ross, with sir Robert Carnegie, an intimate friend of the governor, and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning. They pro-

ceeded to Scotland to break the matter to the regent, and they artfully represented to him how, if he retained his office until the young queen came of age, he would probably be made answerable for a long series of dilapidations of the revenue and possessions of the crown, which had taken place during his government, whereas by acceding to the wishes of the king and the queen-dowager, and resigning the government into her hands, they would acquit him fully of his charge, and screen him against future inquiries. They were authorized to assure him of the grant of the dukedom of Châtellerauld, which appears to have been left imperfect, and that his son should be splendidly provided for at the court of France. Liberal promises were made to all the Scottish nobles who would support the views of the French monarch.

The arguments of the king's envoys overcame the governor's scruples, and he is said to have yielded the more easily on account of the absence of his brother the archbishop, who was at this time sick, and, as it was supposed, on his death-bed. That prelate, a busy intriguing man, was known to be opposed to the designs of the queen-dowager, and he possessed a firmness of character unknown to the earl of Arran. The latter, not without reluctance, gave a conditional promise to resign his office, at the time when it should be thought advisable to require him to do so. The queen-dowager, having at last effected the grand purpose of her visit to France, prepared for her return. Having obtained a safe-conduct from Edward VI., which was dated on the 12th of May, 1551, Mary of Guise passed over to England, accompanied by M. d'Oysel, her French counsellor, and she was received with so much distinction at the court of the young English monarch, that she is said to have often in after times spoken of him in terms of the greatest admiration. In her progress through England to the north, she was ceremoniously escorted by the principal English nobility and gentry. In her visit to England, she had shown a determination to cultivate friendly relations with that country, and after her arrival in Scotland, she set herself sedulously to compose the differences among the nobility, and to re-establish order and justice. Her enemies said that she aimed only at gaining popularity for the purpose of undermining with greater certainty the governor's power, who was generally looked upon as having, by mis-

government and bad counsels, been the chief cause of the misfortunes which had fallen upon the country. He made a progress, after her return, through the northern parts of Scotland, holding courts of justice in the principal towns, and afterwards Mary accompanied him in a similar progress in the western and southern parts of the kingdom, in which she effectually seconded his efforts to restore order and good rule. It is said she looked with secret satisfaction at every injudicious act that lessened the governor's popularity, while she succeeded so well in attaching to her party men of all ranks and orders, that the governor seemed to be entirely deserted.

It was now the spring of the year 1552, and Mary judged it a favourable moment to call upon the governor to fulfil his promise of resigning his office. But Arran was again ruled by the counsels of his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrews, who had by the care of the celebrated Cardan recovered his health, and he refused to surrender his power. He could refer with pride to the ardour with which he had laboured in the service of his country since the peace with England, and he naturally asked on what ground he should be deprived of an office, the duties of which he had executed to the satisfaction of all parties? With the help of his brother, who represented to him the folly of retiring from so advantageous a position, when nothing but the life of a child stood between him and the throne, he organized a determined opposition to the queen-dowager, and nearly a year was spent in mutual recriminations and intrigue. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable to him. The French party was not only powerful in the position it then held, but in the prospect of still greater influence when the young queen came of age, and few of the Scottish nobles or statesmen were willing to sacrifice their future hopes in order to support the declining power of a man who possessed so

little stability of character as the earl of Arran. At length the primate was almost the only man of influence who stood by him, and the queen, confident in the strength of her own party, threatened to call a parliament to inquire into the state of the royal revenues. At the same time her daughter was made to give her signature to the appointment of the king of France, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Guise, as her guardians, and these having resigned their authority to the queen-dowager, this act, although illegal in itself, gave her a new authority. The governor saw that it was in vain to resist, and, in the spring of 1554, after stipulating for the conditions originally offered him, especially that of acquitting him of the dilapidations in the crown revenues, he agreed to resign his office.

Arran's consent to his resignation had no sooner been obtained, than a parliament was called to receive it, and the estates met at Edinburgh on the 12th of April, 1554. Here the conditions required by the governor were first duly performed. An instrument was produced, completing the grant of the duchy of Châtellerauld, and he received a full acquittal of all liabilities with regard to the application of the revenues of the crown during his government. He was to retain in his own hands the castle of Dumbarton until the young queen had attained her majority; and he was declared to be the second person in the realm, and the nearest heir to the throne in case of the queen's decease. This part of the agreement being completed, the governor solemnly resigned his authority into the hands of the queen-dowager; and then an instrument was produced, by which the young queen of Scots appointed her mother regent of the realm. Mary of Guise rose from her seat, and accepted the office, and the nobility present immediately tendered her their homage. She was taken thence in solemn procession to Holyrood House, to enter upon the duties of her office.



## CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF MARY OF GUISE TO THE REGENCY, TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE YOUNG QUEEN ;  
PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION ; THE CONGREGATION.

Or Mary of Guise, who was now sole regent of Scotland, it is sufficient to say that she shared fully in the great political talents of the family to which she belonged. When left to herself, she acted usually with wisdom and moderation, but she had now given herself up entirely to French counsels, and the ambassador, M. d'Oysel, chiefly directed her actions. She began her government with appointing Frenchmen to the great offices of state, which had always before been filled by natives. The earl of Huntley, who, captured at the battle of Pinkie, had escaped from his imprisonment in England, was looked upon as the head of the Scottish catholics, and he had contributed much towards placing the queen-regent in the influential position which she now held. Huntley filled the office of chancellor, which he was allowed to retain in name, but all the power attached to the office was given, with the custody of the great seal, to a Frenchman named Monsieur de Rubay, who was appointed vice-chancellor. Another influential office, that of comptroller, was given to Monsieur de Villemore. Such appointments gave great dissatisfaction to the Scottish nobles, and their secret murmurs reached the ears of the regent ; but, guided by her French advisers, she acted towards them with harshness, rather than with conciliation. It was on the earl of Huntley that her vengeance fell first, but the true cause of the rigorous proceedings against this nobleman is wrapped in great mystery. The occasion was offered by a rebellion in the highlands.

The leader of this rebellion was John of Moidart, the leader of the powerful and turbulent clan Ranald. When the governor and the queen-dowager held their court at Inverness, in 1552, this chief treated with contempt their summons to appear before them, and he now again set the government at defiance. It had been the usual custom in cases of this kind, to commission one of the great northern barons, such as Argyle or Huntley, to proceed against the rebels, and the latter now received a commission of lieutenantcy for this purpose, and was sent against John of Moidart with a strong force, the larger portion of which consisted of lowland barons.

The earl of Huntley was at this time unpopular among the highlanders, who accused him of the murder of William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, an event of which Buchanan gives the following rather romantic account. When the queen-dowager was preparing for her visit to France, Huntley, who had held the chief of the clan Chattan, a young man liberally educated by the late earl of Murray, confined in his own house, threw him into the common jail, although he had no charge to make against him, except that he had refused to acknowledge his superiority. It appears that, on account of the hostile feeling which he had provoked, Huntley thought it unsafe to leave him at liberty in his absence, yet he could find no just reason for putting him to death. Wherefore, through the medium of his friends, he persuaded the unsuspecting youth to throw himself entirely upon his mercy, as the only method by which his honour and young Mackintosh's safety could be secured. Huntley, thus become sole arbitrator of his enemy's life, dissembled himself, and directed his wife to put the highland chief to death in his absence, thinking to transfer the odium of the crime to her. But his crafty disposition was well known, as was the exemplary character of his wife, and her uniform submission to his orders, and the crime of the execution of Mackintosh was generally laid to his charge.

To this circumstance, and the indignation raised by it among the highlanders, Huntley's friends ascribed the failure of his expedition against John of Moidart. He had marched as far as Abertarff in the shire of Inverness, when it became necessary to pursue the rebels into their strongholds in the mountains. The lowland barons refused to accompany him, alleging that the country was impracticable for cavalry. This encouraged the highlanders to give vent to their feelings regarding the murder of the chief of the clan Chattan, until the disaffection became so general, that the earl found it necessary to separate his army, and return to court. He was there immediately accused of treason, for having neglected his duty in leaving the rebels unpunished, and he was thrown into prison. It is said to

have been only to the determined resistance offered by the Scottish nobles to the counsels of the Frenchmen on this occasion, that he owed the mitigation of a more severe sentence to that of banishment for five years to France. Even this was afterwards remitted, but he was compelled to resign the earldoms of Mar and Murray, with other recent grants of territory, and instead of banishment, he was confined to his own estates, and subjected to a heavy fine. He was allowed to retain the title of chancellor, though stripped of all its powers; but the government of Orkney was taken from him, and given to another Frenchman, Monsieur de Bontot. The only glimpse of light thrown on the cause of this extreme severity, is found in a letter from M. d'Oysel to the duke of Guise, written on the 30th of March, 1555. After stating his opinion, founded on personal observation, that there were no people so humble and subservient, when well mastered, as the Scots, and none who were so ready to find a loop-hole for asserting their liberty and independence, adds, "of which we have a recent example in the case of the earl of Huntley, who, being one of the greatest in the kingdom, from serving the others as an example of disobedience, now holds them all in very great respect." Such were the principles on which the French influence in Scotland was now supported.

The queen-regent, meanwhile, determined to proceed with rigour against the rebellious highlanders, and she went in person to Inverness, and caused courts to be held in the usual places, in which many of the offenders were brought to exemplary punishment. She appointed the earl of Athol to march against John of Moidart, and he soon reduced the highlanders to obedience, capturing the chieftain and his family. But he subsequently escaped from prison, and again filled the highlands with turbulence and bloodshed, which rendered it necessary to proceed against him with greater rigour than before. In other respects, the conduct of the queen-regent was marked with moderation. She attempted to conciliate the different factions, by showing indulgence towards the protestant portion of her subjects, and she recalled some of those who had been banished for being implicated in the murder of cardinal Beaton. A parliament which met at Edinburgh in the June of 1555, passed some wise acts for the regulation of law and justice. Mary's foreign

relations at first took a very pacific character. The death of Edward VI. of England, on the 6th of July, 1553, with the accession of Mary to the English throne, and the consequent re-establishment of Romanism in the south, had modified the hostile feeling between the two courts, and the two queens entered into friendly correspondence, in which Mary of England professed the utmost anxiety to maintain a good understanding with Scotland, and the queen-regent solicited the good offices of the English queen to promote a peace between the French king and the emperor. Commissioners were appointed on the part of each country, who met and established wise regulations for maintaining tranquillity on the border.

But the queen-regent's attachment to the French interests soon led her into hostilities with England, and into disagreements with the Scottish nobility. The French had always professed the utmost contempt for the Scottish soldiery, and it was now one part of their policy to keep a French army in Scotland, not only as a check upon the English, but to keep the Scots themselves in subjection. A plan was formed, no doubt by the suggestion of the French advisers, for raising a property-tax on the Scottish landholders to support this force. The queen-regent proposed to take an inventory of every man's estate and substance, and to impose a tax in proportion to them, in consideration of which the Scottish barons and their feudal retainers were to be relieved from their old services in the defence of their country, which was to be entrusted to a standing army of Frenchmen. This plan met with immediate and stern opposition, and excited a violent feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the country. No less than three hundred of the Scottish barons and gentlemen assembled in the church of Holyrood at Edinburgh, and they chose two deputies, Sandilands, laird of Calder, and John Wemyss, to present their remonstrance to the queen-regent. They said that their ancestors had been able to defend their country against invasion, and to retaliate by destructive expeditions against their enemies, and that they were not so far degenerated, but they could do it again without the aid of foreign mercenaries. They represented the indignity which was offered them by the very proposal of such a tax, protested against the vexatious inquisition to which their private



affairs must be subjected in order to regulate it, and the danger of placing their country in the possession of a foreign army. Other reasons were urged, which, with the resolution shown by the remonstrants, determined the queen-regent to relinquish her project; and in doing so, she is said to have artfully thrown out hints that it originated with one of the chief Scottish nobles, which was supposed by many to mean the earl of Huntley.

The discontent caused by this affair had died away, and a new treaty of peace had just been concluded between England and Scotland, when, in the summer of 1557, war broke out between England and France. At the bidding of the French king, Mary of Guise determined also to proclaim war against England, but she found the Scottish nobles averse to the proposal. But the regent, now acting entirely by the counsels of her French advisers, determined to force the country into a war by provoking the English to hostilities. The Scottish borderers under lord Hume, were encouraged to invade the English territory, where they committed great ravages, but they were at last defeated with considerable loss at Blackbrey. By the last treaty, it was agreed that the Scots should dismantle the fort at Eyemouth, which had been intended as a check upon Berwick, and that no fort should be constructed there in future. But in direct contradiction to this article, the French agent, M. d'Oysel, proceeded to raise a new fort, and to store it with ammunition. When the English were made aware of this infraction of the treaty, they marched from Berwick, and attacked the Scots in their works. The queen-regent made this the pretext for an immediate declaration of war, and an army was assembled at Kelso for the purpose of invading England. It was now that the discontent of the Scottish nobles, provoked by the tone of superiority assumed by D'Oysel, first found a vent. When the queen proposed to march across the border, she was answered by a direct refusal, the Scottish nobles declaring that enough had been done to defend the national honour, and they were not willing to enter into a war which might prove disastrous, during the minority of their queen, merely to gratify the ambition of France. The queen attempted again to precipitate the war, by sending D'Oysel and his French soldiers to attack the castle of Wark, but he had hardly passed the river

with his cannon, when he received imperative orders from the Scottish nobles to return. Upon this the queen-regent, in great anger, dismissed her forces.

From this moment Mary of Guise appears to have laid aside her former prudence and moderation, and she seemed to be possessed only by a bitter feeling of hostility towards the duke of Châtellerault, the earls of Huntley, Cassillis, and Argyle, and the other leaders of the Scottish party who opposed the counsels of France. It was under these circumstances that the division originated which continued to agitate Scotland for so many years afterwards; and it is curious to see, in the first formation of the adverse factions, how unsettled were the sentiments by which individuals on each side were actuated. Among the supporters of the French party we find the lord James (afterwards the regent Murray), sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, and young Maitland of Lethington, all of whom became subsequently the great supporters of the reformation.

The queen-regent, with the French party, became alarmed, and various projects were thought of for breaking the power of the Scottish nobles, but the one finally determined upon was to hasten the marriage of the young queen of Scots with the dauphin, and thus bring the government of Scotland more immediately under the direction of the king of France. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, 1558, a letter from the king of France, recommending that this marriage should be carried into effect without further delay, and requesting that commissioners should be sent over to settle the preliminaries, was presented to a Scottish parliament assembled at Edinburgh. The parliament assented without difficulty, and they chose for their commissioners Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow; Reid, the president of the session; the earls of Cassillis and Rothes, the lords Fleming and Seton, the lord James, and Erskine of Dun. Their instructions were to demand, as an absolute condition of the marriage, a promise that the integrity of the kingdom should be preserved, and that its ancient laws and liberties should be fully guaranteed. It was further required that the government of Scotland should be delegated to a regent. All the circumstances attendant on the departure of these commissioners seemed to presage misfortune. They met in their passage with a dreadful storm, in which two ships of the fleet were sunk, and it was looked upon as



especially ominous, that one of the vessels which perished contained the queen's bridal furniture.

At length the commissioners landed at Boulogne, and they were conducted thence to the French court, where they were honourably received. As the king consented at once to the required guarantees of the independence of the kingdom, they lost no time in arranging the conditions of the marriage, and it was agreed that the eldest son by this marriage should be king of France and Scotland; that the dauphin was to bear the title of king of Scotland immediately after the marriage, and was to quarter the arms of that kingdom with his own. On the death of the king, and the accession of the dauphin to the throne, he was to bear the title and arms of both kingdoms united under one crown. If daughters only were the fruit of this marriage, the eldest was to be queen of Scotland, and to have, as a daughter of France, a portion of four hundred thousand crowns; and she was not to marry without the joint consent of the estates of Scotland and the king of France. If the young queen became a widow after her husband became king of France, her jointure was to be six hundred thousand livres, but if he died before his father, it was to be only half that sum. The commissioners agreed, on the part of Scotland, that immediately after the marriage they would swear fealty to the dauphin, in the name of the estates of Scotland, as the husband of their sovereign the dauphiness.

While the treaty of marriage was thus openly conducted with the Scottish commissioners, there was a secret transaction of the most treacherous character, which augured ill for the future prospects of Scotland. Ten days before the marriage, the young queen of Scotland was induced by her uncles to sign three secret papers, by the first of which she made a free gift of the kingdom of Scotland to the king of France in case she died childless. By the second she assigned to the French king the possession of her kingdom until he should be reimbursed the sum of a million pieces of eight, or any other greater sum which he might have expended upon her education in France. This was equivalent to a gift of the kingdom, and was intended to be used in case the Scots resisted the free gift. By the third deed she was made to declare that these two deeds were made by her free will, fully understanding what she was doing, and that they

were to be affected by no future declarations which she might be induced by her parliament to publish.

The marriage ceremonies were celebrated with a splendour which had seldom been witnessed on similar occasions before. The marriage was solemnized by the cardinal Bourbon, in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, on Sunday the 24th of April, 1558, in the presence of the king and queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood, and a great number of the French nobility. After the marriage had been completed, the Scottish commissioners were brought before the council, and required not only to swear fealty to the dauphin, but to agree that he should receive the ensigns of royalty over Scotland. This they refused, excusing themselves on the plea that it was not in their instructions, and adding that it was contrary to their duty to do that which they believed would be prejudicial to their country. The princes of the house of Guise concealed their anger, and, requesting that the commissioners would at least support their interests in the Scottish parliament, they allowed them to pursue their journey homewards; but they had no sooner reached Dieppe, than Reid, bishop of Orkney, the earls of Rothes and Cassillis, the lord Fleming, and several of their followers, were carried off by a sudden and unknown disease. The lord James was attacked, but with difficulty recovered. As there was no pestilence at the time, nor any other means of accounting for this catastrophe, it was generally believed that the Scottish commissioners had been poisoned by order of the Guises, who feared that they would, on their return, oppose their ambitious projects.

The surviving commissioners arrived in Scotland in October, and a parliament was immediately summoned. It met in Edinburgh at the beginning of December, and approved and ratified the terms of the marriage; and at the same time it was resolved that the dauphin should have the crown matrimonial, and enjoy the name of king of Scotland during the marriage, and that the style used in records, &c., in Scotland, should be "Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scotland, dauphin and dauphiness of Vienne."

Thus was completed at last the grand object of the queen-regent's policy, and from this time she began to be less conciliating towards those who were opposed to







Engraved by H.T. Reall

JOHN KNOX.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.



the French and Romish party. Nevertheless, the indulgence which Mary of Guise had been obliged to show towards the protestants, in order to obtain their support, had been highly favourable to the reformation in Scotland. Its great champion, Knox, having been carried a prisoner to France on the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews in 1547, had remained in captivity until 1550, when he was liberated at the intercession of Edward VI., and proceeded to England, where he was treated with much distinction at the protestant court of that country. But on the accession of queen Mary, in 1553, he was obliged to seek safety in flight, and he became minister of the English refugees at Frankfort. But here Knox, who was a zealous adherent of the doctrines of Calvin, became involved in a violent dispute with his flock on the subject of the English service-book, and, compelled again to quit his post, he repaired to Geneva. While there he became conscience-struck for having so long neglected his protestant brethren in his native land, and he determined to return to Scotland, where he arrived in 1555. He found many zealous preachers occupied in teaching the people, among whom some refugees from England were especially distinguished, but they were inferior to Knox in that fervency of zeal, and that persuasive eloquence, which rendered him so powerful an opponent of the church of Rome. Among the most remarkable of these men was a Scottish Franciscan friar, named John Willock, who, having been converted to protestantism, had, like Knox, resided in England during the reign of Edward VI., but after the death of that monarch, he had sought refuge in the dominions of the duchess of Friesland, who treated him with great favour, and employed him in 1555 and 1558 on embassies to the queen-regent of Scotland. He was allowed on both occasions to hold communications with the Scottish protestants, by whom he was much respected, and to whom he preached in a private congregation. It was on his second visit to Edinburgh, in 1558, that the Scottish protestants began more generally to destroy popish images, and a tumult occurred in Edinburgh, which holds a prominent place in the history of the Scottish reformation. On the 1st of September, the inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate with great feasting and ceremony the holiday of their patron saint, St. Giles, and it was usual to carry

an image of St. Giles in procession with great pomp through the city. On the present occasion some disturbance was apprehended, to prevent which the queen-regent announced her intention of conducting the ceremony herself, to the great joy of the papists, and the infinite disgust of their opponents, who, to prevent the anticipated triumph of the Romanists, stole the image, which was of wood, from the church in which it was kept, and after ignominiously dipping it in the north loch, committed it to the flames. The queen-regent was provoked at this riotous proceeding, and resolved that the procession should go forward. Another image of St. Giles was procured from the Grey Friars, and, to secure it from accident, it was fixed to a wooden barrow, which was supported on men's shoulders. The procession then formed, Mary of Guise placed herself at its head, and it proceeded with a great noise of tabors and trumpets, down the High-street towards the cross. It thus passed through the principal streets of the capital, until the regent, much fatigued, retired to her palace. No signs of disturbance had yet been seen, but no sooner was Mary gone, than groups of citizens began to form in the streets, and some youths, offering their assistance to carry the barrow, rudely took hold of it, and threw St. Giles down on the pavement, where he was quickly demolished by the protestants, who crowded tumultuously to the spot. The scene has been described by Knox himself.—"The priests and friars," he says, "fled faster than they did at Pinkie Cleuch; down go the crosses; off go the surplices, round caps, coronets, with the crowns. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within this realm before." As soon as the tumult was over, the monks and friars, ashamed of their behaviour, assembled together to devise some method of revenging themselves on their opponents, but they effected nothing.

The preaching of Knox had produced a wider division between the catholics and the protestants in Scotland. The latter, satisfied with the indulgence shown to them by the regent, had been in the custom of attending the mass as well as their own ministers; and even some of them, while they held the opinions of the reformers as to doctrine, doubted if it were proper to separate them-



selves entirely from the church of Rome, and they had the support of the regent's secretary, Maitland of Lethington. Knox first raised his voice against this practice in a private meeting of friends, at the house of a burghess of Edinburgh, and men's consciences became immediately so much alarmed, that a solemn disputation on the subject was appointed between Knox and Lethington, which was held in 1555, before a meeting of the leading protestants, at a supper given by Erskine of Dun. Knox's arguments prevailed, Maitland acknowledged his error, and the congregation who heard them resolved upon an immediate and public separation from the catholic church in Scotland. The catholic clergy soon became alarmed at Knox's proceedings, and they determined to put him down, but they were restrained by the regent, who could not yet afford to break with the protestant party. The clergy had summoned Knox to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in Edinburgh, but when he presented himself at the time appointed, they did not appear to accuse him, and he found none but friends to address. The vengeance of the priests, however, remained unsatisfied, and Knox's life appears to have been at this time in so much danger that, partly to avoid it, he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the reformed congregation at Geneva.

The bishops and friars took courage on the departure of Knox, and, when he was no longer there to answer for himself, they summoned him to take his trial, and he was condemned in his absence, and burnt in effigy at the high cross in Edinburgh. This violent proceeding was intended to strike terror into the Scottish protestants, and it probably contributed to make them act with greater caution and moderation. They knew that with the temporary indulgence of Mary of Guise, they were far from enjoying her favour. Knox retired to Geneva in 1556, and for nearly a year after his departure the Scottish protestants appear to have been almost without public preachers. At length, in 1557, the protestant chaplain of the earl of Argyle, John Douglas, a converted carmelite friar, ventured to preach against some of the popish superstitions within the precincts of the court, and other preachers sprung up in different parts of the country. The catholic clergy immediately took the alarm, and the queen indulged them by issuing a proclamation, summoning the preachers to repair to Edinburgh, to answer

for their conduct. But in doing this, Mary had not calculated on the sort of resistance she was to encounter. The preachers willingly obeyed the order, but their congregations, which consisted chiefly of barons and gentlemen, resolved to accompany them, and they assembled in the capital in such formidable numbers, that the regent herself now became alarmed, and she issued another proclamation, commanding all who had not been expressly summoned to the capital, to repair to the border. The barons treated this order with contempt, and surrounding the palace they succeeded in obtaining an audience. Chalmers of Gathgirth, one of the most courageous of the western barons, was chosen as their speaker, and he addressed the queen-regent nearly in the following terms:—"We know, madame, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all along with them. We will not suffer it any longer." We are told that when this bold speech was ended, the assembled barons, who had stood respectfully uncovered, all placed their steel caps on their heads with an air of defiance. Mary was intimidated by this demonstration, and she revoked the proclamation, and promised indulgence. The great leaders of the protestants, the earl of Glencairn, the lord Lorn (son of the earl of Argyle), Erskine of Dun, and the lord James (the prior of St. Andrews), taking courage, met together, and dispatched a letter to Knox in their joint names, inviting him to return to his native country. Knox obeyed without hesitation, and, resigning his charge at Geneva, hastened immediately to Dieppe, to take ship for his native land.

At Dieppe Knox was arrested by another letter from the protestant leaders, informing him that the feelings of the Scottish protestants had undergone a change, and that they were now averse to attempting any public demonstration. Knox was indignant at what he considered as the pusillanimity of his friends, and he addressed to them a warm letter of admonition, which produced an immediate effect. The Scottish protestants suddenly exhibited a courage and decision which they had never shown before, and their leaders having met and consulted, they drew up at Edinburgh, on the 3rd of December, 1557, a bond of union, by which



they formed that celebrated association which was immediately afterwards known by the title of *THE CONGREGATION*. In this document the Scottish reformers denounced the Romish bishops and priesthood as members of Satan, who sought only to destroy the gospel of Christ; and they declared that they would resist them even unto death. For this purpose, they said, they had entered into a solemn engagement in presence "of the majesty of God and his congregation," to promote the knowledge of God's word, and to protect and defend their ministers and themselves against the tyranny of Rome. The bond was signed by the earls of Glencairn, Argyle, and Morton, the lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others of the protestant leaders, who, following up the intentions declared in it, passed a resolution declaring that the book of common prayer authorized by Edward VI., should be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days in the parish churches; and that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of scripture, should be used quietly in private houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers." The lords of the congregation, as the protestant leaders were henceforth called, lost no time in putting in effect these resolutions, wherever they had the power to do it. Many of them caused their protestant chaplains to preach openly in their houses; and in the November of 1558 another invitation was sent to Knox, pressing him to return to Scotland without further delay. On the other side, the catholic clergy were seized with the utmost alarm, and urged the regent to take vigorous measures against what they represented as an open act of treason against the crown; but at this moment Mary of Guise was anxiously intriguing to obtain the consent of the Scottish parliament to the assumption of the matrimonial crown, as it was called, by her son-in-law, the dauphin of France, and she could not venture to quarrel with the protestant lords. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who was a prelate of loose morals, but not of a cruel temper, was also inclined to moderation; but a large body of the catholic clergy were actuated by very different sentiments, and an act of cruel persecution which occurred at this time tended to embitter the hostile feelings of the two religious parties. A parish priest, of Lunan in Angus, named Walter Miln, an early

convert to the doctrines of the reformation, had been seized and thrown into prison by cardinal Beaton, but he made his escape, and lay for a long time in concealment. At length the indulgence shown to the protestants by the queen-regent drew him from his hiding-place, and, although upwards of eighty years of age, he began to preach openly. The threats of the Romanists obliged him to seek concealment again, but in the year 1558 he was discovered, and being brought to trial before the clergy at St. Andrews, he was found guilty of heresy, and condemned to be burnt. Miln showed a spirit at his trial which none expected from a man of his age, and his case excited so much public sympathy that, in spite of the solemn sentence of the clergy, no secular judge could be found to confirm it, and they were obliged to employ a dissolute retainer of the archbishop to sit in judgment upon him. Even in the midst of the flames he bore testimony to the truth of his convictions; "For myself," he said, "I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." In this respect his wish was granted, for Walter Miln was the last of the Scottish martyrs. This cruel execution took place in the April of 1558, and it excited the utmost indignation. The protestant leaders now employed their agents all over Scotland to excite people against the prelates, and they drew up a protest to the queen-regent in terms which must have been extremely unpalatable; but, yielding to circumstances, she received it with respect, and promised sir James Sandilands, who presented it, that she would give it her careful consideration, and in the meantime the protestants should be protected from further violence. Satisfied with this assurance, they restrained their preachers from holding forth publicly, and acted in other respects with great moderation. But the catholics acted with great violence, openly accusing the regent of cowardice, and loading the protestant leaders with reproaches and vituperation. Then, alarmed at the firmness of their opponents, they pretended to be willing to enter into a compromise, but the offers they made were such as could not be entertained for a moment.

Such was the state of affairs, when the short parliament met in the December of 1558, to confirm the articles of the French

marriage; and the protestant lords took that occasion to present a series of articles to the three estates, for the purpose of protecting themselves from further ecclesiastical persecution. The regent was alarmed at this proceeding, and, fearful that the protestants might obtain a resolution of parliament in their favour, she gave them an indirect promise that all their wishes should be fulfilled, if they would withdraw their articles, urging that at this moment they would only give rise to a discussion which would be premature and dangerous to their own interests. The protestant lords consented to the withdrawal of their articles,

but they caused to be read in the parliament a firm protest, in which they declared their grievances against the Romish clergy, defended their own proceedings, and explained their motives and objects. They showed that they were not unnecessary disturbers of public tranquillity, that they were anxious to obtain peacefully a temperate reform of the church, but that they were determined not to be driven from their design by threats of violence. They felt their own strength, and were now prepared to battle against the storm which they saw was gathering over their unhappy country.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND; FIRST PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGREGATION THEY OBTAIN POSSESSION OF THE CAPITAL.

WHILE the Scottish and French courts were anxiously engaged in completing the treaty of marriage, events were taking place in England which were destined to exercise a lasting influence over the condition of Scotland. On the 17th of November, 1558, queen Mary died, and was succeeded immediately by queen Elizabeth, who lost no time in re-establishing the protestant faith, which had been abolished by her sister. This event was hailed with joy by the protestants of Scotland, while it caused equal alarm at the French court, where a very unprovoked act of hostility was committed in declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, and putting forward Mary Stuart as heir to the throne. The young queen of Scots and her husband went so far as to assume publicly the title and arms of the queen of England. This and other circumstances announced a secret design for the extirpation of protestantism in England as well as in Scotland; and in the latter country the queen-regent, having obtained the agreement to the crown matrimonial, changed entirely her conduct towards the protestant leaders. A new ambassador from the king of France, M. de Bettancourt, had arrived in Scotland to communicate to her the king's wishes, and it is to his mission that the change in Mary's policy is generally

ascribed. A convention of the Romish clergy was held in Edinburgh in the March of 1559, at which a petition was presented by the lords of the congregation, demanding extensive reforms in the Scottish ecclesiastical government, but it was treated with contempt, and a decree was issued forbidding the use of any other language but Latin in the service of the church. Immediately afterwards the queen-regent issued a proclamation ordering everybody to conform to the church of Rome, and calling before her the protestant leaders, she made them acquainted with the instructions she had received from France, and required their compliance. Their ministers were at the same time summoned to answer for their conduct before a parliament to be held at Stirling. Alarmed at these proceedings, the earl of Glencairn and sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, obtained an audience of the regent to remonstrate, but, giving vent to her anger, she loaded them with reproaches, and threatened that, as to the ministers, even if they preached as soundly as St. Paul, she would banish them all. In reply to this, they reminded her of her former promises, on which she said haughtily, that promises made by princes were only to be kept by them when it was found to be convenient. Indignant at this unworthy sub-



terfuge, the two protestant leaders told the queen-regent that if she persisted in the course she had now begun, they should feel compelled to renounce their allegiance, and to take steps in self-defence. The firmness of this language alarmed Mary of Guise, and she hesitated; but a new occurrence, which ought to have taught her the difficulties of the course on which she had now entered, only increased her irritation. Intelligence was suddenly brought to court that the important town of Perth had publicly declared for the protestant faith. The lord Ruthven, who was provost of Perth, happened to be with the queen-regent when this news arrived, and she ordered him to go immediately and punish the townsmen for their heresy. He replied that he had power over their bodies, but none over their consciences. On this occasion the regent lost all command over her temper, and she upbraided the lord Ruthven for his want of respect. She then issued a general order to all the protestant towns, that their inhabitants should attend mass and profess their adherence to the Roman catholic liturgy at the ensuing Easter, and summoned the protestant preachers to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, to answer to the charges which would then be brought against them. It was evident that a violent collision must take place between the two hostile parties.

It was in the midst of these signs of approaching troubles, on the 2nd of May, 1559, that John Knox arrived in Scotland. The return of this extraordinary man gave new vigour to the protestants, and events of the utmost importance followed each other in rapid succession. The protestant leaders had determined that they would accompany their ministers to Stirling, and, when they assembled at Perth in their way thither, although they went unarmed, their numbers were so great as to convince the regent again of the necessity of temporizing. While they remained at Perth, Erskine of Dun was sent on to Stirling to explain the motives of their assembling, and he was received by Mary with great courtesy. Dissimulating her real feelings, she professed the utmost moderation; promised that, if the protestant nobles would disperse their followers, she would allow their ministers to remain unmolested, that the summons to meet at Stirling should be discharged, and that a new policy should be adopted towards them which would take away all ground of com-

plaint. Erskine immediately wrote to his friends at Perth, who, relying on the regent's promise, sent home their followers. This was no sooner known, than Mary, with a treacherous contempt of good faith, continued the summonses to the preachers, and on their non-appearance, proclaimed them as rebels, and prohibited all persons from aiding or supporting them, on pain of high treason. Erskine, indignant at this perfidious conduct, hurried back to Perth, where the protestant leaders still remained in considerable force, with many of the ministers. John Knox, on his arrival in Scotland, had insisted on accompanying the other ministers to Stirling, and partaking of their dangers; and now, seizing the occasion of the general indignation at the regent's conduct, he mounted the pulpit, on the 11th of May, and declaimed against the sin of idolatry with that extraordinary eloquence which made his preaching so effective. As soon as the sermon was finished, the congregation separated, and went home to their dinners, with the exception of a few individuals, who, more excited than the rest, remained in the church conversing on what they had heard. A priest seized this inauspicious moment to show his contempt for the reformers by uncovering a rich shrine which stood over one of the altars, and exposing to view some images of a superstitious character. A youth, who was standing by, and had been much moved by Knox's discourse, could not restrain himself from expressing aloud his indignation, on which the priest approached him angrily, and struck him on the ear with his hand. The young man immediately went and took up a stone, and threw it at the priest, but missing his aim, it broke one of the images on the altar. In an instant the spectators rushed forwards, tore down the shrine, and broke it to pieces, and soon cleared the church of every object which they thought savoured of superstition. Others were soon attracted by the tumult, until a multitude, chiefly collected from the lower orders, was assembled, which hurried onwards with irresistible fury to the houses of the grey and black friars. Both these houses were not only stripped of every object of superstition, but they were plundered of everything that was of any value, which was left as booty to the poor. The charter-house, a monastery of great wealth and magnificence, experienced the same fate, and was left little better than a ruin. The example thus set at Perth, was immediately



followed at the little town of Cupar, where also the protestants rose and committed similar excesses.

Nothing could exceed the anger of the queen-regent when she heard of these proceedings, and she threatened that she would not stop till she had utterly destroyed the town of Perth, and left its site desolate, as a warning to after times. She summoned the duke of Châtellerault, the earl of Athol, and the French commander D'Oysell, to her assistance, and calling to her some of the more moderate of the protestant leaders, such as the lord James and the earl of Argyle, she expostulated with them on the violent conduct of their brethren. They declared their own innocence, and, to show their unwillingness to identify themselves with rebellion, they joined her with their forces. On the 18th of May, the army of the regent, which consisted chiefly of the French troops, advanced towards Perth, where the protestants also had been collecting their strength. They had addressed three letters of apology to their opponents. In the first they expostulated with the queen-regent on the persecution which she was raising against them, represented their constant loyalty, and lamented the necessity which drove them to take arms in their own defence. They stated that they were about to send an account of their proceedings to their queen and to the king of France, and prayed her to suspend her hostilities until they should have received an answer. The second letter was addressed to the nobility of Scotland, and contained an able and elaborate defence of the conduct of the Scottish protestants. It contained also a strong appeal to those who, like the lord James and the earl of Argyle, had apparently deserted their cause, in now appearing in the regent's army. The third letter was addressed to the Romish clergy, in far more violent language than the others, and its spirit may be gathered from the superscription, "To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings, within Scotland."

At first the regent refused to listen to any proposals of accommodation. Confident in her superiority of numbers, she determined to crush at once the protestants, whose forces had dispersed upon her previous promise to stop the proceedings against the ministers; but at this critical moment the earl of Glencairn arrived in their camp with two thousand five hundred men, which

so far diminished her prospect of success, that the regent listened more favourably to the representations of the earl of Argyle and the lord James, and through their intermeditation a cessation of hostilities was agreed to. The terms of this agreement were, that both armies should disperse, and that the town of Perth should be left open to the queen-regent; no person was to be troubled or brought to answer for the part he had taken in the late religious tumults, but the religion begun was to be suffered to go on; it was stipulated that no Frenchman should approach within three miles of the town, and that when the regent retired, no French garrison should be left in it. All controversies were, in the mean time, to be reserved till the meeting of parliament. These conditions were far more favourable to the protestants than might have been expected, but the regent was again acting with dissimulation and treachery.

The treaty was arranged in Perth by the earl of Glencairn and Erskine of Dun, for the protestants, and the earl of Argyle and the lord James, who had been sent into Perth as commissioners for the queen-regent. When it was concluded, the two leading ministers, Knox and Willcock, had an interview with the two latter noblemen, and reproached them with their apostacy in remaining in the camp of the enemies of the gospel when their brethren were in arms. They repelled the charge on the plea that they had undertaken to labour for peace, that they had remained with the enemy only in the hopes of being the means of securing it, and that they thought the terms now offered too reasonable to be refused; but they declared that they were as steadily attached to the cause as ever, and that if the regent proved false on this occasion, they would immediately leave her and join their friends. The two preachers were satisfied with this declaration, and before the protestant forces left Perth, Knox made another energetic address to his brethren from the pulpit. He exhorted them to remain in union and constancy, urged them to be prepared for a new struggle, as he felt assured that the regent was acting treacherously, and declared, to use his own words, "that it became no brother to be weary or faint, for he was certain that the treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest." After this, such of the lords of the congregation



as were there present drew up a new bond, in which they promised each to assist one another in arms in resisting all attacks upon their religion or freedom, and which was signed, among others, by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and Matthew Campbell of Taringhame. On the 29th of May, the protestants left Perth, and the regent entered the town the same day. The earl of Argyle and the lord James withdrew to St. Andrews.

It was now soon apparent that the regent had been acting with the basest duplicity. She was escorted into Perth by the duke of Châtellherault and Monsieur d'Oysel, with a body of French soldiers, and treated the citizens in a scornful manner, which left no doubt of her real intentions. It is related that as she passed through the streets, when opposite the house of Patrick Murray, a respectable citizen, who had distinguished himself by his attachment to the protestant cause, six of the French mercenaries levelled their pieces, and fired into a wooden balcony where his family were assembled to view the procession, by which Murray's only son, a boy of thirteen years of age, was killed. The body was carried to the queen-regent, and she was importuned for justice on the perpetrators of this brutal outrage; but on being informed to what family he belonged, she merely observed that it was an unfortunate occurrence, and the more to be regretted because the son and not the father had been struck, but that she was not accountable for accidents. Her other acts were in accordance with this beginning. She deprived the chief magistrates of their authority, and gave the office of provost to a man of profligate principles, Charteris of Kinfauns. Some of the inhabitants were fined and banished, and many others abandoned their homes rather than be obliged to conform to popery. A body of troops in the French service, although natives of Scotland, were placed in garrison in the town, and the queen-regent is said to have boasted of the crafty subterfuge by which she evaded one of the principal conditions of the treaty, which stipulated that Perth should not be occupied by a French garrison. But when the breach of her solemn engagements was represented to her in its true light, she only retorted contemptuously that catholic princes were not to be expected to keep faith with heretics.

The immediate consequence of these pro-

ceedings was the public desertion of the regent by the earl of Argyle and the lord James, and they carried with them the earl of Menteith, the lord Ruthven, and Murray laird of Tullibardine. To a peremptory summons to appear at court, they sent from St. Andrews a firm answer that they could not conscientiously join in the tyranny exercised by her and her council, the popish prelates, against their friends and those who held the reformed religion. On the same day, the 1st of June, a summons was sent to the protestant leaders to assemble at St. Andrews, where, on the 4th of June, they were again joined by Knox, who had been preaching in Fife with his usual zeal and success. In some instances the people could hardly be restrained from violence towards the catholics, and at Crail and Anstruther, two fishing towns, they had risen tumultuously, and destroyed the altars and images in the churches. When Knox reached St. Andrews, he adopted the bold resolution of raising his voice in the place where he had first taken upon him the office of preacher. The protestant leaders were apprehensive of the consequences which might result from such a step, in the head seat of catholicism in Scotland, and they wished to restrain him; while the catholic archbishop, marching into the city with a small body of soldiers, sent one of his followers to announce to the reformer that if he dared to show himself in the pulpit he should be saluted with a dozen culverins. But Knox was neither to be persuaded nor terrified; he mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, according to his promise, and taking for his text that portion of the New Testament which describes Christ as turning the buyers and sellers out of the temple, he made an eloquent discourse against the idolatries of the popish church, and urged the duties of magistrates and others to purge and destroy them. The effect upon his hearers was extraordinary, for he had hardly ended when the congregation rushed out from the church, and hastening to the two great and wealthy convents of the Dominicans and Franciscans, entirely destroyed them in a very short space of time.

The queen-regent was enraged beyond measure, when she heard of these violent proceedings, and gave immediate orders for marching against the protestants, who, she knew, were as yet assembled in small numbers, and she thought they might be easily crushed. But she was entirely mistaken in



her calculations, for, although her preparations were active and energetic, she found the protestant army drawn up for battle on Cupar Moor, under brave and skilful leaders, and far exceeding her own forces in number. Indeed, it was no sooner known that the protestants at St. Andrews were in danger, than men flocked in to them in such numbers, that Knox tells us they seemed to rain from the clouds. The queen again hesitated, and, to gain time, she had recourse to her now accustomed arts. She agreed to a truce of eight days, expressed her wish for the restoration of peace, and promised to withdraw the French troops from Fife, and to send commissioners to meet the protestant leaders and negotiate a treaty. But the regent's design was soon apparent, and her commissioners were never sent.

The protestants were this time not deceived, and they employed the time in preparing for a desperate struggle to maintain not only the freedom of conscience, but the national liberties and independence, which it was now seen clearly, were threatened by France and by the regent's government. They received at this moment an important accession to their strength in sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier of great skill and extraordinary bravery, who joined their standard probably more from his alarm at the designs of the French, than his religious zeal. The protestants received alarming reports of the persecutions to which their brethren in Perth were exposed under the tyranny of Charteris, the provost, and the garrison left there by the regent, and they now resolved to make themselves masters of that town. As the queen-regent had fulfilled none of her promises, the protestant leaders were now summoned to meet in arms before that town on the 24th of June, and they mustered in such formidable numbers, that resistance would evidently have been in vain. The regent made another attempt to gain delay, but she was no longer listened to, and when the provost and garrison refused to surrender the place, the batteries were opened against it on the west by the lord Ruthven, and on the other side by the citizens of Dundee, who had joined the protestant army in great force. The first discharge of artillery brought the garrison to reason, and on Sunday, the 25th of June, they were allowed to march away with military honours and the town was surrendered to

the congregation. The capture of Perth was in every respect an important acquisition to the protestant party, for it was a strongly fortified town, and its position made it particularly well suited as a central point for their subsequent operations. The town was now thoroughly reformed, and the old protestant magistrates were replaced.

A rage for the destruction of popish monuments had now taken firm hold upon the mind of the populace, and it was no longer in the power of the protestant leaders to restrain them. Near Perth was the magnificent abbey of Scone, with a palace the residence of the bishop of Moray, a man of profligate life, and by no means popular. This prelate was summoned by the protestant leaders to join their standard, which he did, promising to vote in the parliament against the prelates, in the hope thereby to save the abbey from violence. But while the negotiation was going on, the townsmen of Dundee, to whom the bishop was especially obnoxious, armed and hurried to Scone for the destruction of idols. They were followed by John Knox and their chief magistrate, who by dint of expostulation and persuasion prevailed so far that nothing was destroyed but the popish images. Towards evening intelligence arrived that the queen-regent meant to place a garrison in Stirling, to cut off their communication with their northern brethren, and the protestants marched the same night to Stirling, took possession of the town, destroyed the two houses of friars there, and purged the churches of idolatrous monuments, and remained there expecting their friends, who came to join them from other parts. The day after they left Perth, the people of that town and of Dundee began again to assemble at Scone, regarding with an envious eye its rich abbey. The bishop had barricaded his house and armed his servants, and a citizen of Dundee approaching too near the granary was slain, it was said by one of the bastard sons of the bishop. A cry of fury was instantly raised by the crowd, and, accession to their numbers having speedily arrived from Perth, the abbey and the palace were attacked, captured, and delivered to the flame, in spite of the earnest intercession of Knox and many of the most zealous of the brethren. An old woman, who looked on at the scene, is said to have exclaimed, "Now I see that God's judgments are just, and none can save where he



will punish; since ever I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else but a den of profligates, where these filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that most wicked man the bishop; if all knew what I know, they would see matter for gratitude, but none of offence." The forces at Stirling, under the earl of Argyle and the lord James, were not numerous, for the main body of the protestants had returned to their homes after the capture of Perth; nevertheless they boldly advanced to Linlithgow, and destroyed the images and relics in that town. The queen-regent and her counsellors were so alarmed at their rapid movements, that, hastily quitting the capital, they sought refuge in the strong fortress of Dunbar. Encouraged by this circumstance, the protestant leaders continued their march, and entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June.

The lords of the congregation now fully understood that they were leagued together to oppose the evident designs of the French against their national liberties, as well as to make war upon the errors of Romanism, and they were already anxious to strengthen themselves by entering into an alliance with England. Some of the chiefs appear to have entered into secret communication with the English ministers immediately after the capture of Perth. From that town, Knox himself wrote a very remarkable letter to secretary Cecil (afterwards the celebrated lord Burghley), in which, wishing to pacify the anger of queen Elizabeth, which he had provoked by his violent book against the "monstrous regimen of women," he urged the policy of assisting the Scotch protestants. "I understand," he said, "I am become so odious to the queen's grace, and to her council, that the mention of my name is displeasing to their ears; but yet I will not cease to offer myself, requiring you, in God's name, to present to the queen's grace this my letter, smelling nothing of flattery, and therefore I hope it shall be the more acceptable. Why that either her grace, or that the faithful in

her realm should repute me as an enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England by me this day hath received no hurt; yea, it hath received, by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is known, neither yet wish I to boast of the same; only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it; and the fruit of my friendship saved the borders in their greatest necessities. My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, hath long dis severed. For the furtherance hereof, I would have license to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries are stubborn; none that profess Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow." This letter was written on the 28th of June, 1559. It does not appear to have had any effect in appeasing the hostile feelings of Elizabeth towards the Scottish preacher, which were perhaps strengthened by her knowledge of his extreme puritanical leanings, and of his opposition to prelacy. She was so far from granting his request to be allowed to repair to England, that she gave positive orders he was not to come across the border.

## CHAPTER XXII.

HESITATIONS AND INTRIGUES ; THE PROTESTANT LEADERS QUIT EDINBURGH ; SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND ; THE YOUNG EARL OF ARRAN ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND.

ALL parties were at this moment more or less embarrassed. The regent could only place dependence on her French troops, which were not numerous, and they were moreover at this moment ill-furnished, and without pay ; she therefore was anxious to avoid any decisive contest until the expected reinforcements from France should arrive. The protestant lords, on their side, despising the apparent weakness of their enemies, had not assembled in any great number ; but, aware of the formidable preparations making in France to crush them, they were now intent upon strengthening themselves by a close alliance with England. There they found a monarch whose policy was far more cautious than that of most of her predecessors. Elizabeth had been justly indignant at the attack on her rights, implied in the assumption of the arms of England by Mary and her husband Francis, and she no doubt saw the danger to herself from any considerable increase of the French influence in Scotland ; but her conscience was particularly tender on the subject of assisting subjects in rebellion against their sovereign, and for this reason, as well as from her great anxiety to avoid war and unnecessary expenditure, she was unwilling to lend her own name to the Scottish protestants. But some of her ministers and officers were guided by different feelings. She allowed and encouraged them to enter into secret communications with the Scottish leaders. This communication was carried on very actively during the time that the lords of the congregation held possession of Edinburgh. Tytler has printed extracts from a few of their letters, which are preserved in the English state-paper office ; the earlier letters are addressed chiefly to sir Henry Percy. In a letter forwarded to Percy on the day after they entered Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy of Grange made the following declaration of the objects for which they had assembled. "I received your letter this last of June," he says, "perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the congregation, whom, I assure you, you need not

to have in suspicion ; for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly, throughout the realm, they will bring to pass, for the queen and monsieur D'Oysel, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock, to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion, and resisting of the king of France, if he sends any force against them." "The manner of their proceeding in reformation," continues the laird of Grange, "is this : they pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeyes, which willingly receive not the reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them ; in place thereof, the book set forth by godly king Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeyes and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is, a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the whole revenues of the abbeyes to the crown ; if her grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement." Knox at the same time addressed Percy in the name of the congregation, and explained to him their intentions, deprecating earnestly the notion that they had any wish to resist the lawful authority of their rulers, and pointing out how much it would be for the interest of England that they should succeed. To this the English ministers were not blind, and, although they could not induce Elizabeth to declare openly for them, they secretly encouraged them to persevere. In a letter addressed to sir



James Crofts, the English captain of Berwick, secretary Cecil makes use of these remarkable words, "in anywise do your endeavour to kindle the fire, for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives, and that the protestants mean to do should be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power cometh." A secret meeting was held at Norham, between sir Henry Percy and Kirkaldy of Grange, and the latter carried back to his colleagues assurances of a still more encouraging character. Yet they were now aware of the parsimony and cautious temper of the English queen; and they feared that by the slowness of her support, the main burthen of the struggle would be thrown upon their own shoulders.

Thus discouragement began to seize upon many of the leaders; some of the more lukewarm fell off from the cause, and others, who were inclined to support it, hesitated. The queen-regent seized this moment of weakness to resume her activity. The protestants now attempted to gain their end by negotiating; they professed the utmost respect and obedience to the crown and regent, and declared that they only wanted protection for their preachers, and reformation in the church. A conference between the two parties was held at Preston in Mid-Lothian, but as the terms insisted upon by the queen-regent were inadmissible, it broke up without any result. At the same time, the protestant leaders continued their secret correspondence with England, whence they now received the promise of an armed interference in case of the arrival of new troops from France; and in reply to Cecil, who had demanded an explanation of the true cause of their taking up arms, they assured him that, "our whole purpose is, as knoweth God, to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, and the true preaching of his Evangel within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sorts of external idolatry; to bridle to our power, the fury of those that have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren, and to our uttermost to obtain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thralldom of strangers."

Mary of Guise now pursued her course with the utmost deliberation. She had already issued a proclamation, in the name of Francis and Mary, in which the protestants were accused generally of sedition, and, particularly of having seized the irons of the mint, and of maintaining a treasonable cor-

respondence with England; and she commanded them to depart immediately from the capital. She had received information by spies that many of the protestant leaders had left Edinburgh, and that those who remained were not sufficiently numerous to threaten any formidable resistance. Encouraged by the knowledge of this circumstance, she quitted Dunbar and marched towards the capital, and thus brought matters to a sudden crisis. Negotiations were renewed, and on the 24th of July the two parties consented to a truce, which was to last till the 10th of January following. The conditions were, that all the protestants not inhabitants of the town, were to quit Edinburgh, taking with them their soldiers; that they were to give up the irons of the mint, and to deliver up the royal palace of Holyrood in the same condition they found it; that they should continue in obedience to the king and queen and to the queen-regent, and to the laws and customs of the kingdom, in the same manner as before these troubles broke out, except in matter of religion; that they should not trouble or molest the churchmen, or hinder them from collecting the rents, profits, and dues of their benefices; and that they should no longer use any force or violence towards churches and monasteries. On the other hand, it was agreed that during the duration of the truce the inhabitants of Edinburgh should choose the form of religion they would have, so that they might enjoy full liberty of conscience; and that elsewhere the protestant ministers should be allowed to preach and live unmolested. The protestants, according to this agreement, quitted the capital on the 25th of July, after having issued a proclamation representing this transaction as much as possible to their own advantage, and the leaders dispersed to their homes.

But the correspondence with England became more active than ever, for, on their part, the Scottish protestants placed no faith in the queen-regent and the French, while on the other side the English queen and her ministers became alarmed lest the reformation in Scotland should be entirely crushed. Just after their retreat from Edinburgh, the lords of the congregation received an important letter from secretary Cecil, who urged them not to shrink in the course upon which they had entered, and suggested that they might strengthen themselves by seizing the wealth of the churchmen. "You know,"



he said, "your chief adversaries, the popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation; they be rich also, whereby they make many friends, by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness they be bold, but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In the first reformation here, in king Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor, yet if the prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil, but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the crown, the help to the youth of the nobility, the maintenance of ministry in the church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent." "But ye may say," he continues, "there is now no reason to write of this; the present time requireth defence of yourselves. True it is—and this that I mentioned not impertinent thereto, and to me the more marvel—that ye omit also such opportunity to help yourselves. Will ye hear of a strange army coming by seas to invade you, and seek help against the same, and yet permit your adversaries, whom ye may expel, to keep the landing and strength for others? Which of these two is easiest, to weaken one neighbour first, or three afterwards? What will be the end, when these be the beginnings? Will they favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France? What may the duke's grace there look for, when his eldest son was so persecuted, as, to save his life, he was forced to flee France and go to Geneva, not without great difficulty; his second brother, the lord David, now cruelly imprisoned by Monsieur Cheigny, one chose out to show cruelty to your nation; divers Scots of the earl's family put to torture; and, finally, all the duchy of Châtellerauld seized to the crown. And to show you their purposed tragedy, the young queen so sweareth, so voweth, so threateneth, to destroy all the house of Hamiltons, as it is beyond all marvel to see your old regent there so enchant the duke's ears, as to hear nothing hereof. God open his heart according to his knowledge!" In concluding this letter, Cecil encouraged the Scottish protestants to hope for assistance from Elizabeth.

From Stirling, whither the chiefs of the protestants had retired after leaving Edinburgh, the correspondence with England

was continued. Knox was sent on a secret mission to Berwick, where he arrived on the 3rd of August, and had an interview with sir James Crofts. He was instructed to ask for money, men, and ships, and he suggested that pensions should be given to some of the chiefs. He proposed to seize and garrison Stirling, urged that the English should take and fortify Eyemouth and Broughty Craig, and recommended that a fleet should be sent to protect Dundee and Perth, which were still in the hands of the protestants. These proposals were received coldly, and Knox returned without any decided answer. On his way his escort was attacked by a party from the French garrison of Dunbar, and he narrowly escaped being captured.

Meanwhile preparations were making in France on an extensive scale for the Scottish expedition, and the queen-regent only waited the arrival of the French troops to act with more vigour than she had hitherto shown. She took advantage of the period of truce to spread abroad rumours and scandals calculated to injure the character of the protestant leaders; among which the one which caused most uneasiness was the report that the lord James aspired to usurp the crown. This caused so much uneasiness in France, that sir James Melville, a Scottish knight who had been bred from his youth in that country, was sent on a secret mission to his native country, to ascertain if this rumour were true, and to report on the real state of affairs. Melville was attached to the service of the constable Montmorency, one of the chiefs of the French protestants, and he was not likely to examine very severely into the proceedings of the congregation; and with regard to the lord James, he seems to have done no more than ask him in private if he pleaded guilty to the charge, and, upon his denial, he returned fully satisfied to France. During his absence Henry II. had ceased to live, Francis and Mary had succeeded him on the throne, and the violent counsels of the Guises were supreme. Nothing was thought of but the utter reduction of Scotland, with threats to chastise England for her intended interference. These designs were equally well known to the Scottish protestants, who kept up a communication with their brethren in France, and to queen Elizabeth, whose agents made themselves intimately acquainted with the intrigues of the French court, and they tended to draw closer the ties between that princess and the protestants of Scotland.



But still she so far hesitated from giving them her countenance publicly, that, when taxed by the French ambassador, M. De Noailles, with encouraging the Scottish rebels, Elizabeth wrote an indignant letter to the queen-regent, expressing her horror at the very idea of giving encouragement to subjects to rebel against their sovereigns, and wishing her a speedy triumph over the insurgents.

Contradictory sentiments in the mind of queen Elizabeth caused her long to hesitate before she decided on the kind of support which she would give to the protestants of Scotland. She held lofty notions on the divine right of princes, and on the criminality of any attempts on the part of their subjects to rise against their authority, and with these views the Scottish protestants were simply rebels; but at the same time she foresaw the blow which would fall upon her own head if she allowed the Scots to be overwhelmed, and the necessity of preventing it. To satisfy her conscience, she affected to consider it as a struggle between the Scots and the French, and she determined to send an agent to the border, to communicate secretly with the Scots, and ascertain the real state of affairs. This mission was entrusted to sir Ralph Sadler, whose diplomatic talents had gained him the esteem of her father, Henry VIII., and who still remained in favour at court. It was one part of his instructions to "nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England." He was also to ascertain "the very truth, whether the lord James did mean any enterprise towards the crown of Scotland for himself, or not." But, as we shall see farther on, Elizabeth wished to know this for reasons different from those which had given rise to the mission of sir James Melville. The mission of Sadler had been hurried by the pressing appeals of the Scots, who were impatient of the slow counsels of the English court. "I must signify to you," Knox wrote to sir James Crofts on the 6th of August, "that unless the council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle, but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France), to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the

country, which our enemies may easily occupy; and when they have so done, make your account what may ensue towards yourself."

Another cause of Elizabeth's reluctance seems to have been the suspicion that the Scottish reformation was taking too much of a popular and democratic form. She knew that the views of the Scottish protestants with regard to church government were directly opposed to her own, and she looked with feelings of extreme hostility on John Knox, who was their religious leader. The plan which she preferred, and which the lords of the congregation appear at this time to have contemplated, was to depose the queen-regent, and to restore the government to the duke of Châtelherault, or to entrust it to the lord James. The protestant leaders were at this time using every effort to detach the duke from the queen's party, and his notorious weakness of character rendered him less popular than the other; and it was probably in consequence of a suspicion of these designs that the regent accused the lord James of aspiring to the crown. Elizabeth does not appear to have been willing to encourage such an usurpation, and it was therefore proposed that another person should be brought forward, the young earl of Arran (Châtelherault's son), who appeared to promise better than his father, but whose real character was not yet known. The earl of Arran had held high and lucrative appointments in France, but having embraced the reformed opinions, he was deprived of them and fell into disgrace, and it was only by a hasty flight to Geneva that he escaped being thrown into prison. A message was sent to him there, and he was invited to return to Scotland, in the belief that, at all events, his presence might be useful, and that he would, perhaps, draw his father from the queen-regent.

It was at this moment, and in the midst of these uncertainties, that Knox wrote the urgent letter to Cecil, dated on the 15th of August, which Tytler has printed from the original in the state-paper office. "The cause of these gentlemen," said he, "standeth thus: that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in number are now but five hundred, for their service by-past, and to retain another thousand footmen with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh), that some of their



will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the queen-regent or with France; but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness to their support. To aid us so liberally as we require, to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France to many will appear dangerous; but, sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert!) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bethencourt (the French ambassador newly arrived) bragged in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letter to the prior (the lord James), that the king and his council would spend the crown of France, unless they had our full obedience; I am assured that, unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money, and some of our number are so poor (as before I wrote), that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if you lie as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the council, immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The earl of Argyle is gone to his country, for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support; and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them; and therefore in the bowels of Christ Jesus I require you, sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen (*trust*) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness. Some danger is in the drift of time in such matters, ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the queen's majesty wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good father, the most noble and most redoubted of his time, disdained not lovingly to write to men fewer in number, and far inferior in authority and power, than be those that wrote to her grace."

At length, on the 20th of August, sir Ralph Sadler arrived at Berwick, where he was met by a message from Knox, and it was agreed that Balnaves, a zealous agent of the congregation, should be sent secretly to confer with him. Sadler carried with him three thousand pounds, which he was directed to apply to the aid of the Scottish

protestants in such a manner as not openly to interfere in the recent treaties of peace between the two countries. In announcing his arrival to Cecil, Sadler stated his opinion that it was desirable the young earl of Arran should show himself in Scotland as soon as possible, and he gave information that the duke of Châtelherault was wavering in his allegiance to the regent. "It seemeth," he adds, "they make little or none account of the French power which is looked for out of France, wishing that the same should rather come than not, for as the number cannot be great, so think they that the same will so stir and irritate the hearts of all Scottish men, as they would wholly and firmly adhere and stick together, whereby their power should so increase, as they should be well able both to expel the French out of Scotland, and also the better achieve the rest of their whole purpose. In which case I and sir James Crofts, understand by Knox, they will require aid of the queen's majesty for the entertainment and wages of fifteen hundred arquebusiers, and three hundred horsemen, which, if they may have, then France (as Knox saith) shall soon understand their minds. And if any such aid shall be required, albeit we think it not good, we intend not to answer them, so as they shall be without hope thereof, yet would we be glad to understand the queen's majesty's pleasure in that part, wishing, if it may be looked for that any good effect shall follow, that her majesty should not for the spending of a great deal more than the charge of their demand amounteth unto, permit (*let slip*) such an opportunity. And to say our poor minds unto you, we see not but her highness must be at some charge with them, for of bare words only, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receive no comfort. The bestowing of two or three thousand crowns to relieve them, which have sustained great losses, and spent, as we understand, in manner all they had in this matter; now to encourage them to do somewhat, and if the same be well spent, a great deal more cannot but be well employed; and if such effect do not follow thereof as we desire, her highness must account that she hath cast so much into the sea, the loss whereof may be easily borne and recovered; and either must her majesty adventure the loss of money amongst them, or else leave them to themselves, for we see not that the mean can serve the turn in this part."



The queen signified her perfect approval of Sadler's first proceedings; the earl of Arran was secretly brought to England, under the assumed name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and Cecil, on the 24th of August, wrote a pressing letter to his father the duke, urging him to join the congregation. "I beseech your grace at this present," he said, "neglect not such opportunity of doing good to your country, as the like was never offered this hundred years, nor percase shall not many other hundred happen, if this time be omitted. Repentance doth most harm where no remedy remaineth. But I will not molest your grace with my writing; this one thing I covet, to have this isle well united in concord, and then could I be content to leave my life and the joy thereof to our posterity."

At length, early in September, Balnaves arrived in Berwick, and was secretly introduced into the castle. In a letter written on the 8th, Sadler and Crofts gave the following account of their conference with him, and of its results:—"Now at the last," they say, "Mr. Balnaves arrived here on Wednesday last, at midnight, from the lords of the congregation; yesterday, in the morning, we communed with him at good length, who, because he had never before conferred with me, sir Ralph Sadler, in that matter, made me a whole discourse, at my request, of all their proceedings from the beginning, agreable in all points with such advertisement as you have had heretofore. And now he saith that they intend to revive the matter, for that the regent hath not observed the articles of their last agreement, but hath infringed the same, as well in that she hath set up the mass again in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, which they had before suppressed; as also in that the Frenchmen do remain still, and a more (*greater*) number since arrived, wherewith he saith all Scotland is much moved; and also a new matter they have to burden her with for her misgovernment, in that she abased the congregation without consent of the council, to the grief and impoverishment of their common weal. For these matters he saith, they will begin again, and would have done at this time, but sundry causes, he saith, they had to protract the time in pursuing hereof, whereby they have rather great advantage than hindrance. One for that the regent, by her policy, devised to stir

James M'Donell, and others of the Scottish-Irish, against the earl of Argyle, to the intent the same earl might be so occupied at home in defence of this country, as he should have no time to attend this matter; wherefore it behoved him to go home for the stay thereof, which he hath now so well ordered, as the regent shall be clearly frustrate and deceived of her expectation in that behalf. Another cause is, for that harvest is late with them this year, and if they should have assembled any power in the fields, it could not otherwise be but that a great destruction must have ensued of the fruits of the earth, which would have greatly moved the people against them. Again, during the mean time they have had their preachers abroad in the realm, which, by their preaching and doctrine, have so won and allured the people to their devotion, as he saith their power is now double that it was in the cause of religion; and such as yet be not fully persuaded thereto, bear nevertheless such hatred to the Frenchmen, as he thinketh in manner the whole realm favoureth their party. And also he saith, that in this protract of time, practices have been used, and conferences had, both with the duke, the earl of Huntley, and others; and the duke persuaded so far, that he hath promised to come no more at the regent, nor to take any part with her; the rest he will refer to the coming home of his son, who, he saith, may take the matter in hand, if he himself list, to be sick or lame, and to wink at the matter. And here the said Balnaves seemed to be greatly desirous of the coming home of the said duke's son, who indeed was nearer him than he was aware of. The like promise, he saith, they have obtained of the earl of Huntley; and be in good hope that he will manifest himself on their side; others also they have won, as he saith, to their party, which be the best borderers of the Merse and Twydale, which indeed have their preachers amongst them; and though some of the older sort do draw back, yet having young and lusty gentlemen to their sons, they are content to let them follow their purpose, and dissemble the matter themselves with the regent. These advantages, saith Balnaves, have they gotten by this protract of time; and now as soon as their harvest is at good point, they will assemble all the power they can make; for which purpose the lords of the



congregation do meet and convene, as he saith, the tenth or twelfth of this month at Stirling, where, he saith, they be in good hope to hear of some good aid and comfort at the queen's majesty's hands, for the which purpose they had now sent him unto us. When he had said that he would, we told him that they might assure themselves that the queen's majesty, and all the lords of her highness's council, did so much tender their cause, as they would be no less sorry than they themselves if the same should not take good effect; and such aid and comfort as her highness might minister unto them, without touch of her honour and breach of the peace which she now hath both with France and Scotland, they might be sure to have it at her grace's hands. Marry, we told him they were wise men, and could consider as well as we what might be done by her highness in that behalf, considering that albeit their cause was grounded upon a good and godly foundation, to extirpate idolatry and to advance Christ's true religion, and also for the preservation of the freedom of their country, and to deliver the same from foreign government, as in conscience they are bound to do; yet the world can make no other exposition of it, but that they be as it were a faction gathered together, contending against the authority; and how the queen's majesty may seem to maintain them in such a case, we doubted not; but he, being a wise man, could weigh the same as deeply as we did. He confessed all that we said to be true, and wished that the queen's majesty should remain still in peace, which he said should also serve better for their purpose, than if we were in the wars; for that if we were in the war, they could then find no fault with the coming of the Frenchmen into Scotland, which might say they came to defend our country; but now, being in peace, all Scotland may, and doth well perceive, that they come rather to make a conquest of them than for any other cause; and in their conferences, he saith, they have considered as much as we said unto them, and, therefore, whatsoever pretence they make, the principal mark they shoot at is, he saith, to make an altercation of the state and authority, to the intent the same being established as they desire, they may then enter into open trade with her majesty, as the case shall require. This, he saith, is very secret, and if the duke will take it upon him, they mean to bestow it

there; or, if he refuse, his son is as mete, or rather more mete for the purpose. In the mean season he said they trusted, and the lords of the congregation were in good expectation, that her highness would comfort them with some secret aid of money, and, because they had spent a great deal of their substance in maintaining and keeping all this while, certain bands of soldiers, for their more strength and surety to their no little impoverishing; if they might now have such relief at her majesty's hands, as would keep together a thousand arquebusiers and three hundred horsemen, for two or three months, besides such power as they trust to make at their own charge, they will either achieve their enterprise, or spend their lives in the pursuit thereof. Upon this we resolved with him, that indeed there was none other way for the queen's majesty to relieve or comfort them, but with money; which, if it might be done with such secrecy as the case doth require, we said we doubted not but her majesty so much tendereth their case and godly action, as they might and should taste of her liberality and goodness in that part; and here I, sir Ralph Sadler, put him in remembrance how liberal the king, her majesty's father, had been aforetime to the nobility of Scotland, as he knew, and how little they considered it; and also, that they used therein no secrecy at all. He confessed it to be true; but he said the case is now much otherwise than it was then, for then we sought of them, and now they seek of us; and, quoth he, we be so far already entered into this matter, that though we have no aid at all at your hands, we must needs, for our surety, either go through with it, or lose our lives; and so we be fully bent and purposed to do. And, quoth he, for the secrecy of the matter, if it please the queen's majesty to aid us according to our desire, it shall be so secret that none, except a few which be of the privy council amongst us, shall know any other but that the force is levied of the benevolence of the whole congregation. To come to the end of this long talk, the rehearsal of the whole whereof were superfluous, we said that the year was so far spent, that we thought one month's wages for the entertainment of such soldiers as they desired would suffice, which amounted to the point of fifteen hundred pounds. He answered, that the time was nothing at all spent for their purpose, for the winter is best for them, and worst for the French-



men; but within two months he trusted the matter would be tried. And so, finally, we granted them two thousand pounds, which we said we would spare them of the pay our soldiers here should receive at this time; and doubted not but the queen's majesty, if she should perceive the same to be so employed by them, as their cause may be well advanced, and her honour untouched, she would in that case show herself more liberal unto them, wherein we pray you help, that we may keep promise, if the case so require. With this the said Balnaves was well satisfied, seeming to take it in very thankful part; and we be resolved, that within these six days they shall send hither for the same by sea, and shall receive it at Holy Island, wherein shall be used as much secrecy as possible. Thus have we adventured so much of the queen's money, and surely by all likelihood and conjectures that we can conceive, the same cannot but be employed to good purpose. Others there be, as Kirkaldy, Ormiston, and Whitlaw, which, having spent much for this matter, whereof they be earnest prosecutors, and for the same have been captains of bands in Scotland, have lost a fifteen or sixteen months' pay, which they should now have had out of France, do look for some relief, whereof, as we understand, they have been put in some hope; but because we have been now so liberal of the queen's purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to commit the same to the discretion of me, the said sir Ralph, yet we would be glad to know how her highness liketh or misliketh that we have done, before we do any more."

The earl of Arran had at this time reached Berwick on his way to Scotland, and, continuing the writers of this letter, "all this while of our talk with Mr. Balnaves, was the earl of Arran here in the castle, the one of them not knowing of the other; for Balnaves came on Wednesday last at midnight, and the earl, for whose secret conveyance hither we had taken order according to your letters, came into the castle on Thursday morning before day, within three hours after Balnaves. We told first the earl that Balnaves was here, and devised with him whether he would talk with him or not. After some consideration whereof, because he would understand the state of things in Scotland, knowing Balnaves to be his assured friend, he resolved to speak with him, and so we brought them together. And Mr. Balnaves, we assure you, seemed

to rejoice very much of his coming, and discoursed with him of the state of their country at good length; and in the end we ordered that Balnaves shall keep it secret till the earl shall disclose himself."

After a brief stay at Berwick, the earl of Arran was conveyed secretly by the borderers of Teviotdale to Hamilton castle, his father's residence. As soon as his arrival was publicly known, the intelligence was joyfully received by the whole protestant party, and it had the important effect of deciding the duke of Châtellerault to join their standard.

While her agents were thus engaged in secret, Elizabeth acted with the most extraordinary dissimulation. Although the utmost care had been taken to disconnect the queen's name with the acts of her officers, the encouragement which the Scottish protestants received from England could hardly be kept so great a secret that some intimations of it were not carried to the queen-regent, and the French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, was instructed to remonstrate on the subject. In his dispatches, he gives accounts of repeated interviews with the English queen, in which she denied having given any countenance to the rebels of Scotland, and expressed her abhorrence of their attempts. At the end of August, M. de Noailles was directed to complain that the Scottish protestants had talked publicly of their hopes of assistance from England, and that they boasted of having the queen's promise to that effect; in reply to which Elizabeth told him, that possibly some of her officers, among whom there were some foolish enough, might have held indiscreet language towards the Scots, but that she had sent a commissioner to the border to inquire into, and correct any faults of this kind. She assured him that those of the congregation would find themselves greatly deceived, if they expected any favour from her in their wild enterprises; that she had neither written nor promised anything to them, and that her signet might be easily known if they had it to show. She added that she knew there were some of her subjects who were ready enough to do anything to cause disagreement between the two countries, but that it was her intention to punish them very severely. Three or four days afterwards the ambassador was assured that orders had been sent to the frontier to hinder any encouragement from being given to the



Scottish protestants. Even at the end of September, when Arran had declared himself in Scotland, and his father had joined the congregation, and Sadler's negotiations with the protestants were more than suspected, Elizabeth still held the same language to the French ambassador.

Meanwhile the king of France made no secret of his resolution to reduce Scotland to the condition of a province of France, and he continued his preparations for war. The Sieur de Bethencourt was sent over to Scotland at the beginning of August, with assurances that a French army under the command of the marquis d'Elbeuf was on the point of embarking for the assistance of the queen-regent. Bethencourt was instructed to try and detach the lord James from the party of the protestants, and he was the bearer of a letter from the king and queen of France to that nobleman, in which they upbraided him for his ingratitude, in return for the many benefits he had received from France, and threatened him with their utmost vengeance if he continued with the rebels; but the lord James remained firm to the cause he had adopted, and, in a temperate reply, he declared for himself and the other lords of the congregation, that they had no other object than the defence of their religious convictions, and that, detesting the crime of sedition, they were ready in all other matters but

religion to be obedient and faithful subjects to their sovereign. At the end of August, the first division of the French armament, consisting of a force of a thousand men, under an Italian officer named Ottaviano Bosso, arrived at Leith. The queen-regent welcomed this arrival with the utmost joy, and she immediately sent their commander back to France, with pressing demands for a still larger force. She pointed out to the French monarch the danger of delay, and the necessity of overcoming the Scots before they could obtain assistance from any of their neighbours, and declared her belief that with a thousand more men and a hundred barbed horse, and with four ships-of-war to cruise in the Forth, she could reduce Scotland. With the reinforcement brought by Ottaviano Bosso, the regent began to fortify the port of Leith, in order to make it a stronghold for her foreign troops. A few more of these, consisting of two hundred foot and eighty horse, under a French officer named La Brosse, arrived in three ships on the 24th of September, accompanied by the bishop of Amiens, who came as legate *a latere* from the pope, and two doctors of the Sorbonne. The mission of the ecclesiastics was one of conversion; and they proceeded at once to employ their learning against the heretics; but they soon found that they had undertaken a task which was not destined to have much success.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION AGAIN OCCUPY EDINBURGH; DEPOSITION OF THE QUEEN-REGENT; THE PROTESTANTS COMPELLED TO RETREAT FROM THE CAPITAL; DETERMINATION OF ELIZABETH TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE OF THE PROTESTANTS.

THE secret encouragement received from England reanimated the congregation, which at the same time received at home some important accessions of strength. Of these one of the principal was Maitland of Lethington, who gave his secret support to the reformers before he joined them openly, and thus, as the regent's secretary, he was enabled to betray her designs to them. The earl of Arran, while at Geneva, had formed an intimacy with an Englishman named Thomas Randolph, afterwards well

known as sir Thomas Randolph, and as one of the ablest diplomatists and political intriguers of his age; and at the earl's particular desire this man followed him into Scotland, and he gave to the measure of the protestant confederates a character of energy and promptitude which they would not have received from Arran himself. After his arrival, the chiefs of the congregation met at Hamilton, and under the presidency of the duke of Châtelherault, who signed their covenant, they resolved to



assemble their forces and proceed at once to hostilities against the Frenchmen. Their first step was to send a message to the queen-regent, requiring her to desist from fortifying Leith, to which she replied that her daughter, the queen of Scotland, had as much right to fortify her own seaport as the duke had to build at Hamilton, and she accompanied her refusal with reproaches to Châtelherault for his ingratitude and faithlessness. At the same time they seem to have drawn up a manifesto addressed to the princes of Christendom, of which a copy has been found in the archives of the foreign office in France, and has been printed in M. Teulet's collection of documents illustrative of Scottish history. In this document, the lords of the congregation protested against the design of their regent to reduce Scotland to a French province. They described the intrigues which had been employed to determine the government to send their infant queen to France, as well as those by which the duke of Châtelherault was deprived of the regency, and the queen-dowager, a foreigner, substituted in his place. They complained that, after the elevation of Mary of Guise to the regency, she had discountenanced the old Scottish nobility, and given all the great offices of state to foreigners; that M. de Rubbay, the vice-chancellor, had usurped from the earl of Huntley all his powers as chancellor; that the earl of Cassilis, the treasurer, having shown some opposition to this undue promotion of Frenchmen, had been sent away under pretence of a mission to France, and his office virtually bestowed on an obscure French scribe; that the two chief French officials, D'Oysel and Rubbay, had usurped the whole power of the state, which they exercised with the most offensive arrogance; that the regent, to gain her ends, had designedly sown discord among the nobles of Scotland; that she had persecuted them under pretence of religion; and that she had given the Scottish benefices to foreign priests. The lords of the congregation then described the way in which the marriage between their young queen and the dauphin had been brought about; the attempt to carry away the Scottish crown to be placed on the head of the husband, which had been defeated by the firmness of the Scottish ambassadors; the injuries which had been done to the Scots by the French soldiery; the debasing of the coinage; the persecution of the earl

of Arran in France; the open declaration of the French that they intended to reduce Scotland to the condition of a province; the sending over of troops for that purpose; the occupation and fortification of Leith, without the authority of parliament; the humble remonstrance which they had addressed on this subject to the regent, and the contemptuous manner in which she had treated it. They represented the necessity in which they found themselves of taking arms to relieve themselves from the most disgraceful servitude; and protested that they were still ready to render all due obedience to their queen, and that their only aim was to restore their country to its ancient liberty, to protect their ancient royal race in their rightful succession to the crown, and to hinder it from being transported by tyranny and violence to a foreigner.

A variety of circumstances hindered the assembling of the army of the congregation until the 15th of October, when their army amounted to not less than twelve thousand men. Next day they marched to Edinburgh, which they occupied without resistance, the queen-regent retiring within the fortifications of Leith. In repeated skirmishes which followed the occupation of the capital, the protestants generally had the advantage. In these encounters Kirkaldy of Grange distinguished himself by his bravery, and in one of the first skirmishes it is recorded that he slew a French officer, hand to hand, "whereby the protestants had the first blood, which they did take for good luck." "So that now," say Sadler and Crofts, in a letter to Cecil, "the affray is begun, and being thus far entered in blood on both parts, we think it cannot be soon stanch'd. The queen's majesty hath more for two thousand pounds than her highness's father could obtain for six thousand." This first success, however, was followed up by an immediate appeal to Elizabeth for pecuniary aid, upon which Sadler and Crofts, in forwarding their demand to Cecil, observe: "Surely we think if they be not relieved and supported by the queen's majesty, their poverty being such as they allege, they must of force desist and leave off their enterprise, to their own confusion. And if by her highness's aid they may prosper and achieve the same, yet in the end, as far as we can see, her highness must either manifest herself on that side, or else they shall not be able to strive and



wrestle with the power of France. Wherein we be bold to say our poor minds, as men which from the bottom of our hearts do wish and desire the establishment of this island in perpetual unity and concord, the like opportunity whereof that is now offered we think we shall not live to see, if this be pretermitted, the consideration whereof we refer to the wisdom and deep judgment of those to whom it chiefly appertaineth, which can more deeply weigh it, and discern, and see further in the same than our poor wits can reach."

The protestant party in Edinburgh, meanwhile, proceeded with a boldness which astonished their enemies. They began by appointing two councils, one for civil affairs, and another for religion. The first was composed of the duke of Châtelherault, his son the earl of Arran, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Maxwell, Erskine of Dun, Henry Balnaves, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the provost of Dundee. In the council of religion were Knox, Goodman, and the bishop of Galloway, who had turned protestant. Having thus established a sort of government in the capital, the lords of the congregation sent a messenger to the regent, by whom they demanded that the new fortifications of Leith should be demolished, that the foreign and other hired troops should immediately evacuate that town, and leave it free for all to carry on their commerce and exercise their trade. They declared that, in case of her refusal, they would look upon it as a proof that she wished to reduce the kingdom to slavery, for which they would endeavour by every means within their power to find a remedy. After taking three days to deliberate, the regent sent the Lion king-at-arms into Edinburgh with the following reply, as it is reported by Buchanan: "First," she said, "you are to show that I cannot understand how any one can possess power in this realm, except my son-in-law and daughter, from whom I derive my authority. The former deeds of the nobles, and their present request, or rather command, sufficiently declare that they acknowledge no superior authority; neither does their petition, or rather threat, however plausibly expressed, surprise me. You will require the duke of Châtelherault to remember what he promised to me verbally, and to the king by letter, not only that he would himself continue loyal to the king, but that he would prevent his son, the earl of

Arran, from at all interfering in the troubles of the country; and ask him how his present conduct corresponds with these promises. To the addresses you will reply, that I am ready to do, and hereby promise to do, whatever the public tranquillity requires, and is not repugnant to religion, and my duty to the sovereign; nor did I ever so much as think of overturning either liberty or laws, much less of conquering the kingdom by force; for why should I wish to conquer that which, without dispute, belongs to my daughter by hereditary right? Respecting the fortifications at Leith, you will ask whether I ever attempted anything of that kind, until they by many meetings, and at last by a conspiracy openly entered into, declared that they had rejected all legitimate authority, and would manage the commonwealth at their own pleasure, without consulting me who held the rank and authority of chief magistrate; until they had strengthened their party by taking towns; by entering into a negotiation with the ancient enemy for ratifying a league, and especially now had many of the English in their own houses; and besides, what reasons can they offer why they should be allowed to keep an army at Edinburgh for attacking the governor of the realm, and I not suffered to have some force at Leith, as a protection for my person and the support of my authority? Undoubtedly they wish to deprive me of my settled place of residence, and force me to change my situation daily, as I have hitherto done to avoid their fury. Besides, where is there any mention made in their letters of any obedience to lawful magistrates? Where do they point out any way to restore concord? Where do they show any desire to allay these commotions, and bring back the commonwealth to its former situation? They may talk as they choose about the welfare of the public; it is evident that there is nothing about which they think less; for if that be the only obstacle to concord, I have often shown how it might be removed. Nor are they ignorant that the French would have long ago been ordered out of Scotland by their king, if they themselves, by their own conduct, had not occasioned the delay. Wherefore, if they would now offer any honourable conditions, which would afford a hope that the majesty of the government would be preserved, and that they would modestly and obediently submit to their superiors, I will reject no plan for



restoring concord. Nor am I only thus inclined, but their sovereigns also show the same disposition, who sent an illustrious knight of the order of St. Michael (La Brosse), and one of the highest dignitaries of the church (the bishop of Amiens), with letters and mandates for that purpose, whom they treated with so much contempt, that they not only returned them no answer, but would not even grant them a conference; for which reasons, you will require and command both the duke, nobles, and all others, of whatever rank, to separate from the army, on pain of being proclaimed traitors."

The herald who brought the message of the regent was required to wait for his answer, and the same day, the 21st of October, the congregation assembled in the tolbooth, to deliberate on the course to be adopted. Lord Ruthven was called upon to preside at this meeting, and he at once boldly propounded to them the question of deposing the regent. It was urged that a foreigner, who held only a deputed power, having refused to listen to the natural born councillors of the kingdom, and having openly declared her intention of reducing them to bondage, ought no longer to be allowed to retain an office which she was abusing to their ruin. The subject was warmly debated, and provoked some difference of opinion, until the preachers were called to give their advice. Willock addressed the assembly first, and defined from scripture the limitations placed on the office of magistracy, quoting examples of the depositions of kings. It was the language of the English puritans of the seventeenth century. He spoke strongly of the character of the queen-regent, and of the various injuries she had inflicted on Scotland, and he dwelt especially on her evident design to destroy the national liberty, and to deprive the Scots of their rights. Such being the case, he argued that it was the duty of the nobility, the born councillors of the realm, to provide for its safety by divesting her of her authority. Knox spoke more guardedly and moderately, but to the same purpose; but he urged them to remain firm in their allegiance to their true sovereign. The votes of the assembly were then taken, and it was unanimously resolved that the queen-regent should be suspended from her authority. An act to this effect was drawn up, and next day, October the 22nd, it was publicly proclaimed to the people. It was

communicated to the regent in a letter entrusted to her herald, which, according to Buchanan, was nearly in the following terms: "We plainly perceive," they said, "by the letters and mandates sent us by your herald, your obstinate aversion to the true worship of God, the public welfare of the nation, and our common liberty. In order, therefore, to preserve them, we, in the name of our king and queen, suspend and prohibit you from exercising the government in their name, as regent, or under whatever title you may assume; as we are assured that your proceedings are in entire opposition to their wishes for the welfare of this kingdom. And inasmuch as you do not employ us, the lawful counsellors of this kingdom and native subjects of our sovereigns, as your parliament and council, so neither do we acknowledge you as regent, or exercising the supreme functions of government; particularly because your power of whatever kind, entrusted to you by our sovereigns, is for the most weighty and just causes inhibited by us, and that in the name of these sovereigns, whose natural advisers we are, especially in affairs respecting the safety of the commonwealth. But although we have determined to hazard our lives in freeing that town, in which you have collected foreign troops against us, yet of the respect and regard we have for you as the mother of our queen, we earnestly entreat you to withdraw, ere the public service force us to reduce that city by arms, which we have so often before endeavoured to liberate by our petitions. Moreover we request that you will take along with you, within twenty-four hours, all those who lay claim to the name of ambassadors for deciding or managing the public affairs; also all the hired soldiers of every description who are in the town, as we would willingly spare their lives and preserve them unhurt, on account of the friendship which has for so many ages existed between the Scots and the French, and which the marriage of our queen with their king ought rather to increase than diminish." On the 25th the congregation sent a herald to Leith, to order all the Scots to depart from that town within the space of twenty-four hours, and separate themselves from the enemies of public liberty, and the Frenchmen to depart from Scotland.

The commencement of the war was not fortunate to the congregation. Preparations were made for an attack upon Leith, but they were unsuccessful. The queen-regent



sent her agents and spies into their camp, who corrupted many, and spread suspicions and alarm among others. The duke of Châtelherault began at the same time to display his characteristic weakness, and his misgivings soon communicated themselves to others of his colleagues. To crown all, money again ran short, and the soldiers of the congregation became clamorous and mutinous, and deserted in great numbers. The laird of Ormiston was again dispatched to Berwick for assistance, and, on the last of October, Sadler and Crofts gave Cecil the following account of his visit. "Yesternight arrived here the laird of Ormiston, with these letters which we send you here inclosed. He was specially dispatched hither for money, and declared unto us that, unless they might be presently holpen and relieved with the same, they could not keep their power any longer together, but that their soldiers which they had in wages were ready to depart from them for lack of payment; whereupon, because we thought it not good utterly to discourage them, we have presumed to send them one thousand pounds, which we declared unto him we shifted for of our own money, and such as we could borrow of our friends for the time, and so we have now written unto Rauldolph, requiring him to declare the same to such of the lords there as he thinketh good, and to advertise them that we be in good hope to send them more very shortly, praying them to keep it secret, and to make as few privy to it as is possible, whereof likewise we required the said Ormiston; to whom also we have given two hundred crowns for his own relief, which he took in very thankful part, and so we returned him this day with speed to Edinburgh, with good words and good hope of more relief as soon as may be." "What will be the end of this matter," they add, "we cannot tell, but surely without the queen's majesty's aid, either by taking open and plain part with them, or else secretly to be at charges with them, as her highness hath been for a time, we see not, their poverty being such as it is, as this bearer can tell, that they shall be able of themselves to keep any power long together, but of force must be fain to stay, desist, and depart to their no little danger, and to the utter overthrow of the whole intended purpose."

A new and unexpected misfortune now fell upon the congregation. As the laird of Ormiston was returning to Edinburgh with the thousand pounds entrusted to him by

the English agents,\* the earl of Bothwell, who had been in secret communication with the protestants, and pretended to favour their cause, waylaid and attacked him, and robbed him of the money. Ormiston himself was wounded. When news of this disaster reached Edinburgh, the earl of Arran and the lord James, taking with them two hundred horse, a hundred foot, and two pieces of artillery, marched in all haste against Bothwell, and seized his house, but the earl contrived to make his escape, and to carry with him the money. This capture left no doubt of the assistance which the lords of the congregation received from England, although it was vainly represented as the private contribution of individuals. This misfortune was followed by others of a still more serious character. The townsmen of Dundee, under their provost Haliburton, a good soldier and skilful commander, marched to Edinburgh to assist in the siege of Leith, and had planted their cannon on an eminence near Holyrood, where they were unexpectedly attacked by the French, and driven into the streets of Edinburgh with loss. This surprise is said to have been the more easily effected, from the circumstance that most of the leaders were absent listening to a long sermon. The French soldiers plundered the houses in the streets they had entered, acting with great cruelty, for they murdered aged men and a woman with an infant at her breast; and it is related that the queen-regent sat on the ramparts of Leith to welcome them on their return, smiling at seeing them laden with the spoils of the citizens. On Monday, the 5th of November, the French, to the number of two thousand men, marched out of Leith to intercept a convoy carrying provisions into the capital; on which the lord James and the earl of Arran hurried out of Edinburgh with a small force to protect the convoy. An engagement ensued, in which the Scots, becoming entangled in difficult ground between the morass of Restalrig and the moat surrounding the park, were thrown into confusion and defeated with considerable loss. Haliburton, provost of Dundee, to whose exertions those who escaped owed their safety, was among the slain. This defeat threw

\* It is evident that this money was only one thousand pounds. Another document calls it four thousand *crowns*, which Tytler has turned into four thousand pounds, and some have still further increased the sum.



the congregation into great despondency, as their force had been already much diminished by desertion. A council was assembled hurriedly, at which some proposed that they should remain in the capital, and send out to their friends to press for reinforcements; but in the end more timid counsels prevailed; and at midnight the congregation abandoned the town, and retreated first to Linlithgow, and thence to Stirling. It is said that as they left the capital the populace hooted at them for their cowardice. Their departure was no sooner known, than the queen-regent marched triumphantly into Edinburgh.

The effect of these disasters on the protestant leaders may be gathered from a letter written on the 11th of November, by Randolph, who was then with them at Stirling, to Sadler and Crofts. "I find so much uncertainty in men's doings," he says, "that I am uncertain what to write, nor know not how to report that that within this five days I have heard and seen. I have found the worst success in a matter that I hoped so well of, that ever I shall see. Since the taking of the money, and the coming of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edinburgh, I have found the most part of our nobles and others such, as I know not whom worthily to commend. The number of men hath so decayed since that time, that the rest were forced to leave the town upon Monday last [November 5]. Also, our men had a very hot skirmish. There were slain, hurt, and taken, of both sides, thirty or forty; one captain of ours slain, and no man else of any name; notwithstanding, the multitude were so discouraged, and showed such open tokens thereof, that the best counsel they could find was to leave the town with speed, and go to some place, the whole council together, where they might quietly take new advice in their affairs. They concluded the said Monday, at four of the clock, to depart that night at midnight towards Stirling, where presently (*at the present time*) we are. Against this purpose of theirs there were only the earl of Arran, the lord James, and the lord Maxwell, who offered to remain in the town, if they might have but one thousand men, and to be assured of the castle, whereof they now stood in doubt again, because the earl of Morton, and the lord Erskine [who held Edinburgh castle], had consulted together to end the matter by composition; wherefore the lords of the

congregation thought it better to depart than trust to their gentleness, being now both together in the castle, and especially the earl of Morton, who being of the congregation, and promising daily to come unto them, stole secretly into the castle, whither he came the day before we departed, and was there when we went our way. One Blaketer [Home of Blackadder], your neighbour [Blackadder was near Berwick], is thought to have wrought much mischief in this cause, and betrayed Ormiston. True it is, that he hath been the dowager's friend, and persuadeth the lord Erskine against the lords of the congregation. Some there be that suspect the lord Ruthven, who is one of this congregation and council, great friend to the earls of Huntley and Morton. The lords of the congregation have remained here at Stirling two days, consulting of their affairs; having determined rather to die than thus to leave their enterprise, but only for a time to retire themselves, and, in the mean season, to annoy the dowager or her friends as they may. The greatest thing that grieveth them, as they say, is the fear they have that the queen's majesty [Elizabeth] will have an evil opinion of their doings; but they trust her majesty will favourably weigh their case, and accept such offers of service as shortly shall be presented unto her by the laird of Lethington [Maitland], who hath received his dispatch; not very certain yet what way we shall take, being not very sure neither by sea nor land. I see not how I can write again unto your honours before my departure, having at this time, where I am, much a-do to find a convenient messenger. I received upon Monday last, within one hour, both your letters and instructions. I made as many partakers of them as I thought might stand with your pleasures and the matter did chiefly concern. They have promised hereafter greater silence, and more circumspection in their doings; trusting not to lack your good advices, as hitherto they have had. What they shall determine here, yet I know not thoroughly, but intend to bring certain knowledge thereof at my coming. To write at large, your honours know it is not possible in this kind of writing [the letter was written in cipher]. I have not had also at all times, and as I would, convenient means to send, which had been very necessary in this time; notwithstanding, I trust it shall appear, that



neither I have been idle, nor omitted any occasion where I might do any service. Upon Thursday last, the earl of Arran received a cartel of defiance from the earl of Bothwell, requiring of him the combat; the copy whereof, and answer to the same, I will bring with me. The same day, the lords of the congregation sent to take the bishop of Dumblain, being an open adversary to their proceedings, and intend to make him pay well, for that he is rich. This present day, 11th November, we (Randolph and Maitland of Lethington) depart from Stirling towards St. Andrews, where we shall take ship, either to arrive at Berwick or Holy Island, where I trust we shall be very shortly. The dowager cometh not to Edinburgh before to-morrow. The earl of Morton is returned to his house, and hath not spoken with the queen. The lord Erskine is determined to keep the castle from her. The lord Robert, commendator of Holyrood-house, hath been with the dowager, and shamefully submitted himself. I hear of no man else that hath been with her."

The disasters and discouragement of the protestants at this time proved the salvation of their cause. Elizabeth had imagined that they would have been able to get the better of the French without her open assistance, and therefore without the risk of plunging England into war; but it was evidently never her intention to let the French have the mastery, and she now began to adopt a bolder policy. On the 12th of November, but seven days after the retreat of the lords of the congregation from Edinburgh, the following very important dispatch was written by Cecil to sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, and to give the more weight to it, Elizabeth subscribed it with her own hand, "We are pleased that ye shall write as followeth, being thereto advised by our privy council.—Elizabeth." As this letter is the foundation of the subsequent proceedings, it deserves to be given entire. "After my hearty commendations," writes Cecil, "upon consideration of divers matters here by the queen's majesty, with her privy council, it doth appear so manifestly that the French have a full determination to break peace with this realm, as soon as they may recover their purpose in Scotland; the arguments and proofs whereof, beside all common conjecture, be so many and so certain, as the same is not to be trifled withall, but seriously weighed and foreseen

to be remedied. This principle is true, that whensoever they shall make an end with Scotland, they will begin with England; and therefore it seemeth a just and sound counsel for our own safeguard to protract the matter of Scotland against them. And with this only meaning doth her majesty consent, moved naturally for her own defence and her realm, to further the nobility of Scotland from ruin and conquest; for which purposes, by her majesty's commandment, I do presently (*now*) write as followeth:—

"It is thought meet, that the Scots should be aided both with money and counsel. And therefore her majesty meaneth that ye shall shortly have some portion sent unto you; trusting that the former, which was sent to you by Overton, be employed to good purpose. As for counsel, ye there may best devise what is meetest for them. Here we think none more necessary than to use expedition and to spend (*waste*) no time; for thereby they shall waste (*diminish*) and the enemy increase. Of this matter I have often written unto you, and you also to them; and I have seen their answers thereto, excusing themselves chiefly for lack of money, which both is and must be remedied; and so may you put them in comfort; adding, nevertheless, that if the matter should be negligently protracted, neither money from hence, nor their power, will help the matter. It is understood by Mr. Drury's report, that there is lack of captains amongst them, to give advice as to the case of sieging doth appertain; and likewise of munition and powder, the aid whereof cannot, as we think here, be given to them, without notorious cause of breach, which is meant to be forborn as long as possible may be. Nevertheless, if you two judge that the lack thereof should so prolong the matter, as ye shall perceive that the same thereby would be in danger, the queen's majesty is advised, and so pleased, that ye shall, with all the secrecy that ye can devise, and to the best of your wisdom, sort out three or four skilful, secret, and trusty men out of that garrison, able to be captains and to give advice; and order them secretly to steal from thence, changing their names, and disguising themselves as much as they may not to be known, and to be secretly recommended to such of the nobility as ye shall think meet, to be entreated and employed in service; ordering them also to seem that they be departed of their own courage as men desirous to be



exercised in the wars, rather than to lie idly in that town. They may carry with them, if ye think meet, some powder and small shot, as I remember once Haddington was relieved with powder so sent by horseback from Berwick. Thus though I write, and be so thought here best, yet if ye there shall see it not meet to be done, it is referred to your discretions to stay or to alter the manner of the devise as ye shall think best; which authority is granted to you in all other advises that shall come hence. As for munition and powder, ye shall understand that it is a thing much desired for them to have, so as the manner of conveyance thereof might be wisely devised and secretly executed. It hath been thought here, first, that by some merchant-ship, passing from Berwick to some appointed creek, as Aberlady, or such other, they might have some powder, but the devise seemeth not for any ordinance and munition. And therefore, secondly, hath been devised, that ye should make a pretence to send certain superfluous ordinance that may be spared from thence by some ship there, either to Newcastle, or hither to the town of London, to be either changed or molten, and being shipped, to be directed to make the course into Scotland to some place accorded upon with the protestants. Thus, ye see, if I knew any other devises, I would remember them. This is meant by her majesty, that if necessity require it, ye should there devise how to help them as ye may. The conveyance thereof is thought meetest to be left to your own considerations, that may much better there consider circumstances than they can be here thought of. There is, beside this, another great matter to be committed to your handling. It is thought very meet, for divers respects, that the nobility of Scotland should in this their distress conceive and direct their tale to the queen's majesty upon these articles following, the enlarging whereof is to be left to their considerations.

"First, to declare to her majesty, in the name of themselves and the whole estates of that realm, that cruelty and tyranny of long time exercised by the French, that is to say, by the lieutenants, captains, and soldiers, upon that realm. And herein to enlarge all the enormities and oppressions made upon them by the French, using therein such order of time and such truth, as the same were done and committed.

"Secondly, to declare their long suffer-

ance, their frequent complaints to the dowager, and the lack of remedy thereof by her not only following, but furthering outrages and enormities by herself, abusing her commission, and bending herself and her power, both with fraud, corruption, and force, to the subversion of that nation, and to make a conquest thereof to the crown of France.

"Thirdly, to show how of necessity for saving of that kingdom, in state, for delivery of the whole nation from conquest, especially for preserving not only the families of such noblemen as by law be next inheritor after the French queen having no issue to the crown, but also all the rest of the nobility favouring the continuance of the said kingdom in the natural blood of Scotland, they were forced, with the lamentation of the whole nation, to assemble themselves together, as the noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses of that realm, to consult, as humble subjects, to make suit that this violence and oppression of the French might be removed; wherein they were so abused by promises, and dishonourable breaking thereof, that if God had not assisted them with good courage, they had been, under pretence of fair words, utterly ruined and destroyed, and the whole country hereaved of all their ancient true barons and men of service, and the crown conquered and united to the crown of France. For eschewing whereof they have openly declared themselves ready to adventure their lives, lands, and goods, to defend the crown of that realm from subversion of the same out of the native blood of Scotland, and therefore remaining in heart true subjects to their natural sovereign lady, now, to the great misfortune of that kingdom, married to the French king, they be fully determined to expel all such as have laboured with the old queen to conquer that realm.

"And to the intent the queen's majesty of England may certainly understand this their complaint to be true, beside divers particularities of the French proceedings, tending to the conquest of that land, they do let the queen's majesty to understand, that most true it is, that this practice of the French is not attempted only against the kingdom of Scotland, but also against the crown and kingdoms of England and Ireland. In which point may be set forth as things known to them, that the French have desired to spread abroad, though most



falsely, that their queen is right heir to England and Ireland, and to notify the same to the world, having in paintings, at public jousts in France and other places, this year, caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland; meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the crown of France. And to declare plainly their meanings in this conjunction of the arms of England and Scotland, they have, in writings in wax, and in public seals, written, engraven, and adjoined the style of England and Ireland to the style of France, naming the French king husband to the Scottish queen, king of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland, &c. Wherein, also, they have further proceeded, and secretly sent into Scotland a seal to be used for the queen with the same style; and, in a manner of a despite to the crown of England, they have sent to the dowager of Scotland a staff for her to rest upon, having graven in the top the said usurped arms. Thereunto may be added such other matters like to these, that be known to the Scots, being in like manner devised by the French to the prejudice of England. All which matters they may say, although thereby the honour and right of the queen's majesty is not abased; yet thereby it is manifest, that the scope and determination of the French is against the crown of England, whereof they may say, as men warned by their own danger, they cannot but give her majesty some notice.

"Last, to conclude, they may say that, considering their sovereign lady is married to the French king, and not only her name, by certain proud and insolent ministers sent out of France, is abused, but, by the new authority of the house of Guise, herself led and persuaded to be content that the realm of Scotland should be perpetually knit to her husband's crown of France (whereunto they think surely of her own proper nature she cannot be disposed), and so the blood-royal of Scotland should be extincted, the realm conquered, the laws and liberties of the land altered, the people brought in captivity, and made, as it were, bridges of blood, and by war to invade England, and to pursue their thirsty and ambitious desires against that kingdom. They do most humbly beseech her majesty, as the next prince to them, and one of whom they have heard most noble and virtuous report, that she

herself should not be abused by the daily and frequent persuasions of the French haunting her court, and daily passing and repassing her realm, to think that this their assembly in force hath grown upon any other occasion but for the natural defence of the realm from conquest. Neither that they do hereby withdraw their hearts and duties to their sovereign lady, to whom they wish all honour and felicity, and for the weal of the kingdom of Scotland, to which she was born, to be made free from all French counsellors, and to be only addit to the advice of her natural born subjects in all cases touching the regiment (*rule*) of the realm of Scotland; whereby, they be persuaded, she should be advised to owe her love and duty to her husband, being her head and lord of her body; but as for her kingdom, to permit it to be ruled by the natural born people of the realm. And further also, they think by such she should be persuaded not to delight in this manner of unjust and dishonourable usurpation of the arms, styles, and titles of other kingdoms than her own, whereby must needs follow unkindness, yea, such as shall in consequence breed mortal wars. Next to this, they most humbly beseech her majesty, that she will not only conceive this true opinion herself, but also, as occasion shall serve, procure that both other princes of Christendom may understand the truth hereof, and also her own nobility and people of England, and not to condemn them in their natural and most just defence.

"Last of all: they both beseech her majesty for their preservation, and, as they may do, give advice to her majesty for the consequent preservation of herself and her kingdom (the conquest whereof undoubtedly the French have long sought, and now do certainly determine), that it will please her of her most noble and princely nature, as the prince planted by God next to them, and within one land and sea, to receive them and the ancient liberties and rights of that kingdom, with the whole nation and people of that realm, into her most gracious protection from the furious persecution and the intended conquest of the French, allowing to them always their natural duties and obeisance to their sovereign lady and queen in all things that shall tend to the honour of God, the weal of the realm, and to the preservation of her person from the treasons of the French against her natural country. Wherein they trust her majesty shall please



Almighty God, not offend the right of the Scottish queen, but procure perpetual love betwixt the people of this realm; a thing much desired of all Christians, saving French only; and in the end preserve her own kingdoms, and acquire an immortal fame amongst all princes."

At the end of this letter, Cecil added privately, as from himself: "And thus you see what is meant; the order whereof and the alteration is to be remitted to the Scots. Nevertheless, ye must compass this matter indirectly by practice, that it may seem, as indeed it is, the best way for them to be honourably defended or succoured. The allowance of their duties to their queen is here thought necessary, both for contentation of the world, and for the honour of the queen's majesty; and therefore, whatsoever the Scots may be compelled to do hereafter in that behalf, this seemeth very probable for the present."

The foregoing letter was written before intelligence of the retreat of the protestants from Edinburgh had reached the English court. They had rallied at Stirling, and encouraged by the eloquent preaching of Knox, they held a council to consider of the likeliest means of repairing their late disasters, and it was determined to send Maitland of Lethington to England to solicit aid from Elizabeth. He was to be accompanied, as we have already seen, by Randolph, who, for greater secrecy, assumed the name of Barnaby. In the meantime, it was determined that the congregation should separate into two parties, both for their security until they could receive an answer from Elizabeth, and in order to prepare their friends for a new gathering; and it was agreed that a convention should be held at Stirling on the 16th December, for the purpose of deciding on the future course to be pursued. The duke of Châtellherault, the earl of Glencairn, and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, remained at Glasgow; while the lord James, the earls of Arran and Rothes, and the master of Lindsay, established themselves in Fife.

When intelligence of these events did at length reach the English court, it hastened the resolution to send assistance to Scotland. The effect which it immediately produced may be gathered from the following letter written by Cecil on the 12th of November, to sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts. "After my hearty commendations," he says, "your postscript of your letter dated the

8th of this month had much amazed me, and at this present the queen's majesty being in consultation what is to be done touching this matter of Scotland, that is to say, whether aid shall be given to the Scots in secret or openly, and if openly, whether we shall be forced to enter into war or not, which, I much fear will be the end, I am, for certain respects, moved to stay the declaration thereof to the whole council until soon at night; and yet I have thought meet not defer this that I see necessary, that is, that ye send to the protestants, and encourage them not thus to shrink, but to stand fast, neither yielding to fear nor to persuasions, and they shall shortly hear of more aid than hitherto hath been mentioned. Indeed, I suppose, the case being well considered, the council here will be enforced, though it be to all our discontentation, to advise the queen's majesty to begin in time rather than too late; two days' consultation here will utter what is to be done. In the mean season, for God's sake, comfort them to stand fast, and follow such part of another letter, which I send herewith, that was written yesternight, and now dispatched. I pray you advertise what manner of aid would serve the purpose, and advertise from time to time what succours pass to the French out of France, which by you especially may be best understood, I having no leisure to write any other thing."

Two days after, orders were sent to the border to raise men, and to prepare ammunition and provisions, to be ready for any emergency that might occur. Still, the utmost secrecy was preserved with regard to Elizabeth's intentions, and when Monsieur de Rubay and the Ross herald arrived from Scotland, to complain that the Scottish rebels were assisted with money from England, as had been discovered by the capture of the laird of Ormiston, and that the regent knew of the mission of Maitland of Lethington, Elizabeth replied evasively, that "their tales had many parts, and required proofs, which if they brought, she would give order to punish this fault in any subject she had; as for Ormiston, he could best tell where he had the money." In the letter to Sadler and Crofts, giving an account of that reply of the queen, Cecil observes, "If Lethington be not come, in anywise take order with him that more secretness be used, both in his journey and arrival, than hath been used. Of all other,



these Scots be the openest men that be." At length, a letter from Sadler and Croft, written on the 25th of November, announced to Cecil that the protestant envoys had reached Berwick. "It may like you to understand," they say, "that on Thursday last arrived at Holy Island the lord of Lethington and Thomas Barnaby (Randolph), and when the night came, I, sir James Croft, received them into the castle here secretly; they brought us letters from the earl of Arran, the lord James, commendator of St. Andrews, and Mr. Balnaves, which we send you herewith; and yesterday we had conference together at good length, and do perceive that the lords of the congregation do stand fast, and be as earnestly, or rather more earnestly bent and determined to follow their enterprises, and seek revenge upon the French, than ever they were. And from them the said laird of Lethington is now specially dispatched to the queen's majesty, with letters and instructions to seek and sue for aid at her highness's hands; without the which we see not, as we have always said, that they be able to achieve their desires. We have practised with him, having, besides his instructions, special credence committed unto him, to frame their suit to the queen's majesty in such form, and according to such articles as you sent unto us, which we had written out for him, as though the same had been devised by us to show our good wills and great desire to further their cause; the substance whereof he liked very well, and wished that he had been so well instructed before his coming from the said lords, to the intent he might have brought the same under their hands, which, he saith, is to be obtained at all times; and now, at his being here, he hath written thereof unto the said lords, and also hath advertised them of such other comfortable matter as he hath received here at our hands, according to your late advertisements. This morning, before day, he and Barnaby are departed hence towards you, and intending to make all the speed they can; and if you think it meet to have them bestowed anywhere about the court secretly, it were not amiss that you sent some man to meet them at Ware or Waltham, to convey them to the place which you shall think meet for that purpose. We have forborne to send captain Randall to the said lords at this time, for that we see no cause thereof; considering that they intend not,

nor yet can, as far as we perceive, prepare themselves to the fields very shortly in this dead time of the winter. But as we have learned by the said lord of Lethington and Barnaby, they have divided themselves, and do lie at Glasgow and St. Andrews to keep themselves in strength, to stay those countries, and by all such good means and practices as they can use to make more friends, as well of the nobility as others, to take part with them in this their common cause; and so they have resolved to repose and rest awhile until the return of the said lord of Lethington from the queen's majesty; intending nevertheless, as he saith, if they see any advantage to be taken against their enemies in the mean season, not to permit the same. The rest we refer to the declaration of the said lord and Barnaby, by whom you shall understand all things touching this affair more perfectly, and at more length, than we can express in writing. The number of the French now in Scotland exceedeth not 2,500; so that if there come no greater power out of France, the matter would be the more easy; but if they shall send more aid and power out of France, the same must be impeched (*hindered*) by your navy there, or else it would be the more difficult. And therefore it behoveth that ye hearken well, and have good espiell upon their doings in France, to the intent ye may the better meet with the same as the case shall require, which, in our poor opinions, is not to be neglected."

The queen-regent, on her part, although she was now breaking down under continued indisposition of body, lost none of her energy of mind. She occupied Edinburgh, and summoned the castle; but its captain, the lord Erskine, refused to deliver it, alleging that it was entrusted to him by the parliament, and that he should not give up his trust but by the parliament's orders. The French then made a vain attempt to take this strong fortress, in which they lost two or three men, and then desisted; but Erskine, fearful that they might persevere in this enterprise, dispatched a messenger to the lords of the congregation, urging them to keep at Stirling and hold themselves in readiness to march to his assistance if he should be hard pressed. The regent followed up the advantage she had gained, by several acts of vigour. On the 25th of November, the lords of the congregation were proclaimed traitors, and their



goods were declared to be confiscated. Crippled by want of money, they sent to Berwick to make new demands, and two thousand pounds were sent them on the sixth of December. Along with this supply, Sadler and Crofts addressed to them the following letter of counsel: "It may like your good lordships to understand, that we have received your letters of the last of November, addressed to us, and your other letters we have dispatched to the court by the post. And also, according to your request, we have sent you by this bearer, Alex. Whitelaw, two thousand pounds, to be employed in the furtherance and advancement of your common cause; whereunto we doubt not your lordships will have such regard as appertaineth; and especially at this time, it shall be meet to use all your industry and good policy to preserve and keep the castle of Edinburgh out of the hands and possession of the French; or else you may be sure if they get it, you shall lose all your country on this side the firth; and so, consequently, your whole realm shall be in danger of conquest. Wherefore, you must earnestly persuade the lord Erskine to keep it out of the hands of the queen-dowager and the French, which, if he be a true Scotchman, and will maintain to defend the freedom and liberty of his native country, he cannot refuse to do; and, to that effect, let him lack no assistance of money, men, and victuals, and such other things as shall be needful. Furthermore, we doubt not but your lordships will use all the good means and ways ye can to allure and win to your party the earls of Huntley, Marshall, and Morton, and the rest of the nobility which have not shown themselves open enemies to your cause at this time. Assuring your lordships, that, for our parts, we marvel why they should refuse to join with you; for if the French do prevail against you, which indeed intend to make a plain conquest of your realm, and to unite the same to the crown of France, which every man that will see may perceive they go about, both by that they began to plant themselves there and fortify, and also by their seeking now of the castle of Edinburgh, having Dunbar already. He hath no judgment that seeth not aforehand the utter ruin of your whole nation, and that the same shall be brought into perpetual servitude and bondage; which, if the whole nobility of Scotland would take one part, and join

together in the defence of the liberty and freedom of their natural country, as by the law of God and nature they are bound to do, might easily be so prevented, as the malice of the French should never be able to prevail against you; wherein, also, you may assure yourselves of our aid and assistance, both now and at all times as need shall require. And what those noblemen do mean, which in this case do sit still and withdraw themselves from your party, surely we cannot but marvel; for if they mean thereby to save themselves, thinking to please the French in that they do not show themselves as open enemies against them, in our opinions, they take the only way to destroy themselves; for this is most certain, that whatsoever face or outward countenance the French do show towards them, they neither have, nor yet ever will have, any trust or confidence in any one of your nation. And if they may achieve their said intended conquest, doubt ye not but he that now sitteth still as neuter, yea, or taketh plain part with them against you, shall be in as ill case, and have as little courtesy and trust at their hands, as you and such other as show themselves their open enemies at this time. Wherefore, your lordship shall do well to persuade this matter substantially to the whole nobility of Scotland; and with such other good reasons as ye can devise, to induce them to look better to their own surety, and to join with you for the preservation of themselves and their country, which we doubt not your lordships can devise much better than we can advise you. Finally, understanding that your lordships have conceived some jealousy and suspicion of the lord Ruthven, that he is not of that sincerity and zeal toward the pursuit of your common cause as reason would, whereof we would be sorry, we have thought good to signify unto your lordships, that as it is not meet ye should commit unto him over much trust and credit, if there be vehement cause why ye should suspect him; so, nevertheless, we think it not good that ye should seem to mistrust him, but rather bear with him, and do that you can to recover and win him wholly to your devotion. For surely as the time and case requireth, it is expedient that no good means or occasion be pretermitted that may help to allure and draw any nobleman or gentleman to your party in this great business, being indeed the common cause of your whole realm, which, we doubt



not, your lordships will consider as appertaineth. And now to end, as we have herein showed you our opinions as men of good will, and zealous to the furtherance and advancement of your said cause, so do we wish unto your lordships such good success and prosperity in the same as your noble hearts can desire."

In Maitland of Lethington, the Scottish protestants had chosen an able negotiator, and he convinced Elizabeth of the policy of supporting their cause more openly. It was agreed that the Scots should demand her assistance in cautious terms, which were drawn out for them by Cecil, the plea being the intentions of the French to subdue Scotland, and the danger which would thus be threatened to England; all mention of religion was carefully omitted; and it was arranged that commissioners from both countries should meet secretly at Berwick to discuss the terms of a league between the queen and the lords of the congregation. Preparations were immediately made for equipping a fleet, which was to be sent into the firth, and for assembling an army on the border which was to march into Scotland to cooperate with the protestants. In the midst of these preparations, news was suddenly brought to court that a body of Frenchmen had been sent to fortify Eyemouth, which increased the hostile feeling. The following letter from Elizabeth to Sadler and Crofts shows how much the queen's spirit was moved by this intelligence. "Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. By your letters, sent in haste to our secretary, bearing date the 9th of this month, we perceive that ye be advertised of three hundred Frenchmen come to Eyemouth, and of five hundred more coming the day of your writing, to the intent to fortify there, which is so directly both against the treaty, and the surety of that our town of Berwick, that although we have hitherto borne with diverse misorders at the French, yet can we not forbear to impeach (*hinder*) this violation of the peace; and therefore our pleasure and commandment is, that ye shall consider this matter in this sort; that if it shall be true that they be come thither, and do fortify, or put any part of the said ground in strength for their defence, that ye shall use your wisdoms therein; and if ye may find that, except they be quickly impeached thereof, they

shall grow to more strength, then our pleasure is, ye shall devise the best ways ye can to expel them; having good regard to the defence of that town upon your issuing of any force from thence. And if ye shall judge the matter of more importance than may conveniently be done by your force presently there with the safety of our town, our pleasure is, that you, sir Ralph Sadler, having the charge of our frontiers there, do assemble such further succours as may tend to the removing of the said Frenchmen, and with all speed advertise us of your purposes. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 13th day of December, the second year of our reign."

At length, in the middle of December, Robert Melvil, the brother of sir James, who had accompanied Maitland to England, and who had been employed secretly in carrying messages backwards and forwards, was sent to Scotland to convey to the lords of the congregation the joyful intelligence of Elizabeth's final intentions, which were communicated to Sadler and Crofts in the following letter from secretary Cecil, dated on the 16th of December:—"Ye shall perceive," says Cecil, "by the queen's majesty's letters herewith sent unto you, of our proceedings here. The French preparations be so great, as we see not how they may be withstood when they be at the full, except they be impeached (*hindered*) at the beginning. The first mean therein is to obtain the firth into our possession for the stay of any greater succour; the next is, if the Scots will play their part, to enter by land with four thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and recover Leith; which thing, how it will sound feasible in your ears, I would gladly know; and herein, I beseech you, impart your opinions in some sort unto me; for I would thereupon consider the matter percase otherwise than now I do. It is meant that my lord Grey should do this exploit, and have, beside the footmen, six hundred horsemen with lances and pistolets, and fourteen or fifteen hundred light horsemen, and five or six good brass pieces for battery. This night Winter is departed to the seas, and will be with the ships to-morrow upon the seas with fourteen strong vessels, such as will make small account of all the French navy in Scotland."



## CHAPTER XXIV.

UNEASINESS OF THE FRENCH AT ELIZABETH'S PREPARATIONS; THE GARRISON OF LEITH INVADE FIFE;  
ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH FLEET IN THE FIRTH; CONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS.

CÆCIL's conviction of the want of secrecy in the Scottish character is a sufficient excuse for the extreme caution with which the English ministers conducted their intercourse with the Scots; and it is quite evident from contemporary testimony that the aid and promises given to the protestants by Sadler and Crofts were publicly talked of, and were known, though imperfectly, to the queen-regent. It is impossible, moreover, that the regent and her French supporters, with the experience of past ages before them, could suppose that England would look tamely on while they were establishing French influence in Scotland by force of arms. But they were anxious to keep England quiet until they had established themselves firmly, and they did their utmost to lull Elizabeth's suspicions on the one side, and to discover her views on the other. She was aware that a formidable armament was going on in Normandy, and we need not be surprised if she began to arm also, and if she looked towards Scotland with increasing anxiety. The French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, obtained an audience of Elizabeth on the 9th of November, in which he endeavoured to explain away the reports of warlike preparations in France, and said that the king intended to do no more than send a few troops over to Scotland to support his legitimate authority there against the designs of his rebellious subjects. Elizabeth appeared to be incredulous, and told him plainly that he must not be surprised at seeing England arm when she saw her neighbours doing the same; but the queen finished by pretending to be convinced of the moderation of the king's designs. She at the same time told the ambassador that she had sent orders to the duke of Northumberland to call to account her two officers, sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, for having allowed the earl of Arran to pass secretly into Scotland.

The French ambassador seems to have been perfectly satisfied with this explanation, when he was suddenly alarmed by

information that the English admiral, Winter, had been sent to Yarmouth to gather together the fleet, and that troops were raising on the English border for the service of Scotland. Elizabeth seems to have succeeded in satisfying him on this subject, when a letter from M. d'Oysel arrived to inform him of the seizure of English money on the person of the laird of Ormiston, and that it was known that he had received it from Sadler. Elizabeth's declarations now became less direct and more evasive. On the 20th of December, M. de Noailles dispatched a long memoir to the French king, in which he stated that the Scottish rebels, after their retreat from Edinburgh, had sent to demand assistance of Elizabeth, who, he said, had held consultations with her council during eight days, with much diversity of opinion, but in the end it had been resolved to give no further encouragement to the Scottish rebels. He had been assured that much dissatisfaction had been expressed in the council at the assistance which had already been secretly afforded them. Soon after, however, the French ambassador was informed that some Scottish agents had arrived from the lords of the congregation, and that they were concealed in the palace of Westminster. Having employed a spy to watch them, he discovered that the two Scots were Maitland of Lethington, and Robert Melvil, and he learnt also that the master of the miut at Edinburgh, and the protestant minister Willock, were both in London. His suspicions being thus aroused, he employed the same spy, and gained knowledge by him that the laird of Lethington had come to negotiate a treaty with the queen, and that he was commissioned to offer as the price of her assistance, the union of the two kingdoms under the title of Great Britain. These discoveries were followed by still more certain information, that a fleet of seventeen large ships under the command of Winter, with about three thousand men on board, was preparing to put to sea at a moment's notice, and that an army was collecting in the north for the invasion of Scotland.



Still, in several audiences which De Noailles obtained of the queen, he received nothing but fair words and declarations that her preparations were merely defensive. Every day, however, the preparations became more warlike and active, and on the 4th of January, the French ambassador wrote that he had received certain information of the alliance between Elizabeth and the Scottish lords, and of the intention of the queen to send English troops to expel the French from Leith.

It was time indeed that some decisive measure should be taken, for the Scottish protestants were at this time very hard pressed by their enemies. At Glasgow, the protestant leaders employed themselves in destroying the relics of popish idolatry, and in sending forth proclamations against the regent and the French. One of these, which appeared on the 30th of November, forbade all Scotchmen paying further obedience to the queen-regent, whose power had devolved upon the council of reformed nobles, and it declared that their chief aim was to advance the glory of God, and to remove the false worship of the papists. All clergymen who had not yet made open confession of the reformed faith, were summoned to appear before the council at St. Andrews, and there publicly renounce all Romish superstitions, or be at once expelled from their benefices and reputed enemies to God. This was followed in a few days by a declaration of the council of the congregation at Dundee against the consistory, which they denounced as the court of antichrist. Both these proclamations ran in the names of Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots. Provoked at such proceedings, the regent determined to act with rigour against the protestant leaders who occupied Fife. At the latter end of December, the principal part of the French forces left Leith and Edinburgh, and marched suddenly towards Stirling, it was supposed with the intention of surprising the protestant leaders who had met to consult in that town. But when they reached Linlithgow, they appear to have learnt that the protestant lords, aware of their approach, had escaped; and their commander, D'Oysel, having been recalled to Edinburgh, they remained there, plundering Linlithgow, and the lands and houses of the Hamiltons in the neighbourhood, especially the castle of Kinneil, belonging to the duke of Châtelherault. Then, encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements from France, they

left a garrison at Linlithgow, and continued their march to Stirling, which they entered without resistance, and having plundered the townsmen, they passed the bridge, and, following the windings of the river, plundered and destroyed the country through which they marched. The earl of Arran and the lord James, collecting what force they could, established themselves in Dunfermline, Burntisland, and the places thereabout, to resist the advance of the enemy, while, now well informed of the preparations in England, they looked anxiously for intelligence of the arrival of their allies. For several days they harassed the French on their advance, and resisted them obstinately; but they were compelled to retire upon St. Andrews, and on the 8th of January, 1560, the French occupied Kinghorn, Kirkaldy, and other places. The lords of the congregation, in great distress, wrote pressing letters to Sadler and Crofts, urging them to hasten the succours, and representing that they would be obliged to hazard a battle or to abandon the whole of Fife. The French treated the Scots everywhere with the utmost insolence; at Kinghorn they hanged several of their prisoners; and they destroyed Grange, the house of sir William Kirkaldy, by blowing it up with gunpowder. It is said that the protestant leader, who had been celebrated for his humanity to such of the enemy as fell into his hands, was so indignant at the insult thus offered to him, that he sent a message to the French commander, declaring that in future he should give no quarter; and we are told by Buchanan that, in revenge, Kirkaldy kept watch upon their plundering parties, and having one morning placed himself in ambush a little before daybreak, he saw a company of French under a Piedmontese captain, named l'Abbé, march by. He kept close till the plunderers had proceeded about a mile from their garrison, and then he pursued them. Perceiving that they were cut off from their friends, the French took shelter in a village, and endeavoured to defend themselves behind the walls and hedges. But the Scots, enraged beyond measure at the excesses and cruelties which the French had committed in their progress, rushed in furiously upon them, slew the commander and about fifty of his men, and sent the rest prisoners to Dundee.

The French now remained for some time encamped at Kinghorn, while the Scots held Dysart, and there were continual skir-



ishes between them. The Scottish lords remained at the latter place till about the 20th of January, when they found themselves so weakened by their continual exertions, that they were constrained to abandon it and retire upon Cupar. Their friends in Glasgow were so alarmed at the position of their brethren, that they were preparing to march upon Stirling with what forces they could collect, in the hope of making a diversion in their favour, when the spirits of the Scottish protestants were suddenly raised by the joyful intelligence of the arrival of the English fleet. At this moment the French were anxiously expecting powerful reinforcements from France, under the marquis d'Elbeuf; but he had met with various hindrances, and, when he at last set sail from Normandy, he received information that the English fleet had put to sea, and, fearful that it was designed to intercept him, he returned for new orders. On the morning of the 23rd of January, the French commander D'Oysel, having concentrated his forces at Dysart, began his march upon St. Andrews. He had advanced as far as the Earl's Ferry, near Kincraig, at the mouth of the Forth, when a number of ships of war were seen bearing up the firth. Concluding at once that it was the armament under D'Elbeuf, the French testified their joy by firing a salvo to salute them. But their triumph was quickly turned into consternation, when they saw them capture two French vessels laden with provisions. It was, in fact, the English fleet under Winter, and the exultation of the lords of the congregation and their followers knew no bounds. D'Oysel instantly began his retreat, and, closely pursued and dreadfully harassed by the Scots, the French reached Kirkcaldy next day, and passed the night there. The night of the 25th of January they passed at Dunfermline, and thence continued their route to Stirling, and so with difficulty reached their old quarters at Linlithgow, after having experienced considerable loss from the attacks of the Scots, the inclemency of the weather, and the various privations to which they were exposed.

It was now the hour of triumph for the lords of the congregation. Their party had been rendered more popular by the insolence and excesses of the French, and they were now joined by numerous barons and gentry who had hitherto supported the regent, either from unwillingness to resist

legitimate authority, or because they clung to what was supposed to be the strongest side. Encouraged with money from England, and with the certainty that they would be supported by an armed interference, they now prepared to collect their forces against the French at the first appearance of spring. It was agreed that some of the lords should proceed to Berwick, to arrange the final terms for the entrance of the English forces, and that the army of the congregation should be prepared to assemble immediately on their return. Accordingly, towards the end of February, the lord Ruthven, the laird of Pitarrow, and Henry Balnaves, arrived in Berwick, where they were joined by Maitland of Lethington on his return from London, and a treaty was there concluded with the duke of Norfolk, who had been sent to the north as Elizabeth's lieutenant, by which the queen of England took the kingdom of Scotland under her protection, engaging to send assistance to the lords of the congregation, and to continue her support until the French were expelled from the country. She promised not to abandon the confederated nobles so long as they recognised Mary for their queen, and maintained inviolate the rights of the crown. The lords of the congregation were to join their forces with the army of England, and they promised that no other union of their country with France than that which then existed should ever receive their sanction; and they agreed to consider the enemies of England as their own, and to furnish Elizabeth with an auxiliary force of four thousand men, in case at any time England should be attacked by France. Hostages were to be given for the performance of these articles, and the lords declared that they would continue loyal to the queen of Scotland, and to the king her husband, in everything which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of their country. This treaty was concluded at Berwick on the 27th of February, 1560.

The documents relating to Scotland recently published in France, reveal a fact which shows how little trust was really to be placed in the duke of Châtelherault. It appears that at the moment when, before the arrival of the English fleet, the affairs of the confederate lords seemed almost desperate, the duke secretly made advances for a reconciliation with the queen-regent. On the 25th of January, he wrote



from Glasgow a letter to the French king, requesting pardon for himself and his family, and stating that he had given his *carte-blanche* to the queen-regent, and that he was ready to send his children to France as hostages for the performance of the conditions he might dictate.\* The duke had withdrawn from this negotiation on the arrival of the English fleet, but he had left in the hands of the French written proofs of at least his weakness.

When the English fleet unexpectedly presented itself in the firth of Forth, the queen-regent dispatched a herald to inquire the reason of its coming. The herald was presented to the young admiral Winter, and delivered his message. Winter replied that he had been sent on a cruise to visit the English seaports, and that, tempted by the weather, he had entered the firth, where he had been fired upon by the French garrison in Inchkeith, as though he had been an enemy. The herald replied, that he had entered the firth like an enemy, capturing ships, and not saluting the island as was customary, and therefore he was fired upon, and demanded who he was, and what answer he should carry back to the queen-regent. "Tell the queen, your mistress," said Winter, "that, seeing I have been fired upon, I have determined to aid those of the congregation against the French, and those that take their part, and to assist them with all the forces I have at present and with others that are following, though I have no orders from the queen, my mistress." The regent, when she heard this message, remarked with reason, that it would indeed be a strange proceeding for an English admiral with a royal fleet to make war without the orders of his sovereign; and she dispatched a messenger to the French ambassador in England, M. de Noailles, to inform him of these occurrences, and to request that he would immediately remonstrate with Elizabeth. At the same time she sent to the ambassador the duke of Châtellherault's letter to the king of France,

\* This letter is so remarkable an illustration of the character of the duke of Châtellherault, who was at this time the acknowledged chief of the protestants, that it deserves to be given in the original, as it has recently been published by M. Teulet, to whom we owe the discovery of it.

"*Le duc de Châtellherault au roi.*"

"Sire, la fiance qu'il a pleu à la royne régente me donner de vostre bonté et clémence m'a faict prendre la hardiesse de vous escrire pour vous supplier très humblement de me recevoir et les myens en vostre

and the *carte-blanche* he had given her, that they might be shown to the English queen, in the hope of raising suspicions of the constancy and faithfulness of the Scottish reformers. We know nothing of the proceedings of the ambassador in consequence of this dispatch, but M. de Noailles was recalled, perhaps before he received it, and was succeeded by Michel de Seurre, who was sent from France to expostulate with Elizabeth on her hostile policy in relation to Scotland.

There was another power which was looking on with great anxiety at these transactions, and to which they gave more real embarrassment than to either of the others. The king of Spain was extremely apprehensive at this moment of a war between England and France. He was equally jealous of both powers, but he was at this time personally hostile to France, and believing that the latter was much more powerful than England, he saw that its triumph and consequent possession of Scotland would render insecure his own possessions in the Low Countries. On the other hand, Philip II. was a bigoted catholic, and in the event of Elizabeth's triumph over France, he saw not only the overthrow of his religion, but his rich commerce with the colonies in America threatened by the supremacy of the English fleet. As long as the two powers were equally balanced against each other, he felt himself safe, and he saw that his advantage lay in keeping them at peace. It was not, therefore, without great alarm that he saw the turn which events were now taking in Scotland, and he was anxious to promote an accommodation. Margaret duchess of Parma, a princess of great political talent, at this time governed the Spanish Netherlands, and her correspondence with the king of Spain (published in the collection by M. Teulet) throws considerable light, not only on the sentiments of Spain, but on the real intentions of the French.

As early as the 7th of December, 1559, bonne grâce, et vouloir oblir et pardonner les choses passées, avecques quelques articles dont je vous fais requête. Je luy ay mis mon blanc scellé entre les mains pour seureté de ma fidelité vers vous et la roine ma souveraine, que je vous supplie d'accepter; et, après avoir eu vostre responce, si me le voulez mander, j'enverrai mes enfans en France.

"Sire, je supplie le créateur vous donner en santé et prospérité très bonne et longue vie.

"De Glesgwo, le 25<sup>e</sup> jour de Janvier, 1559.

"Vostre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,  
"JAMES."



the duchess wrote to Philip to acquaint him with her fears for the result of the troubles in Scotland. She then spoke of it as a notorious fact that the king of France had designs upon England, for which the pretended claims of Mary Stuart were made the excuse, and she blamed Elizabeth for giving any ground of quarrel by her interference in Scotland. She pointed out the danger to which the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands would be exposed if the French once gained a footing in England, which had given rise to a saying, that they ought to fight against England being subdued by France, as though it were for the town of Brussels. She therefore urged Philip to interfere, and to speak energetically to both parties, and he was especially to use a more authoritative tone towards Elizabeth, "inasmuch as it is evidently seen that the benignity which your majesty has used towards her, and your gentle and courteous remonstrances, only make her more insolent." On the 21st of December, the duchess repeated her warnings, and her alarm was then increased by reports that Elizabeth had already commenced hostilities in Scotland. This, she said, would furnish to the French the occasion they sought, to make war upon Elizabeth, in order, under pretence of Mary's claims, to deprive her of her crown. With the queen of England or her subjects she professed to have no sympathy. "I should care little if the English and French remained at war, but I am alarmed on account of the small means of resistance possessed by the queen of England; whereby it is apparent that she would soon be ruined; for which also I should care little; and indeed, being of the religion we see she is, her overthrow might be regarded as a righteous judgment of God; but the evil is that the good catholics would suffer as much as the others; and the worst of all is, that, when the said French shall have subjugated the said lady and made themselves lords of Scotland and of England, which it will be so easy for them to do, it would be, as your majesty understands best, the extreme ruin and evident perdition of your countries here, which, the passage being closed, would remain, as I have before written to your majesty, entirely shut out from the aid of money or men, which they might want from Spain." In a third letter of the 6th of January, the duchess of Parma complained to the king that Elizabeth would only give verbal answers to the expostulations of the

Spanish ambassador. She again pressed on the king's attention the danger which might arise from a war between Elizabeth and the French king, expressed her conviction that England would be immediately subdued, and her reluctance to see the victory remain with England, which she would consider as a fatal blow to the true catholic church.

The Spanish monarch appears to have partaken fully in the apprehensions expressed by the duchess of Parma. We are led to infer, from some parts of this correspondence, that the French king had, at a previous period, attempted to ascertain the sentiments of the king of Spain with regard to his enforcing the pretended claim of Mary to the English crown, and that Philip had shown decided opposition to it, and he expressed similar feelings on the present occasion; and he sent in the March of 1560, his grand master of artillery, M. de Glajon, first to France, and thence to England, to offer his mediation for the hindering of further hostilities. M. de Glajon received his instructions for England from the duchess of Parma on the 22nd of March. He was to propose that Elizabeth should immediately withdraw all assistance from the "rebels," and that the king of France should be allowed to send only four thousand men into Scotland to reduce them; if these were not enough, the king of Spain proposed to send three thousand Spaniards to assist them, believing that this would be a sufficient protection to the English queen against any ulterior designs on the part of France. Among other arguments which were to induce Elizabeth to agree to this arrangement, he was to represent to her earnestly her utter inability to withstand the arms of France. How little either Spaniards or French seem to have known the princess and the country with which they were dealing!

M. de Glajon reached London on the 5th of April, and immediately placed himself in communication with the Spanish resident ambassador, the bishop of Quadra. He found that the English forces had already entered Scotland, and joined the Scots. On the 7th of April, he obtained an audience of Elizabeth, and he seems to have been astonished at the high spirit with which the virgin queen talked of foreign interference. She declared that she had taken her determination, and that it was too late to recal her troops, or to treat any other way than sword in hand; and



when the Spanish envoy attempted to explain to her how unbecoming it was in a princess like her to give assistance to rebels against their sovereign, she replied independently, that she did not look upon the Scots as rebels, but as honest men who had armed in defence of their queen and of the privileges and liberty of the kingdom, and that in the course she was pursuing she was not only assisting them but protecting herself and her own people. "In reply to which," says the ambassador naïvely, "I remonstrated that your majesty held them for rebels, since they had risen against their prince and had changed their religion, which could be excused in no manner whatever." She declared that with regard to all the dangers and inconveniences pointed out by the king of Spain, she simply placed her trust in God, and that with regard to the proposals for the number of men the king of France was to send into Scotland, she would not allow him to send any at all, but on the contrary, she would expel those who were there. Seeing that the queen was very impracticable in this first audience, and that she showed symptoms of being tired of the subject, M. de Glajon took his leave, little satisfied with his success. A few days after, Elizabeth called the two Spanish ambassadors before her, and, in the presence of her council, declared to them all her griefs against France, and some causes of dissatisfaction against Spain; she said that the proposals of the Spanish king were far too favourable to France to be listened to by her; and she refused to suspend for a moment the progress of her army in Scotland, which, she said justly, would be only giving the French time to strengthen themselves.

Still the ambassadors did not relax in their exertions to persuade the English queen to listen to Philip's offers to inter-mediate; and at the same time de Glajon held frequent communication with the French ambassador De Seurre, from whom he endeavoured to ascertain the real designs of the French court. In a letter to the duchess of Parma, written on the 27th of April, De Glajon informed her that De Seurre had confessed to him that the French king had acted altogether contrary to the matrimonial treaty with Scotland, which implied that the Scottish lords were justified in their resistance. De Seurre confessed further, that both the late and present king of France had considered

several plans of invading England, for the purpose of reducing it to subjection to Mary and her husband Francis, but that now the design was entirely relinquished. "And finally," says Philip's envoy, "it seems to us that the intention of the French tends to no other end than by these treaties and communications of peace to obtain time to appease the troubles of Scotland, so as to disunite the confederation which the said queen has with the Scottish rebels, and after, with the forces which they have at present there and others which they are preparing, pursue their designs against this kingdom; what makes us judge this is the little desire they show to aid themselves with the assistance and favour which his majesty has presented, or to accept his offer repeatedly made to them to be a means of according them. For the said De Seurre shows plain enough that he esteems very little our intervention, and that it is not agreeable to him; so that neither of the said parties will do anything by our means; whereby it is to be feared that matters will take such a course that his majesty hereafter may find himself much embarrassed to remedy them, or at least that they will come to an agreement independent of us."

The duchess of Parma became more and more alarmed for the ultimate safety of the Spanish possessions under her government. In a long dispatch, written in the April of 1560, she explains to Philip her causes of solicitude. Elizabeth was less inclined than ever to listen to the pacific overtures of the Spanish envoys, and it was apprehended either that the French king might be reconciled to England, and the two powers might make a joint attack on the Netherlands, or, which would be equally dangerous, that Elizabeth, victorious, might join with the French protestants, now powerful and in arms, and overthrow the catholic religion. The conviction of the Spaniards that England was not strong enough to help itself, seems to have been considerably diminished. In the midst of these intrigues and negotiations, the jealousy between the French and the Spaniards increased, for the cardinal of Lorraine had privately declared to the ambassador of Spain that the claims of France upon Scotland were based on the secret documents by which Mary Stuart had given her kingdom to the French crown, and thus opened his eyes more and more to the real intentions of the French



court. The consequence was, that Philip began to be much more favourable to the claims of Elizabeth, and his ambassador saw little to complain of in her proposal, that she would withdraw her forces from Scotland on condition that the king of France should withdraw his troops from Scotland, that he should engage to intrust the government and fortresses of that country to the native Scottish nobility, that he should stop his preparations for war, that he should annul and revoke all acts in which he had usurped the title to the crown of England, and that he should make due satisfaction for that usurpation,

and repay her the expenses she had incurred in resisting his aggression on Scotland. We cannot but admire the ingenuity with which Elizabeth continued to amuse the foreign diplomatists, while she pursued her own course. At the moment she had verbally propounded to M. de Glajon these terms of accommodation with France, when he pressed her to give them in writing, she evaded the question by expressions of regard for the king of Spain, and declaring that she was so desirous to confer with him in person, that she was willing to go over to the Netherlands in disguise to meet him!

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE ENGLISH ARMY IN SCOTLAND; SIEGE OF LEITH; DEATH OF THE QUEEN-REGENT; TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

DURING the period which intervened between the appearance of the English fleet in the firth, and the entry of the English army into Scotland as agreed upon by the treaty of Berwick, the French did not remain idle. They laboured hard to make the fortifications of Leith impregnable, and they urged upon the queen the odious policy of laying waste the whole surrounding country, in order that it might afford neither shelter nor support to the besiegers. This and the insolence with which the French soldiers everywhere treated the Scots, forced many who had hitherto held aloof to join the congregation. In the middle of March, the French made a hasty excursion from Linlithgow, where they lay in force, to Glasgow, from whence they drove that division of the lords of the congregation who had remained there, and after remaining there two nights, returned, plundering and laying waste all the country in their way. A few days after, they were preparing for a similar excursion to Hamilton, when a report of the approach of the English army obliged them to relinquish their design. After having stripped the country for some miles round Linlithgow of horses, cattle, and other provisions, the French garrison of that town fell back upon Leith.

Preparations were now making on both

sides for carrying into immediate effect the treaty of Berwick. A letter from Cecil to Sadler, written on the 22nd of March, shows us with how much anxiety people looked forwards to the commencement of hostilities. "I pray you," he says, "hold me excused that I have not visited you with my private letters. I know you are not ignorant that neither my head nor hand is unoccupied; and the like I think of you, that ye are not idle; but yet I may more boldly blame your silence than you mine, and so with this quarrel I look for a letter from you. How ye judge of things there I know not, but we here do trust well that the bravery of the French will be cooled; at home they have enough to do with trouble, partly for religion, partly for governance; God send his just wrath amongst them to their amendment! In Scotland how they do, you best know. We here be of divers opinions; some think Leith inexpugnable, having such a number of old men of war; others trust it cannot hold long out, considering the long trying of the soldiers all this winter. Some wish that their victuals in Leith might fail, in which last point I cannot think of any lack but of beverage. Well, howsoever the matter is, good courage in a good quarrel as this is, to deliver a realm from conquest, and con-



sequently to save our own, will much further the matter. For God's sake, now, good Mr. Sadler, bestow all your labour, and promote this matter with all the speed that you can; let no time be lost; and, so if you will commend me to sir James Crofts, and encourage him to show his ability of wisdom, knowledge, and manhood in this service, I shall think you both worthy of honourable rest after this troublesome time."

In reply, Sadler stated the general opinion there in favour of the speedy success of the expedition. "Leith," he said, "is not thought to us inexpugnable, though perchance it may be found of such strength as will require a time; in which case, if we may be furnished of things necessary for the continuance of the siege, we be in good hope here to render a good account of the same." The Scots, on their part, were equally active, and on the 27th of March the following letter was addressed from the congregation to the principal nobility of Scotland who had not yet come forward:—"After our hearty commendation, it is not unknown to you with what cruelty the Frenchmen, enemies to the common weal of this country, pass through divers parts thereof, not only herreand (*plundering*) poor ones, and taking their goods, but also murdering of them in their own houses, defendand their goods, by the manifest conquest which they intend to make of native realms conquered and defended by the blood of our progenitors, for making of resistance to the which we have opposed ourselves, and sometime jeopardied us with so many of our brethren and friends, kind and true Scotchmen, to stop them of their pretence, which our puissance could not extend, in respect that you, and such by-liers of your faction, would not assist us, showing you rather open and plain enemies to the common weal of our native country, than favourers thereof, whereof you possess a part and portion with us, we sundry times, by letters and writings, partly by proclamations, desired you to come forwards, and assist to us for expelling the said strangers; and, last of all, by the providence of God, our friends of England being moved to join with us to that effect, letters were directed, charging you to be in Glasgow the 26th of this instant month of March, to pass forward with us for meeting our said friends, to the effect aforesaid. And, albeit, the same day, else by-past, you in contempt of the said letters, have in nowise come to us, notwithstanding that our friends

hath else taken Scottish ground; and, God willing, we purpose to join with them on Saturday next to come at Ochison's haven, in Preston Pans, appointed to that effect. Wherefore we pray you right effectuously, as you tender the glory of God, and weal of our native country, and will show you to be true native Scotchmen, that you in proper person, with your kin, friends, tenants, and servants, will come forwards, well bodin in feir of war (*well accoutred in martial appointments*), and meet with us on Saturday next to come, at Linlithgow, with thirty days' victuals after your coming, to pass forwards and meet our said friends of England, for expelling the said Frenchmen, and seeking of this our native country to liberty and freedom. Certifying you and (*if*) you fail herein we cannot stand content with you, but will repute you as plain enemies to the common weal of this our native country, and assisters to the said Frenchmen in conquering (*conquering*) thereof, and use you thereafter for your demerit, without acceptation of you in favour of any pretended cause that you can allege hereafter. And so fare ye well. Of Glasgow, the 27th of March, 1560, by your good friend as cause requireth."

At length, on the last day of March, the English army, commanded by lord Grey, entered upon the Scottish territory. It consisted of six thousand foot and two thousand horse; and when, on the 2nd of April, it reached Preston Pans, the place of rendezvous, it was joined by the army of the congregation, estimated at nearly eight thousand men, led by the duke of Châtelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteth, the lord James, and others of the chiefs of the congregation. The day before, when news of the march of the English army reached Edinburgh, the queen-regent was received, with a few personal attendants, into the castle of Edinburgh, and the French withdrew into the fortress of Leith.

From Preston the combined army advanced to Dalkeith, whence the lords of the congregation addressed another appeal to the regent, expressed in the following terms (as translated from the Latin of Buchanan.) "We have often before this, by letters and messengers, earnestly entreated your highness, that the French soldiers, who still during another year oppress the poor country people with the most intolerable miseries, and spread the fear of a wretched slavery over the whole population, might be ordered by you to depart, and free us



from this apprehension; but as our just petitions had no influence with your highness, we were forced to deplore our situation to the queen of England, our nearest neighbour, and to entreat her assistance in expelling, by force of arms, the foreigners who attempt to reduce us to subjection, if we cannot otherwise accomplish it; but although she, affected by our calamities, has undertaken our cause, yet, that we may perform our duty to the mother of our queen, and prevent as much as we can the effusion of Christian blood, and only have recourse to arms when we can obtain our rights in no other way, we think it proper again humbly to request that you would command the French forces, with their officers and generals, immediately to depart out of this country; in order to do which more conveniently, the queen of England will not only grant a safe passage through her kingdom, but will also assist with her fleet to transport them, which proposition if you reject, we call God and man to witness, that we resort to arms through no hatred or malice, but unwillingly, and forced by pure necessity to attempt this last remedy, lest we should plunge the commonwealth, ourselves, our fortunes, and our posterity, into utter ruin. Nevertheless, although we suffer the most severe deprivations, and are threatened with greater, no danger shall constrain us to depart from our allegiance to our queen, or to the king her husband, in anything which does not involve the destruction of our ancient liberty, or the ruin of ourselves or our posterity; but we beseech thee, most benign princess, again and again, that considering the equity of our just demands, and what evils may follow war, and how necessary quiet is to your daughter's distressed kingdom, that you would lend a favourable ear to our prayers; which if you do, you will leave a pleasant remembrance of your moderation among all nations, and consult the tranquillity of the greatest part of christendom. Fare you well. Dalkeith, the 4th of April, 1560."

What answer was returned to this letter we are not informed, but on the 6th, the combined army continued its march to Restalrig, where the French forces had marched out and taken possession of a gentle elevation, where they expected the English would place their camp. They were immediately attacked, and for some time the possession of the ground was warmly

disputed, but at length a charge of the English and Scottish light horse decided the contest. The French were driven back into Leith, with a loss of about forty slain, and a hundred taken, and the English and Scots established their camp around the church of Restalrig, and in the fields to the south and south-east of Leith, and began immediately to open their trenches. Next day the heavy ordnance was landed from the ships, and these having been placed in battery, a cannonade was opened both from land and sea, which soon silenced the guns which the French had placed on St. Anthony's steeple, besides other injuries. Some other slight advantages were gained by the confederates, and on the night of the 14th of April, the castle of Blackness was captured by the sheriff of Linlithgow.

The next day, the 15th of April, the English camp was attacked by surprise. About eleven hundred of the French, of whom forty were cavalry, issuing suddenly from the town, came upon the English trenches unexpectedly. The few English who happened to be at this point made a desperate resistance, and the watch of two hundred horse joined them, and forced the French to fall back. But the English were themselves obliged to yield to numbers, and the French breaking into the trenches, slew all they encountered, and spiked two small guns. Meanwhile the alarm had been given, and the English hastening to the spot in greater numbers, attacked the French, drove them back, and pursued them "cruelly" to the walls of Leith. The English had at least two hundred and fifty slain, and about half that number wounded, while the French lost little more than three score. Some successes of the confederates in other parts counterbalanced this mishap. On the 20th of April the laird of Ormiston, with a small body of cavalry, placed himself in ambush in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, the castle of which was held by a French garrison; a party of the garrison went out to hunt, and fell into the snare, and, suddenly attacked by Ormiston, five or six of them were slain, and about sixty, including several officers, taken prisoners. Nevertheless, the lords of the congregation were discouraged at the slowness of the siege, and they were mortified at the lukewarmness of some of the nobles who had promised to join them. Among these was the earl of Huntley, who, though attached to the Roman catholic faith, had secretly promised to make com-



mon cause with them in defending the liberties of their country. It appears that the queen-regent had most influence among the barbarous clans in the north, where Huntley's property lay, and that they had confederated together to invade his estates the moment he led away his retainers to join the reformers. When pressed by the latter, Huntley represented the danger to which he should be exposed in leaving his estates unprotected, and it was not till the 25th of April that he entered the protestant camp with sixty horsemen.

Meanwhile, the king of France had seen the alliance between Elizabeth and the Scottish protestants with great alarm, and he became anxious to withdraw with credit from the contest, for he was himself embarrassed on every side by the discontent of his subjects in France, and he could ill spare either money or soldiers to be sent abroad. It was determined to send commissioners to Scotland to try the policy of concession, and they were to pass thither through England, and if possible to gain over Elizabeth to agree to their proposals. The men chosen for this mission were Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence; Nicolas de Pelvé, bishop of Amiens; and the sieur De la Brosse, who received their commission on the 1st of April, in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of France and Scotland. They were to promise the Scottish rebels full pardon and entire oblivion of all their past acts, if they would return to their obedience; they were authorized, if they found it convenient, to enter into treaty with the queen of England; and they received full powers of concluding any agreement they should judge fit, with the assurance that their sovereigns would ratify whatever they should agree to. It is said that one reason for choosing the bishop of Valence for this mission was the common belief that he leaned towards the protestants, and it was thought that he would be on that account acceptable to the Scots. On the 24th of March, a few days before the English troops marched over the Scottish border, queen Elizabeth had published a proclamation, declaring the causes which had induced her to undertake openly the defence of the Scots, and representing the Guises, who ruled the young king of France and his queen, as the true authors of all the troubles in France as well as in Scotland. This proclamation was printed in English and in French, and it was circulated extensively,

not only in England and Scotland, but in France also, where the protestants did all they could to aid the policy of Elizabeth. The Guises felt that Elizabeth's proclamation was working to their disadvantage, and, highly offended, they caused instructions to be sent to M. de Seurre, the new French ambassador in England, to make an energetic remonstrance to the English queen. On the 15th of April, after the arrival of the bishop of Valence, the two ambassadors conjointly sent to Elizabeth a memoir, requiring her to withdraw her troops from Scotland. This was replied to by an immediate and unequivocal refusal. De Seurre himself then presented a written protest, addressed to the queen and her council, and dated on the 20th of April, in which he declared the efforts made by the king his master ever since the beginning of his reign to maintain a good intelligence with Elizabeth, the necessity in which he had been placed of sending troops to Scotland to reduce his rebellious subjects, the unjust suspicions entertained by Elizabeth, and the means he had taken to dispel them, and her refusal to be a mediator between him and them. He then represented the extraordinary conduct of the English queen in requiring the king to recal his troops, and subsequently sending her fleet into the Forth to assist the rebels. He reminded the queen and her council of the expostulations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, of the sending of the English troops into Scotland, and the obnoxious proclamation which accompanied that hostile measure, and of the remonstrance of the 15th of April; and he concluded by protesting, that if war followed between France and England, it was Elizabeth who had given the provocation. Towards the end of April the queen gave a full reply to the protest of the French ambassadors, in which she set forth all the provocations she had received from France, declared her reasons for suspecting the designs of the French court, and justified the conduct she had pursued with regard to Scotland. At the same time she declared her earnest desire for peace, and expressed her willingness to accept the intermediation of the king of Spain, or to submit the quarrel to the decision of commissioners fairly chosen on both sides. In thus introducing the name of the king of Spain, Elizabeth was no doubt aware of the jealousy which the French felt towards him, and that they were quite as unwilling as she was to take him as an intermediary. In fact, the French



agents complained that on this occasion the two Spanish ambassadors held aloof, and that they gave no support to the French remonstrance.

The bishop of Valence has left us, in a long dispatch, an account of his proceedings in Scotland. On his arrival at Berwick, the bishop met with a most friendly reception from the duke of Norfolk, who, however, took care to keep him there as long as possible. He told him that he could only give him a safe-conduct and an escort as far as the border, and that it would be necessary to send into Scotland to the lords of the congregation to provide for the rest of his journey. The bishop, who was anxious to proceed, urged that he might be conducted to the border immediately, adding that he would run the risk of whatever might happen to him in Scotland; but the duke would not listen to this proposal, as he said it would on one side be disrespectful towards the lords of the congregation themselves, to send him into Scotland without their passport; while on the other, he would be exposed to personal danger among the border thieves, and that he was answerable to the queen his mistress for the safety of the ambassador. The latter was obliged to submit, and, by one delay or another, he was retained a fortnight at Berwick before he was permitted to enter Scotland. The answers he received were so discouraging, that he had twice made up his mind to return without proceeding any further in his mission; but it was the wish of Elizabeth that he should be heard by the Scottish reformers, and at length the duke of Norfolk sent him forward with a recommendation to lord Grey, who was to obtain him an interview with the queen-regent before he presented himself to the lords of the congregation.

Armed with this recommendation, the bishop proceeded to Haddington, whence he sent forward a messenger to lord Grey to announce his arrival, and then continuing his route, he was received with much respect in the English camp. Lord Grey caused him to be privately conducted to the castle of Edinburgh, where he had an interview with the regent, who lay in a state of extreme weakness of body, but preserving all her strength of mind. When the bishop of Valence left the castle, he was taken to the tent of the duke of Châtelherault, where he found with the duke, lord Grey, and other councillors of the queen of England, and

the principal lords of the congregation, to whom he delivered his letters of credit, and stated the terms which the king was willing to offer to them. These were, pardon and oblivion of past offences, a promise that the statutes, privileges, franchises, and liberties of the realm should not be interfered with, and that no more foreign soldiers should be left in Scotland than were sufficient to garrison the fortresses which were held by the French. These offers were received with apparent satisfaction, time was taken to consider them, and the ambassador was allowed to return to the castle. Next day he was again brought before the lords of the congregation, and Maitland of Lethington declared to him the result of their deliberations. They demanded that the fortifications of Leith should be destroyed; that the king of France should disavow all intention of retaining possession of Scotland in case of the queen's death; and that the people should be relieved from the insolence of the French soldiers. To the first of these, the bishop replied that he had received no special instructions on the subject, and could not enter upon it until he had obtained further instructions from his court; with regard to the second, he said that Scotland was not worth the expense and trouble of retaining it, and that the king of France could have no interest in wishing to obtain possession of it; and with regard to the third, he alleged that soldiers could not always be restrained from misconducting themselves, but that complaint might always be made to their officers. This last observation, the bishop confesses, was received with cries of indignation from all present, and they insisted upon the destruction of the fortifications of Leith, as an indispensable article of any treaty; they asked, with some reason, what reason there could be for fortifying Leith, unless for the purpose of retaining possession of the kingdom.

The ambassador states that this second conference was conducted in a far less conciliatory temper than the first; and the Scottish lords finished by accusing him of having had an interview with some persons from Leith, who went to consult with him in the castle, by which, and by sleeping in the fortress, they said that he had forfeited his safe-conduct. The bishop denied that he had conferred with any one from Leith, made an excuse for having remained during the night in the castle, and complained of the little respect shown to their



sovereign, of whom he was the representative. That evening the ambassador was placed under a guard of soldiers, that he might hold no communication with any whom the lords might not approve. Next morning the Scots showed a very unequivocal desire to be relieved from the presence of the ambassador, but he refused to go till his ten days of safe-conduct were expired; and after some further discussion he was allowed to remain, with free leave to go into the castle when he would, and to lodge anywhere in Edinburgh at his own pleasure; but he was strictly forbidden to hold any communication with the bishop of Amiens and MM. de la Brosse and D'Oysel. Another conference having been appointed, the bishop came and stated that the queen-regent was willing to concede the two points to which he had previously objected, the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the sending away of the French soldiers. He then made a rather ostentatious enumeration of their acts of rebellion, and especially of the injuries they had done to the catholic church in Scotland, to which the lord James made answer. The conference having been adjourned to the following morning, the queen-regent sent in her demands in writing, which were—1st, that the lords of the congregation and their adherents should render entire obedience to the king and queen their sovereigns, as true, faithful, and natural subjects; 2nd, that their league with the queen of England should be annulled, and the hostages sent back; 3rd, that the estates should be assembled within forty days after the conclusion of the treaty, and that the said estates, according to the ancient law of the country, should declare rebel whoever thenceforth should make an assembly of armed men without the consent of the prince, and pursue him with main force in the name of the country, to chastise and punish him according to his merit; 4th, that they should acknowledge the queen-regent for regent, as she had been elected by the estates; 5th, that the duke of Châtelherault, having been the chief and principal mover of these troubles, should, as a pledge for the observance of these articles, give up the fortress of Dumbarton, which was to be entrusted to the keeping of a Scotchman to be chosen by the queen-regent, until he had given certain proof of his willingness to remain loyal to his sovereign.

The lords of the congregation raised difficulties on several of these articles, but

more especially on that which related to their league with Elizabeth. They said that they could not break their league without the consent of the English queen, who was one of the parties to it, and who held their hostages; and they alleged that there was nothing in it to the prejudice of the king and queen of France, and that they were willing to lay it before the estates, and to submit to correction if there were found anything in it against the crown or the profit and utility of the crown. This point was debated at some length, but without any satisfactory result; and as there was evidently no probability of coming to an agreement, the safe-conduct was no sooner expired, than they sent away the French ambassador somewhat unceremoniously, and he returned to Berwick, where the duke of Norfolk kept him two days, and then sent him on to London.

The lords of the congregation were evidently not inclined to listen to overtures at this moment, and they had no sooner rejected the demands of the bishop of Valence, than they drew up a second covenant, binding themselves first to support the reformation of religion, freedom of preaching, and the administration of the sacrament according to God's word; and secondly, to resist the tyranny of the French, and seek the expulsion of strangers and the recovery of their ancient liberty. After many delays, the earl of Huntley signed this covenant, as well as others who had not before joined cordially with the congregation.

Meanwhile it had been determined to carry on the siege of Leith with more vigour, and reinforcements having arrived in the English camp, lord Grey took up a position nearer the town and planted his batteries. On the last day of April, in consequence of the explosion of some gunpowder in a guard-house, that part of the town nearest to the English camp took fire, and, the wind being high, it burnt with great fury till next morning, destroying part of the granaries and a large quantity of provisions. During the confusion, the English pointed their guns on the burning buildings, and under cover of this attack advanced into the ditches to measure the height of the walls; but as a great part of the garrison came up to resist, they attempted nothing further. On the fourth of May, the besiegers burnt the town mills, to the great annoyance of the French. On



the seventh, a general assault was made, but it failed in consequence of a mistake in the making of the ladders, and the failure of the division under sir James Crofts to reach the point where it was directed in proper time. After a severe contest, the besiegers were beaten back with a loss, it is said, of four hundred men.

This success caused great rejoicing among the French, and intelligence was carried over to France, probably exaggerating its importance. The queen-regent, who was fast sinking under a mortal malady, took advantage of it to make an attempt at reconciliation, and is said to have requested an interview with the earls of Huntley and Glencairn for that purpose. But instead of these noblemen, the lord James, with Maitland of Lethington, the lord Ruthven, and the master of Maxwell, repaired to the castle, where they found the regent moved apparently with a feeling of commiseration for the unhappy state of the kingdom. The protestant lords offered at once to return to their obedience, on condition that the French soldiers should depart the realm, all other subjects in dispute to be referred to the decision of a parliament. The regent seemed willing to agree to this proposal, but she required permission to consult with La Brosse, D'Oysel, and the bishop of Amiens, who were within the walls of Leith. The Scottish lords had from the beginning of the siege resolutely refused to allow these persons to come out of the fortress, and as they now persisted in this refusal, the negotiation was broken off. But next day the regent, feeling that her end was near, sent for the lords again. The duke of Châtelherault, and the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marshal, now proceeded to the castle, and being shown into her bed-chamber, she received them with an affectionate welcome. It is said that she expressed in a manner which moved them to tears, her grief for the distracted state of the nation, and that she advised them to send both the French and English forces out of the kingdom, declaring her unfeigned sorrow that matters had been pushed to such extremities. She ascribed this to the evil councils which she had received from France, and which she was compelled to obey against her own inclinations; and she warned them especially against the treachery of the earl of Huntley. At the same time she urged them to remain faithful to the old league with France and asking

pardon of all whom she had in any way offended, she declared that she freely forgave all injuries she might have received, and hoped that they might all find forgiveness together in heaven. She then kissed each of the nobles, and held out her hand to those of inferior rank who were standing by. The nobles earnestly requested that she would admit to her bed-side some godly man to give her religious consolation, and her charity went so far that she agreed to receive next day a visit from the protestant minister Willock. The preacher exhorted her with gentle earnestness to look for salvation through the death of Christ, and to relinquish the idolatry of the mass; in reply to which she assured him of her faith in the efficacy of Christ's passion, but avoided expressing an opinion on the other point. The day following, which was the 10th of June, Mary of Guise expired. Her body was placed in a coffin of lead, and was kept in the castle of Edinburgh till the 19th of October, when it was placed on board a ship, and carried to France. It has been stated that the protestants would not allow the regent to be buried in Scotland with the popish ceremonies.

Some days before the death of the queen-regent, the French king had sent another ambassador, M. de Randan, to Scotland, to announce that he was willing to confirm all that she had offered the reformers, and to make a new effort for peace. The French ministers were aware that Elizabeth had penetrated their designs, and that there was now little chance of pursuing them with success; and they were so embarrassed at home, that they were anxious to be relieved from the burthen and expense of the Scottish war. M. de Randan carried with him full powers for negotiating and concluding a treaty; he found the bishop of Valence in London, and as there appeared now to be a desire for peace on all sides, the two French ambassadors repaired to Edinburgh together. They were followed thither, in the middle of June, by Cecil and sir Nicholas Wotton, who were to act as plenipotentiaries on the part of Elizabeth. The treaty was between England, France, and the king and queen of Scots; but it was necessary, for the full protection of the protestant lords, that it should be made to recognise and include the treaty of Berwick between them and Elizabeth, and this point was the great difficulty in the negotiations. The French commissioners, who were the bishops of



Valence and Amiens, M. de Randan and La Brosse and D'Oysel, protested strongly against the indignity which would be offered to their sovereign, in forcing him thus to countenance the acts of his rebellious subjects, but the able diplomacy of Elizabeth's ministers gained the day. When the French negotiators refused to concede this point, Cecil declared that he would immediately break off the conference, and send orders to the duke of Norfolk to march into Scotland at the head of his army; and he at length overcame their scruples by so wording this part of the treaty, as to spare in appearance the feelings of the king of France, without at all diminishing the advantages which it secured to the Scottish protestants. In exultation at his success, Cecil wrote to Elizabeth, that "to make a cover for all this, those ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we, content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal."

The treaty of Edinburgh was concluded on the 6th of July, 1560, and three days afterwards the two French ambassadors, the bishop of Valence and M. de Randan, wrote to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, to excuse themselves for the hardness of the conditions they had been obliged to accept. "Madame," they wrote in this dispatch, "we were sent here to treat for peace, without being first prepared for war, and the enemies were so advanced in their enterprise that they reckoned for certain on securing the victory on the 15th of July, and they were well aware that we had no design or means of hindering them; and you may thereby understand how difficult and embarrassing it was to conduct the negotiation to a good end, and the more so as our lives were in their hands, and we were at a distance of three hundred leagues from the place where we ought to expect counsel and advice on the difficulties which presented themselves. And seeing ourselves reduced to such extremity, that we must necessarily make such a peace as we could, or see lost before our eyes four thousand men, and a kingdom which would never have been recovered without the ruin and desolation of that of France, we have chose of the two bad things, that which brought with it no other evil than loss of words. And, inasmuch as the judgments of men are different, and that it is very difficult to bring many persons to the same opinion, we fear that there will be some who will perhaps not

approve of what we have done, which causes us very humbly to supplicate you to hear our explanations; and, after you have heard them, we make no doubt that you will be satisfied with the pains we have taken, and with our good will, as we pray you very humbly; and to those who shall say that the articles are not such as they would have desired, it will be enough to say that, if we wanted a good peace, we should have negotiated for it sooner, or have begun the war and treated on an equal footing, otherwise we could not expect to come out of it without some disadvantage." The king of France, and his ministers and councillors, appear to have been convinced of the necessity of yielding, and to have accepted the treaty without hesitation, however disagreeable it might have been to them. On the 28th of July, Francis expressed his opinions on the subject to his ambassador, the bishop of Limoges, to be communicated to the king of Spain. "I believe," writes the French king, "that you are not unacquainted with the agreement made and passed between my deputies, those of the queen of England, and the Scots; of which I have thought good to send you a true abstract, that on reading it you may perceive its iniquity, and the hard and intolerable conditions to which, for the universal repose of christendom, and the good and tranquillity of my kingdom and of my subjects, I have agreed. And however strange and insupportable it may be to a great prince like me to be reduced to the extremity of receiving the law from his subject, yet it has seemed to me for the necessity of the time in which we are, full of so many calamities and miseries, to be better to remit something of my particular interest to secure thereby a greater good, than to pursue obstinately a thing full of hazard and difficulties." A letter written on the same day by the cardinal of Lorraine expresses exactly the same sentiments.

There can be no doubt indeed that the treaty of Edinburgh was highly favourable to England; in fact, it was the deathblow to the French influence in Scotland. It stipulated that the French army should immediately leave Scotland; that an act of oblivion should be passed for all wrongs or injuries committed from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August, 1560; and that a general reconciliation of all differences should take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the pro-



testants and those who still adhered to the church of Rome. The duke of Chatelherault, and other Scottish nobles or barons who possessed lands in France, were to be restored to their possessions, while redress was to be given by parliament to the bishops and ecclesiastics who had received injury, and no man was to molest them in the collection of their revenues. A council of twelve was to be appointed for the government of the realm, the queen to appoint seven, and the estates five; it was to be their duty to supply the place of their sovereign during her absence, and no fewer than six were to assemble on any occasion; and upon all matters of moment the whole, or at least the majority of the whole were to meet. It was provided that in all time coming the kingdom should be governed by its native subjects; no foreign troops were to be brought in; no strangers were to administer justice, and none but Scotchmen to be placed in the offices of chancellor, treasurer, or comptroller; and all ecclesiastics, although natives of Scotland, were excluded from the two last. The Scottish nobles were not in future to be allowed to assemble soldiers, or make any warlike convocations, except in such cases as were sanctioned by established usage. It was agreed that a parliament should be held in the month of August ensuing, for which a commission was to be sent by the king and queen of France; and it was added that this meeting of the estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of those royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present resorted without fear to the parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unrestrained. It was further provided that the army of England was to march out of Scotland immediately after the embarkation of the French troops.

Throughout this transaction England had acted towards Scotland with a friendly anxiety for its welfare which could not be mistaken, and which was gratefully acknowledged by the Scottish protestants. Although the question of religion was not directly alluded to in the treaty, the interest of the protestants was sufficiently protected by their emancipation from foreign influence; and, as a great majority of the middle classes in Scotland had now embraced the reformed faith, it was clear that they must have an

overwhelming majority in the approaching parliament. It is probable that the French themselves were not aware of the full extent of the protestant influence, and that they did not look forwards to the decided measures which followed. The wisdom of Elizabeth and her ministers was shown in the circumstance that she took no advantage of her position to exact any conditions from the Scots; but England had gained a moral influence which it was destined never afterwards to lose. There was strict justice in Cecil's boast to Elizabeth, that her conduct on this occasion "would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors with all their battles ever obtained; namely, the whole hearts and good-wills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the crown."

On the 8th of July, 1560, peace was proclaimed in Edinburgh, amid a universal joy to which Scotland had been long unaccustomed. The French army, consisting of four thousand men, was soon afterwards embarked in English ships and transported to France, a few soldiers only being left to garrison Inchkeith and Dunbar. The new fortifications in the latter fortress were destroyed. As soon as the French troops had been sent away, the English army began its march homeward, and delayed on the way only to destroy the fortifications at Eyemouth, according to agreement. A solemn public thanksgiving was held in St. Giles's church by the reformed nobles and the congregation, at which the preacher, who is supposed to have been Knox, compared the now promising condition of the kingdom with the miseries it had recently undergone, and called upon them to show their gratitude to their deliverers, by maintaining that godly league with Elizabeth which had led to the confusion of their enemies. Measures were immediately adopted for the establishment and regulation of the reformed church, and ministers were appointed to some of the chief towns in the kingdom. Of these, Knox was appointed to remain at Edinburgh, Goodman was sent to St. Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, and others were appointed to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendents were next chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and for Argyle and the Isles.



## CHAPTER XXV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMED RELIGION; MISSION OF THE PRIOR OF ST. JOHN, AND HIS RECEPTION IN FRANCE; DEATH OF FRANCIS II.

THE treaty of Edinburgh was no sooner completed, than preparations were made for what at this time was an equally important event, the assembling of parliament, which met on the 1st of August, with an unusually numerous attendance of all ranks, except the catholic clergy. The protestants looked upon the proceedings of this assembly with the utmost anxiety, and they formed an overwhelming majority of the three estates. The lesser barons, who had, by the constitution, a right to sit and vote in parliament, had ceased to claim the privilege, on account of the expense and inconvenience which attended it; but they now came, to the number of about a hundred, and presented a petition, praying to be restored to their privilege and to be allowed to vote. They were permitted to take their seats without much opposition, and to vote for the present, but the final decision on their claims was reserved. Their accession was of importance to the protestants, for it was among this class of Scotchmen that the reformed opinions had taken deepest root, and it was no doubt the profound interest they took in the great events then in progress that led them to make the claim. A more serious difference of opinion arose on the proposal to proceed immediately to the business of parliament. The French had been beaten in war and in diplomacy, and they seem now to have resolved to defeat their opponents by evasions, and by non-performance of conditions stipulated or implied on their part. No commission for opening parliament had yet arrived from France, and, as far as we can learn, the messengers sent to Paris to inform the king and queen of their proceedings seem not to have been attended to. It appears, from a letter of the English ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, that so late as the 9th of August, the king of France assured him not only that he had heard nothing of his commissioners, but that he had not even seen the treaty of Edinburgh; but we know that the latter part of this assertion was untrue, inasmuch as he himself sent an abstract of the treaty to the king of Spain on the 28th of July. However,

there were many who pleaded that no parliament could be held till the commission arrived from their sovereign, while others alleged that, as the period of calling the parliament was fixed by the treaty of peace, it was as lawful a meeting as if it had been summoned by the crown; and on the question being put to the vote, after a week had been spent in the debate, it was decided for going to business. Many individuals, however, refused to abide by this decision, and departed from Edinburgh.

The session was now formally opened, and the royal ensigns, the crown, the mace or sceptre, and the sword, were placed on the throne, as representatives of the sovereign. Maitland of Lethington was chosen harangue-maker or speaker, and he opened the proceedings with a speech, in which he gave a sketch of recent events, expressed gratitude to God for their delivery, and declared that no other things were intended than those which had been attempted. He exhorted his countrymen to renounce their individual feelings, and to join in one general concord and amity, for the general good of the kingdom. He concluded by praying God to maintain them long in friendship and peace with all princes, and especially with England. This being ended, the clerk-register rose, and inquired of the three estates to what matter they would first proceed. It was then agreed that the treaty of peace should be read, and this having been done, it received the unanimous approbation of the assembly, and was ordered to be sent over to France to be ratified. The next proceeding was to choose the lords of the articles, in which it was necessary that a certain number should be prelates of the church, and the catholics complained that such only were chosen as were known to be favourable to the new faith. When this election had been made the meeting broke up, and the estates escorted the duke of Châtelherault in grand procession to the Bow, and many of them accompanied him to the palace where he lodged, "the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have."



The lords of the articles now continued to sit daily in Holyrood-house, except when, on business of greater importance, the three estates assembled at the parliament-house.

The more zealous of the reformed ministers now drew up a petition, praying that the doctrines professed by the Roman catholic church, which had been tyrannically maintained by the clergy, should be condemned and abolished. They particularly enumerated among the errors to be proscribed, the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, the worship of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of good works, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints. The petitioners declared that God of his great mercy, by the light of his word, had demonstrated to no small number within the realm the pestiferous errors of the Roman church, errors which the ministers of that church had maintained with fire and sword, and which brought damnation upon the souls of all that embraced them. They described in strong language the corrupt lives of the popish clergy; they offered to prove that there was not one of them who was a lawful minister according to the practice of the apostles and of the primitive church, speaking of them as so many thieves and murderers, rebels, traitors, and adulterers. The petitioners, in continuation, called upon the parliament to compel the body of the Romish clergy to answer these accusations, and to pronounce them unworthy of authority in the church of God, and expel them for ever from the great council of the nation. There was much in the tone of triumph which pervaded this document that was too violent, although it was characteristic of the spirit of the age, and the reading of it produced a great diversity of sentiment in the parliament. It was rendered unpalatable to the most powerful supporters of the reformation by the circumstance of its calling upon them to restore the patrimony of the church, which had passed in one way or other into their possession, that it might be applied to the purposes for which it was originally destined, the support of the ministers, the restoration of godly learning, and the assistance of the poor. This was politically an error. The majority of the parliament, laying aside the petition itself, commanded the ministers to draw up a summary of those doctrines which they considered sound and necessary to be believed. This they did immediately, and they pre-

sented as their confession of faith a well digested summary of christian doctrine, grounded on the Word of God. It was submitted for revision to Maitland of Lethington and the sub-prior of St. Andrews, by whom the austerity of some parts was softened down, and some alterations were made calculated to make it less obnoxious to the more moderate reformers. Thus revised, it was laid before parliament, and was passed with very little opposition, for most of the catholic party either absented themselves from parliament or were afraid to oppose the popular stream. The only temporal peers present who ventured to dissent were the earls of Cassillis and Caithness, with the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane of the spiritual. Their opposition was grounded on the plea that they wanted time to examine and consider it, and, on their refusing to make their objections at the moment, it was carried by acclamation, and with the greatest enthusiasm. The aged lord Lindsay, one of the earliest of the reformers, rose in his place and declared that since God had spared him to see that day, he was ready to say with Simon, *nunc dimittis*,—now let thy servant depart.

The adoption of this confession as the standard of the protestant faith in Scotland was followed by three acts of parliament, the first of which abolished for ever in that country the power and jurisdiction of the pope; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Roman catholic church; and the third ordained that all who said mass, or who dared to hear mass, should, for the first transgression, be punished with the forfeiture of their goods, for the second with banishment from the kingdom, and for the third with death.

The next step of the protestant clergy was to compose a book of discipline for the future government of their church. According to this ecclesiastical code, the ministers were to be elected by the people, subject to examination and approval by the ministers and elders; the kingdom was to be divided into ten dioceses, over which ten ministers were appointed as superintendents, whose business it was to inquire into the life and behaviour of the ministers, the manners of the people, the provision for the poor, and the instruction of youth. These superintendents were not to have stationary sees like the bishops, but they were to be ambulatory preachers, continuing only three or



four months in one place, after which they were to enter into a visitation of their whole bounds, preaching at least thrice a week. It was by this book of discipline that the parish schools were first instituted in Scotland. This book of discipline met with great opposition, and many of the nobles refused to subscribe to it.

Having settled the form of their own church, the reformers proceeded to further hostile measures against that of their opponents. The barons presented a bill of complaint against the bishops; and when, as might be expected, they made no reply, an act was passed for the confiscation of their livings. The popish prelates, apprehensive of the persecution which had now fallen upon them, had rather generally adopted a practice of conveying away their lands to persons who were to restore them after the danger was past. These conveyances or leases, which had been sanctioned by the pope, were now brought under the censure of parliament, which enacted that they should be all void without further process of law.

These important measures having been settled, the parliament proceeded to deliberate on matters connected with the civil government of the realm. Twenty-four members were nominated, out of which number twelve were to be selected, who, as it has been already stated, were to form the council or executive body, and several of the catholic party were admitted among them, although the greater number were taken from the protestant party. They were, the duke of Châtelherault, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athol, Menteith, Marshal, and Rothes, the lord James, the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvy, and St. John, the master of Maxwell, and the lairds of Laudy, Pitarrow, Dun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlaurig, and young Lethington. It was ordered that, in case any matter of great importance affecting the national interests should occur before the king and queen should have been communicated with, sixteen, at least, of these lords should meet and consult as the temporary council, and that six of the former council should sit continually in Edinburgh for the administration of justice. The treaty between Elizabeth and the lords of the congregation was confirmed. The leaning towards England was, indeed, at this time, most apparent, and it was shown by a remarkable

resolution of the assembled estates. The earl of Arran was the heir apparent to the kingdom, and it was resolved almost unanimously, as a means of cementing the alliance between the two kingdoms, that a proposal should be made for a marriage between that nobleman and the queen of England. The earls of Morton and Glencairn were appointed to proceed to England with Maitland of Lethington, to propose the marriage to Elizabeth; while sir James Sandilands of Calder, grand prior of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem within Scotland, was selected as the commissioner of the parliament to carry an account of its proceedings to France. The parliament was dissolved on the 27th of August, and the envoys to England and France immediately proceeded on their journeys, their written credentials and instructions bearing date the day just mentioned.

These instructions directed the grand prior to present to the king and queen the humble declaration of the allegiance and fidelity of the parliament, which had been called together to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, and to provide for the various necessities of the state. He was to state that there were present at this parliament the duke of Châtelherault and thirteen earls, the archbishop of St. Andrews and five bishops, nineteen lords, twenty ecclesiastics (as well abbots as priors), the representatives of twenty-two towns, a hundred and ten barons, and others; and to present their confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, and to ask for its ratification by the king and queen. As by one article of the treaty it was ordered that the parliament should name twenty-four persons, out of which number either twelve or fourteen, as it might be thought best, were to form the council of state, in the first case five to be chosen by the parliament, and seven by the sovereigns, and in the other, six by the parliament and eight by the sovereigns, the grand prior was instructed to inform Francis and Mary that the parliament preferred the larger number, and to request that the king and queen would accordingly choose eight councillors out of the list which he was to present to them. The ambassador was further to announce the intention of parliament to send a deputation of nobles to France, and he was to present compliments in the name of the estates of Scotland to the queen-mother,



the Guises, the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood, and others, and to ask for instructions with relation to the interment of the body of the queen-regent. In a letter written in the name of the estates of Scotland to the king of France on the 31st of August, that monarch was made acquainted with the wish of the Scottish parliament to procure a marriage between the earl of Arran and queen Elizabeth. It was represented that advantages would accrue to France by this alliance, and that they were induced to send their commissioners to Elizabeth without waiting for the advice of the king, because they wished to anticipate the prince of Sweden, who was pursuing the same object. This letter was signed, among others, by the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Dunblane.

Sandilands left Scotland about the 12th of September, and, as might be expected from the sweeping measures of the parliament, he experienced a polite reception from the king, though he was treated with more than coldness by the Guises. At the same time, a paper of objections was drawn up to be communicated to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, the principal heads of which were as follows:—In the first place it was observed disdainfully that the Scots pretended to designate as a treaty between their sovereigns and them, what in reality was nothing but supplications and remonstrances from rebellious subjects, some of which the sovereigns had condescended to grant. It was represented that according to the treaty, a certain number of persons of quality were to have been sent to France to carry the ratification of the treaty by the estates, and to inform their majesties of the state of the kingdom, and hear their intention and good pleasure with respect to it, whereas they had only sent one person, and that person of very moderate rank. It was added that there was informality in the manner in which the documents brought by the grand prior were signed; that some persons who ought to attend parliament had not been summoned, so that the assembly was irregular and imperfect; that the prelates of the church, instead of being restored to their estates and revenues, had been prosecuted, and their possessions confiscated; that among the barons who had signed Sandilands's instructions and the nomination of the twenty-four councillors, there were some

who had not yet attained their majority, and therefore were unqualified to sign; and that the mission to England on the subject of the marriage was contrary to law, which forbade any one leaving the kingdom, or contracting marriage with a foreigner, without the permission of the king. Similar objections were repeated to Throckmorton when he presented himself at the French court on the 16th of September, and it was added that it did not seem right that the treaty of Edinburgh with Elizabeth should be ratified until their majesties saw that the Scots behaved dutifully and obediently, since it contained an obligation towards the queen of England in favour of the Scots, which itself depended on their fulfilling their promises; "and it would not be equitable that their two majesties should remain in suspense and uncertainty as to the intention of the Scots, and that the Scots at the same time should be assured by the ratification of all that concerned themselves; as the king feels assured that the said lady the queen of England, on reflection, will consider right, and take in good part; desiring her to believe that in doing this their majesties have no intention to delay or put the least scruple in the world in the way of the good peace and amity which they have always desired and still desire to keep and entertain with the queen of England," but on the contrary that it was their wish to confirm it, and their intention to perform all they had promised to their Scottish subjects. Two days after Francis wrote to his ambassador in Spain, informing him of the answer given to the English ambassador, and that the latter had acknowledged the justness of his proceedings.

We possess, however, Throckmorton's own account of these transactions, in a dispatch written to the English ambassador in Spain on the 21st of November. "I wrote unto you," he says in this letter, "of the coming hither of the lord of St. John of Jerusalem of Scotland to perform such things in the name of them all as were articulated and accorded upon in their late treaty, made between the commissioners of this side and them, and also thereupon to demand of their king and queen the ratification of the said agreement, according to his commission and instructions; the copies whereof I send you herewith that you may well understand the same, and proceed the more soundly therein, whensoever you shall have occasion



moved you. The said lord of St. John's hath been with the said princes, with whom he hath proceeded according to his directions, and hath demanded the ratification. At his first coming he was much made of, and many things promised him; but after a few days not so much. To the demand of the French king and queen's ratification of the treaty, answer was made him, that for as much as the Scots had in no part performed that that belonged to good subjects, but had assembled themselves upon their own authority, without the consent of the king and queen their sovereigns, the same treaty ought not to be regarded, and therefore they would not ratify it. The further reasons why, they would not tell him, but concluded that the king and queen would send two gentlemen into Scotland, to declare their griefs, and reasons why they thought not meet to ratify the said accord. And so he standeth upon his dispatch away from hence homeward with this answer. Among other things these princes here are not a little grieved that such a solemn legation is sent into England, and that there is but one sent hither, and he in post. There are come into England from the estates of Scotland the earls of Morton and Glencairn, and the lord of Lethington, to visit her majesty, and to give her thanks, which is the legation that is above spoken of. Another reason that they find why they are not bound to ratify the said Scottish treaty is, that the same was made with such and of such as were rebels, and bore arms against their sovereigns, and therefore not to be observed; and that his commission and instructions were subscribed by the same rebels, and of few of their good subjects. And yet the few names of such few good subjects as were set to, were not of their own hands, but counterfeited by others. Among other, these frivolous devices were found out to refuse them their ratification. About the same time of this said ambassador's negotiation about these matters, I received letters from the queen's majesty, with commandment to demand eftsoons (*again*) of this king and queen their ratification of the late treaty made also in Scotland between her majesty and the French commissioners, which hath been before delayed, for that the Scots (these men said) had then yet sent nobody to perform things on their behalfs. The Scottish ambassador therefore having been at the court, and done his legation, upon whose coming was

all our stay, and therefore I hoping to have no further delay therein, I resorted to the king, and performed mine instructions and commandment in renewing the demand of the said ratification of our treaty. Answer was made me, both by the king and queen, the cardinal of Lorraine, and duke of Guise, in the same sort as had been made before to the lord of St. John's; adding thereto, that forasmuch as our treaty depended upon the Scots' treaty, and because the Scots had not performed all things on their part, like as the king was not bound nor ought to ratify a treaty made by his subjects without the consent of their sovereign, specially their not observing their duties of obedience toward him promised therein, so was there no cause the king should ratify ours, till the Scots had performed all things on their behalf. And so they have plainly refused to ratify our said treaty, and spared not to utter in good terms that the Scots must be taught to know their duties, and to assemble in their sovereigns' names, and not in their own, as though they would make it a republic; and that rather than the king will suffer all these disorders, he will quit all. They stick now much upon a league that is between the queen's majesty and the realm of Scotland; and till that be broken (which I trust is not meant to be), I perceive they will be at no better point with us. As for the leaving the bearing of the queen's majesty's arms, which they use yet still in open shows and entries of towns, whereof was spoken at this audience, and told that by the said treaty the king should have so to do, that was answered, that till a treaty be ratified it is no treaty, and therefore there is no reason which the king and queen should sooner satisfy than be satisfied; and that the king hath borne the arms of long time, and not without reason and title to do so; and that therefore there is no cause why he should leave his right. These, with divers like purposes, sounding all to be defences and cavillations not to ratify our treaty, were used to me at this last negotiation, wherein I could not alter their moods for any allegations nor objections that I could use, but rather understand their intents of revenge than will to quietness. It is strange to see how little princes of honour pass for their promises and authentic obligations. In the French king and queen's commission given to messieurs De Valence and Randan, they promised *bona fide et verbo regio* to perform



and ratify all that his deputies should agree upon; as you may see by the same, the copy whereof I also send you herewith."

In his dispatches to the queen, some extracts from which have been printed by Tytler, Throckmorton describes the violent language made use of by the Guises. In an interview with the cardinal of Lorraine, in the middle of November, that minister said to him, "I will tell you frankly, the Scots, the king's subjects, do perform no part of their duties; the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say, in their words, they are the king's subjects. To tell you of the particular disorders, were too long; every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order; and when fault is found with them, they threaten the king with the aid of the queen your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for rather than they shall be at this point, the king will quit all. They have made a league with the queen your mistress without us; what manner of dealing is this of subjects? Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly." "They have sent hither," he added, "a mean man in post to the king and queen their sovereigns, and to the queen your mistress a great and solemn legation." "This great legation," continued the cardinal, "goeth for the marriage of the queen your mistress with the earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such a one as he is, and one of the queen's subjects." The young queen of France and Scotland, well tutored by her ambitious and unscrupulous uncles, held similar language. When, in an interview at this time, Throckmorton pressed her for the ratification of the treaty, she replied, "such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council, hath made you in that matter might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty; my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one part that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me; but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them; and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party were

not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all to the king and me in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress; I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." Throckmorton goes on to tell Elizabeth that, "in this speech the queen uttered some choler and stomach against them. I said, 'as to the lord of St. John, I know him not; but he is great prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any earl within your realm.' The queen answered, 'I do not take him for great prior, for he is married:—I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.' I said, 'madame, I have heard that if your majesty do proceed graciously with the lord St. John, in observation of all that which was, by the bishop of Valence and monsieur de Randon promised in the king's and your name, the nobles and estates of Scotland do mind to send unto the king and you a greater legation.' 'Then the king and I,' quoth she, 'must begin with them.' 'Madame,' quoth I, 'I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused; for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the queen my mistress (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the king and you do bear openly the arms of England), will give the queen my mistress occasion greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her.' 'Mine uncles,' quoth she, 'have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part, I pray you, do the office of a good minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well.' And so the queen dismissed me, and monsieur de Lansac brought me to my horse."

A long dispatch from the French ambassador in England, M. de Seurre, to his sovereign, dated the 24th of September, describes Elizabeth's dissatisfaction at the delay in ratifying the treaty. A day or two after the middle of the month just mentioned, when M. de Seurre was preparing to demand an audience of the queen of England, then residing at Windsor, he received an unexpected visit from Cecil and Wotton,



who brought him a copy of the treaty of Edinburgh, ratified by Elizabeth and duly signed and sealed, and demanded, somewhat peremptorily, if he had not received a copy ratified on the part of France to exchange for it. The ambassador was embarrassed, for he seems to have had an instinctive dread of the diplomatic talents of the English ministers; and he tried to excuse himself from entering upon the subject, by stating that he had just received a dispatch from his sovereign, and that he was going to demand an audience of the queen, to communicate its contents to her. The English ministers thereupon informed him, that the queen had entrusted the business of Scotland into their hands, and they pressed him to make them acquainted with his intelligence. This demand De Seurre evaded, until the two ministers, offended at his reserve, told him plainly that they would press him no more on the subject, and that the queen herself cared little whether the king ratified the treaty or not, inasmuch as her forces were ready for action, and if justice were not done to her demands very soon, she would take the means to enforce it. The ambassador was alarmed at this threat, and informed them of the nature of his instructions, which contained a repetition of the objections which had been already stated to Throckmorton in Paris. Cecil expressed great discontent, urged that there was nothing in the subordinate treaty with the Scots which ought to interfere with the ratification of the treaty with England, and declared that he knew from other sources that it was only part of a plan to evade the fulfilment of the promises of the French king. A day or two after this, the ambassador obtained an audience of Elizabeth at Hampton Court. She received him, as he tells us, with an angry countenance, but became somewhat pacified as he proceeded, in as gentle a manner as possible, with his explanations. He declared that the king his master was influenced only by friendly feelings towards Elizabeth, that the delay in ratifying the treaty arose only from the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, and that he felt convinced she would be satisfied with the reasons which had been already given to her ambassador in Paris, and which he was now instructed to repeat. The queen replied that she had given sufficient proof of her wish for peace and amity by her actions, and by having been the first to offer the ratification of the present treaty, by which

all the world might see her good intentions; "but she saw well all the contrary on the part of your majesty, and that all these delays are founded rather in unwillingness to satisfy what is due by the said treaty than in any reason, that which was alleged to her ambassador being neither good nor legitimate, and if he had received it for such, as I told her he seemed like a reasonable man to have done, she would never employ him again in her service; for there is no cause why the act of the Scots should retard her act, which has nothing in common with them, and cannot give them any favour unless they perform what they have promised; the condition of which is so clear in the treaty, that their actions and behaviour alone can bind your majesty, and not the ratification of the said treaty. For which reason it is very easy to judge to what these excuses tend, joined with the circumstance that you are so little anxious to send your deputies to terminate it as was agreed, although its term, as well as that of the ratification, is almost expired. Moreover, she is well informed of many things which are in hand on your side, far enough from the assurance which you offer her in words, so that she could not receive the said answer in good part, and is much disappointed that matters do not hold a better way; of which, if it happen otherwise than she desire, she prays God to make demonstration of his greatness on the party which is in the wrong." The ambassador tried to appease the offended queen with gentle remonstrances, and prevailed so far that she consented to wait until the result of the mission of the prior of St. John to Paris should be known. In a letter to his ambassador in Spain, accompanying a copy of the dispatch describing this interview with Elizabeth, which was to be shown to the Spanish monarch, the king of France informed him that the Scottish parliament had abolished the Roman catholic religion, and that for that reason he intended to keep none of his engagements towards them. He knew this was an argument which would have its full weight with so bigoted a prince as Philip of Spain. Nevertheless, there was reason in the declaration of Elizabeth with regard to the non-ratification of the treaty between France and England. It included and confirmed the obligation between the king of France and the Scots; but when ratified, the obligation on one part was as much dependent on performance of obligations on the other, as







FRONTISPIECE



ENGRAVED BY J. PARKIN

MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

*At the Age of 16.*

OB: 1587.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY PARIS BORDONÉ.

COURT PAINTER TO FRANCIS THE FIRST AND SECOND OF FRANCE.

*In the possession of James Copland, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.*

(The Frame is also copied from the Original.)



before, and the delay in ratifying it could only arise from a design to evade it altogether.

Throckmorton had detected with great skill the secret policy and designs of the French court towards Scotland. The grand aim of the Guises was the destruction of protestantism throughout Europe, and they were already beginning with the Huguenots in France. They looked upon England, at this moment the main support of the reformation, with special hostility, and the recent events in Scotland had given them great alarm; but until they had mastered the Huguenots at home, they were not able to enter upon a crusade against protestantism in Scotland. They resolved therefore to make a show of moderation, and to watch the progress of events, anxious especially to profit by the proposal for a marriage between Elizabeth and the earl of Arran. If the queen refused the match, their plan was to sow jealousy between the Scottish protestants and Elizabeth, by persuading them that she had assisted them merely to further her own views of personal profit and aggrandizement, and to detach Arran from the congregation, by offering him a marriage with a daughter of France, and the office of lieutenant in Scotland, with every thing but the name of king. If, on the contrary, Elizabeth's conduct was conciliatory, and there was no immediate prospect of breaking her league with the Scottish protestants, then it was determined to employ all the benefices and offices of the kingdom in raising a party against England; and to do this more effectually, the Guises proposed to begin by sowing dissension between the earl of Arran and the lord James. To counter-

act these intrigues, Throckmorton recommended to Elizabeth an archer of the French guard named Clark, a clever intriguer whom he had himself frequently employed, and whom she soon afterwards sent into Scotland as a secret agent.

Meanwhile Sandilands, who found that he had come on a fruitless errand, was kept long without an answer. At length, on the 16th of November, the French king addressed a letter to the estates of Scotland, in which he acknowledged the delivery by the lord of St. John of their promises to remain faithful and obedient subjects, but at the same time expressed his great dissatisfaction at their proceedings in their late assembly (as he termed the parliament), which he said was far different from that which was naturally to be expected from their professions and duty. Nevertheless he said he was so anxious for their return to their duty, that he had resolved to send two noble persons as his envoys into Scotland, bearing his commission to convene a legal parliament, in which their requests should be fully considered, and their faults consigned to oblivion.\* This letter was dated from Orleans, where Francis was then holding his court. Still the departure of the Scottish envoy seems to have been delayed, for he is said to have proceeded no further than Paris on his return, when he was overtaken by the intelligence of the rather sudden death of the French king, which occurred at Orleans on the 5th of December. Sandilands now hurried home with news of far greater importance for the future destinies of Scotland than the letter with which he had been charged, and he arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th of December.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

MARY STUART A WIDOW; EFFECT OF THE FRENCH KING'S DEATH IN SCOTLAND; MISSION OF THE LORD JAMES.

THE news of the death of Francis II. caused the utmost joy in Scotland, for it destroyed at once the French sovereignty. The reformed ministers spoke of it as a judgment of God in favour of their cause, and all parties were convinced that it would

make a change in the foreign relations of the country. They looked forward natu-

\* This letter is printed in M. Teulet's *Collection*, tom. i., p. 638. Tytler found a copy of it in the State Paper Office, and supposing it to have been written by the queen, has used it as a letter of Mary's in his History.



rally to the return of their young queen, and trusted that she would govern the kingdom with the assistance of the native nobility. Mary Stuart, now a widow, had just completed her eighteenth year. Possessing much of the talents, and many of the faults of the two families from which she was descended, she was distinguished for beauty, and personal graces and accomplishments, and had imbibed an ardent love of pleasure in a court which was remarkable for its gallantry and dissipation. Affectionately attached to her first husband, she appeared at first inconsolable for his loss; but her natural energy of character soon got the better of her sorrow. The accession of the new king, Charles IX., who was ruled by his mother, Catherine de Medicis, overthrew the influence of the Guises in France, but they still guided their niece in her behaviour as queen of Scotland. For them a peaceful and cautious policy was now more necessary than ever, and nothing could be more prudent than Mary's conduct at this moment. The English ambassador, Throckmorton, in a letter written to the lords of the English privy council on the last day of December, and quoted from the original in the state-paper office by Mr. Tytler, gives an interesting picture of the widowed queen. "My very good lords," says Throckmorton, in this dispatch, "now that God hath thus disposed of the late French king, whereby the Scottish queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment one of the special things your lordships have to consider and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that queen. During her husband's life there was no great account made of her; for that, being under band of marriage and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters; which, increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company,

became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the king, his brethren, the king of Navarre, the constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger, saving Martignes, who having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborne to do, knowing not the queen's majesty's pleasure in that behalf. Amongst others, the ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be for more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined and had great conference with the cardinal of Lorraine; and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of marriage for her with the prince of Spain—for I think the council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity—yet it is not amiss to hearken to the matter; for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means of offers. But to conclude herein: as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now in time good occasion be not let pass, the king of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men (which is a great virtue in a prince or princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her), that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left and offered her to take advantage by." The ambassador adds, "I understand very credibly that the said Scottish queen is desirous to return into Scotland; marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesley (who pretendeth title to the



earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers; and besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the lord James, and of all the Stuarts, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the duke of Châtelherault and his party; and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part, of those that carried themselves indifferently as neuters all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people, and now to have their queen home will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return, she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow-hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also work that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects; whom she will, for her part, recompense by all the favour, assurance, and benevolence, that a prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your lordships' grave wisdoms to consider of it."

Elizabeth became now anxious to ascertain the probable policy of the young queen of Scots. She sent the earl of Bedford to France to present her condolences to Mary, and to express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace and amity, and at the same time to require her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. He was to recommend to her to govern Scotland by its own laws, and without foreign influence, and he was to ascertain if there were any intention of marrying her to a prince of Spain or Austria, and to do his utmost to counteract such a design. The earl reached Paris on the 3rd of February, and joining with Throckmorton, the two ambassadors went to the court at Fontainebleau on the 15th, and obtained an interview with Mary, which is described in their despatches still preserved in the State Paper Office. The young queen was probably at this time acting entirely under the influence of the Guises; of her designs with

regard to Scotland we know nothing, but she refused to ratify the treaty. She told the two ambassadors "that there were more reasons to persuade to amity between Elizabeth her good sister and herself, than between any two princes in all Christendom; we are both, said she, in one isle, both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh, I am here, she continued, as you see, without all council; my uncle (the cardinal of Lorraine), who hath the ordering of all my affairs, and by whom (as reason is) I ought to be advised, is not here presently (*at present*); and, monsieur l'ambassadeur, it is also the queen my good sister's advice, that I should take the counsel of the nobles and wise men of mine own realm, as hath been declared by you unto me. You know well enough, quoth she, here are none of them, but I look to have some of them here shortly; and then will I make the queen such an answer as she will be pleased with." When the earl of Bedford pressed for the ratification, Mary replied again, "Alas, my lord, what would you have me do? I have no council here; the matter is great to ratify a treaty; and especially for one of my years." In reply to these reasons, Throckmorton said, "Madame, monsieur de Guise, your uncle, is here present, by whom, I think, as reason is, you will be advised. I see others here also, of whom you have been pleased to take counsel; the matter is not such but that you may proceed without any great delay, seeing it hath been promised so often that it should be ratified." "Alas, monsieur l'ambassadeur," said Mary, "for those things that were done in my late husband's time, I am not to be charged, for then I was under his obedience; and now I would be loath to do anything unadvisedly; but because it is a great matter, I pray you give me respite till I speak with you again." The ambassadors then took their leaves, but as they were going, Mary called Throckmorton back, and said to him pleasantly, "Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I have to challenge you with breach of promise; you can remember that you promised me, in case I would send to the queen my good sister my picture, that I should have hers in recompense thereof; and because I made no small account of the same, I was very glad that that condition was offered me to have it. You know I have sent mine to the queen my good sister according to my pro-



mise, but I have not received hers; I pray you, therefore, procure that I may have it, whereof I am so desirous, and now more than before, that I shall think the time long till I have it." Next day the two ambassadors had another audience, and Mary gave them an artful answer with regard to the treaty. "My lord," she said to Bedford, "inasmuch as I have none of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here to take advice of, by whom the queen my good sister doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not, nor think not good, to ratify this said treaty; and, as you know, if I should do any act that might concern the realm without their advice and counsel, it were like I should have them such subjects unto me as I have had them. But for all such matters as be past, I have forgotten them; and, at the queen my good sister's desire, I have pardoned them, trusting that I shall find them hereafter by her good means better and more loving subjects than they have been. Whether I have cause to think amiss of them or no, I durst put it to her judgment. This, my lord, I pray you think concerning the ratification of the treaty; I do not refuse to ratify it because I do not mind to do it; nor I use not these delays as excuses to shift off the matter; for if my council were here, I would give you such an answer as should satisfy you. And I pray you to tell the queen my good sister, I trust ere it be long some of the nobility and council of Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some shortly unto me: peradventure you know it as well as I. And when I shall have communed with them, I mind to send my good sister the queen your mistress, such an answer as I trust she shall be pleased with it; for I mean to send one of mine own unto her ere it be long. In the meantime, I pray you declare unto her from me, that I would we might speak together, and then I trust we should satisfy each other much better than we can do by messages and ministers. This the queen my sister may assure herself of, that she shall find none more willing to embrace her friendship and amity than I, and there is none that ought to take more place with her than me. She can consider what state I am in, and what need I have to have the amity of such a one as she is. Tell her, I pray you, how much I am desirous to see her, and also

that I am in good hope that it will come to pass."\*

In Scotland, all parties were anxious to prepare themselves for the change of policy which they foresaw must follow the death of the French king. A parliament was summoned, and it met on the sixteenth of January, when Sandilands laid before the estates the French king's letter, which was no longer of any importance. The ambassadors sent to Elizabeth had returned on the third of January, and they also were present to render an account of their mission. Elizabeth had received them with marks of favour; she had declined the marriage with the earl of Arran, but in a manner calculated to conciliate the Scots, rather than to offend them; and she promised them her aid and protection when they should be in need of it. The parliament, after deliberating upon the reports of their ambassadors, and on the other events which had recently occurred, came to the resolution of sending the lord James to France to invite their young sovereign to return to her own dominions.

Meanwhile, in the middle of January, Mary dispatched from Paris a commission of four of her subjects, Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesley of Auchtermuchty, to Scotland, to inform the estates of the death of her husband, and to announce the mission of Gilles de Noailles, abbot of L'Isle, sent as ambassador from the new king of France to desire the renewal of the ancient treaties between the two kingdoms. The four envoys were to address themselves first to the duke of Châtelherault, the bishop of St. Andrews, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and Athol, and the lord James. They were to promise on the part of the queen an oblivion of past offences and disorders, and to express her willingness to give letters of pardon on her return to Scotland, where it was her resolution to repair in person as soon as possible. She demanded an account of the revenues of the crown of Scotland since the death of her mother, the regent, and requested that a list of persons should be sent to her, out of which she might choose two to fill the offices of treasurer and comptroller of the kingdom. The instructions of the four ambassadors were dated on the twelfth of January, but Mary's letter to Elizabeth requesting that they might be allowed to pass through England, was only written

\* These extracts from Throckmorton's letters are given after Tytler.



on the 18th, and it was not till the 20th of February that they reached Edinburgh. The French ambassador, M. de Noailles, received his instructions on the 23rd of January; he was to urge the renewal of the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, and watch over Mary's interests among her subjects. He also was to pass through England, and he was especially recommended, if Elizabeth should desire to see him, on his way, to state to her the object of his mission "dexterously and gently," and he was "with the same dexterity to labour to discover, if possible, in what opinion she is of the said Scots, and what are her expectations, in order to report them to the king." He was further cautioned, in case Elizabeth spoke of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, to give an evasive answer, founded on the altered position of France towards Scotland since the death of the king. Mary was at this time still residing at the French court, but she had taken as her confidential minister the same M. d'Oysel who had so long acted in that capacity towards her mother, Mary of Guise. On his return to France after her death and the treaty of Edinburgh, D'Oysel had fallen into disgrace, the reason of which, as told by the English ambassador, Throckmorton, gives us a revolting picture of the dark and sanguinary policy of the Guises. It appears that when the bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martignes, were sent over to Scotland, they were secretly instructed to urge the queen-regent to dissemble with the lords of the congregation, until, under pretence of calling a parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, she could bring them together under one roof, and then she was to seize upon them and put to death the more violent of the protestant earls and barons. The queen-regent is said to have revolted at this treacherous proposal, and D'Oysel compelled the three French envoys to abandon the scheme. But when they all returned to France, his conduct on this occasion was made a crime, and he was accused of having been the cause of all the misfortunes which had subsequently occurred. He thus lost the king's favour, and was no longer employed in the Scottish affairs, until Mary became a widow, when she seems immediately to have taken him into favour again.

The Scots at this moment were divided into several parties, of which probably the

most numerous and certainly the most powerful was that of the protestants who were favourable to moderate measures, and who were anxious for the return of their queen, in the belief that, when thus she was once at a distance from French influence, she would easily be induced to agree to the present state of things. There was another numerous party in Scotland, who had stood in a manner neutral among the others, and who, led entirely by their personal interests, were ready to attach themselves to any government which would purchase their support. The duke of Châtelherault had formed a party among his friends, with the object of procuring a marriage between his son the earl of Arran and queen Mary, and a messenger had been dispatched privately to France to communicate with the queen on the subject. He received an encouraging but cautious reply, for Mary had adopted the policy of seeming to favour all parties, in the hope that thus she would be able eventually to gain them all to her will. A zealous party of catholics still remained in Scotland, and these held a secret convention, at which, with other barons, were present the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, and the earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Sutherland, Marshall, and Caithness. They selected as their ambassador Lesley, then official of Aberdeen, but afterwards bishop of Ross, and he was commissioned to assure the queen of their attachment and devotion.

The departure of Lesley, as well as that of the lord James, was delayed by the arrival of the lairds of Craigmillar, Findlater, Blanern, and Auchtermuchty, Mary's four commissioners, who delivered her message according to their instructions. Lesley then proceeded direct to France, while the lord James took his way through England, in order that he might communicate with Elizabeth and her ministers. The object of his mission was rather to ascertain Mary's disposition and intentions than to make any direct proposals. It had been resolved by the lords of the congregation that, if she came accompanied with a French army, to renew the war against their liberties which was begun by her mother, they would not receive her as their queen, but that they would seek the protection of Elizabeth. But if it was her intention to return unaccompanied with any foreign force, and to place her confidence in her own subjects, he



was to assure her of their loyalty, and to urge her to come without delay, and to pass through England in order that she might have an interview with Elizabeth. The question which presented most difficulty, and which required the most delicate negotiation, was that of religion; for the catholic faith, to which Mary adhered firmly, had been so entirely proscribed by the parliament, that it was made a punishable crime to celebrate the mass even in private. The more violent of the reformed ministers urged that this law should be strictly enforced with regard to the queen, but the lord James insisted that Mary should be at least allowed the private exercise of the ceremonies of her own faith.

Towards the end of the month of March, the lord James proceeded to England, and was there immediately admitted to an interview with Elizabeth. When she expressed a wish that he should press his sovereign for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured her that he had no public commission, that he went as a private nobleman, and that he only conveyed from the nobility and council a general assurance of loyalty and devotion. Nevertheless, this visit of the lord James to France was considered as an event of great importance, and many were apprehensive that it would expose the protestant cause to danger. Among these was the English ambassador Throckmorton, who wrote to the queen on the 31st of March, "I understand that the lord James of Scotland is appointed to come hither to the queen of Scotland. I am very sorry for it, and so shall be still, till I see the contrary of that fall out which I yet fear by his coming. I learn that this king, by means of the queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion; and for that purpose hath both procured the red hat for him if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeyes and benefices in this realm. If advancement or fair words shall win him, he shall not want the one or the other. If he so much esteem the religion he professeth, and the honour of his country and himself, that none of these things shall win him to this devotion, then it is to be feared that they will work ways to keep him still, by fair or foul means." "On the other side," Throckmorton continues, "if he will be won, then your majesty knoweth he may be, and it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your majesty and

your realm of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand the king in his best stead for the matters there; so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way, and I believe verily, if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh." But Cecil thought differently from Throckmorton, and the lord James continued his journey, after a friendly warning from the English minister to watch carefully over his own personal safety.

Mary was at this time gradually withdrawing herself from the French court, where her uncles were in disgrace, and she felt that she was herself not viewed with a friendly eye by Catherine de Medicis. In the month of March she went to Joinville to the duke of Guise, who had retired thither, and from thence she proceeded to Nancy, where the duke of Lorraine was residing in similar retirement. When the lord James arrived at Paris on the 4th of April, he found that Mary was at Rheims; and thither, after consulting with Throckmorton, he proceeded and obtained an interview with the young queen on the 14th of the same month. Lesley had arrived before him, and was now one of the favoured attendants at her court; but he failed in his attempt to prejudice her against her brother, although he had been instructed to warn her against him, and to intimate that he nourished designs against her crown. Nevertheless, she received the lord James with the affection of a sister, and his outward air of rough honesty seemed soon to have given him a great influence over her mind. He told her that he came voluntarily to offer her his affectionate counsel and services as one well acquainted with the state of her kingdom. She listened to him with favour, and so far confided in him as to disclose to him her intentions. She stated to him that it was not her intention to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, at least until after her return to Scotland, when she would take the opinion of parliament; and she did not conceal from him her dislike to the friendly alliance between Scotland and England, and her wish to break it, and to restore the old league with France. She said, moreover, that it was her design to return to Scotland by sea, and not to pass through England; and that it was her wish to marry a foreign prince, and not a Scotchman. Her hand was indeed at this time solicited by some of the greatest princes on the continent,



the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the prince of Spain. Having fully informed the lord James of her plans, she dismissed him with a promise to send after him, by a gentleman whom he left for that purpose, a commission authorizing him to assume the government of her kingdom as regent until her return. Dreading the renewed influence of the protestants over her brother, she earnestly warned him against visiting the French court or returning through England.

But under an outward show of extraordinary candour and honesty, the lord James was possessed of profound dissimulation, and Mary was completely deceived by his professions. The real object of his visit was to make himself acquainted with her sentiments and intentions. After quitting Mary's court he went direct to Paris, and in a secret interview with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, informed him of all that had passed between himself and the Scottish queen and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine; and he proceeded thence to England, to consult with Elizabeth. Meanwhile Mary had either received some information of the lord James's interview with Throckmorton, or she had become distrustful of him on account of his steady adherence to protestantism, for she suddenly withdrew her confidence and sent away his gentleman without the promised commission. This change of feeling was probably caused by her catholic advisers, for we learn from the correspondence of the English ambassador that Mary was at this time forming plans against her protestant subjects; that at her suggestion, "love days," or reconciliations, were being made among the catholic nobility, in order to form a united party; and that the French were intriguing extensively in Scotland. The last historian of Scotland has given an extract from a letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, preserved in the state-paper office, dated on the 1st of May, 1561, in which the English ambassador says, "The special cause why she [Mary] hath changed her opinion for the lord James, as I hear, is, that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your majesty, and the observation of the league between your majesty and the realm of Scotland; and also, that neither she nor the cardinal Lorraine could win nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used very

great means and persuasions. For which respects the said lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed; and seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the queen his sovereign on your behalf, and showed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his sovereign's indignation would waver him, nor great promises win him, your majesty may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you; and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small stead for the advancement of your desire. And in case your majesty would now in time liberally and honourably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholden to you, it would, in my simple judgment, serve your majesty to great purpose."

The change in Mary's behaviour towards the lord James convinced him that she had adopted a policy more in accordance with the violent catholic sentiments of the Guises, and he was now anxious to hinder or delay her return. He consulted with Elizabeth on various methods for detaining her in France, or for intercepting her if she set sail for Scotland. At length he left the English court, and on the 29th of May he entered Edinburgh, where he found the French ambassador, M. de Noailles, preparing for his departure. The protestants were in general more or less alarmed at the prospect of Mary's return, for they were fully aware of the depth and relentless character of the policy of her French relations, and reports had gone abroad of acts and words of their young queen, which, true or false, were sufficient to excite their worst apprehensions. Among other unguarded expressions, it was said that she had promised to imitate the example set by queen Mary in England, and that she had declared that she was only dissembling with her nobles, in order that she might gradually weaken the reformed party, until they were so much reduced that she could destroy them with ease. The consequence was that the protestant leaders were very little inclined to give ear to the demands of the French ambassador, which are said to have been the renewal of the ancient league with France, and the abandonment of the new one with England; and the restoration of their livings and revenues to the catholic priests. "To these demands," we are told, "it was replied that with regard to the ancient league with France, they were not conscious of having violated it, but on the



contrary it had been many times broken by the French, and especially lately by their fighting against their liberty, and endeavouring to reduce their ancient and unoffending ally to slavery. The treaty with England they said they could not dissolve, without being considered most ungrateful wretches, who repaid the greatest favour by the most grievous injustice, and who conspired against the welfare of those who had preserved their liberty; and, with regard to the restoration

of the priesthood, they neither acknowledged the order nor the use of those whom he called priests." Instead, indeed, of listening to the pleas of M. de Noailles in their favour, the parliament passed an act for demolishing the monasteries, and persons were sent into different parts of the country to put it into execution. With this reply, M. de Noailles left Edinburgh on the 7th of June, on his return to France, little satisfied with the result of his mission.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### MARY'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND.

It was now evident that Mary had resolved to return to Scotland immediately, and it was known that she was making her preparations accordingly, but many of the circumstances connected with her departure from France are still involved in much mystery. A letter from the Spanish ambassador in France, M. de Chantonnay, written on the 19th of June, informed the king of Spain that Throckmorton had been commissioned by Elizabeth to urge Mary to pass through England, and at the same time to express the desire of the English queen for a personal interview, and the promise of a safe-conduct through her kingdom. Mary was determined at this time not to land in England, and Catherine de Medicis had written both to the king of Spain and to the duchess of Parma, to secure her a good reception if she should chance to be obliged to put into any port in the Netherlands, as it was her intention to sail along that coast. The Spanish ambassador further stated that Throckmorton had urged the Scottish queen to adopt the protestant faith, and that she had replied with some warmth that she would remain a catholic, even if she were the only one in Scotland. Between this date, and the end of the month, the sentiments of Elizabeth had undergone an entire change, which appears, by the correspondence in the State Paper Office and other collections, to have been chiefly caused by the apprehensions of the Scottish protestants, and their desire that Mary's return should be delayed. On the

30th of June, Cecil wrote as follows to Randolph in Scotland:—"You see our opinion here is that it shall do much hurt in Scotland if the queen should come thither before things be better established. To stay her is no better way than that she and her friends in France may find lack of conformity there to the end proposed by her, which is to subvert the course of religion, and to withdraw the good will of hers hitherward; whether it be rightly judged of here or no, I know not. I have upon this news of her coming wished to have had but one hour's conference with my lord of Lethington."

Singularly enough, at the very moment when Elizabeth determined that Mary should not pass through her dominions, Mary's intentions suddenly underwent a contrary change, and she determined to ask for a safe-conduct. On the return of M. de Noailles from Scotland, Throckmorton had been directed to make another effort to obtain Mary's ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, which she again refused, informing him that she had now resolved to return to Scotland, where she would consult with the estates of her kingdom, without whose advice she would not ratify the treaty; and she told him that it was her intention to withdraw all the French soldiers from Scotland, and to do what she could to satisfy the queen of England, and secure her friendship. Throckmorton urged that there could be no necessity for delaying the ratification of the treaty until she



obtained the advice of the nobles and estates of her realm, as it was by their deed and consent that the treaty was made; to which she replied, "Yea, by some of them, but not by all. It will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of." It is evident from this that the Scottish queen hoped by some means or other, after her arrival in Scotland, to get together a party sufficiently strong to enable her to undo all that had been done during the previous year. In the course of this interview, she said to Throckmorton, "I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor take upon them things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know," she continued, "there is much ado in my realm about the matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion to me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear my subjects will take in hand." The ambassador urged upon her the great change which had taken place in Scotland, and the fact that a majority of her subjects were protestants, which she did not deny; but she added, "I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me."

At the end of June Mary sent D'Oysel to England, to obtain a safe conduct through her dominions, and he took with him a gentleman who was to return with Elizabeth's answer, while D'Oysel himself proceeded to Scotland to prepare for her reception. D'Oysel, gained over probably by English money, betrayed his mistress. Before leaving Paris, he visited Throckmorton, and informed him of all Mary's intended movements; and on reaching England he made similar disclosures to Elizabeth, and is said even to have advised with her on the means of hindering her voyage. In her public interview with the French envoy, Elizabeth appears to have allowed herself to be betrayed into some passion, and she not only refused the safe conduct, but instead of permitting him to go forwards to Scotland, she sent him back to Paris to be himself the bearer of her reply, and to communicate again with Throckmorton. In a letter to the earl of Sussex, written on the 26th of July, Cecil

tells him, "Monsieur d'Oysel came from the Scots queen, with the request that the queen his mistress might have a safe conduct to pass along our sea-coasts, and himself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer, that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace, made at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur d'Oysel was also gently required to return with this answer; what will follow we shall shortly see. This proceeding will like (*please*) the Scots well."

No one appears to have been more astonished at this change in Elizabeth's policy than Throckmorton, who wrote to Cecil as follows on the 26th of July:—"I do somewhat marvel at this resolution on the queen of Scotland's demand for a passage; and the rather that, by all former writings and messages, it seemed to me that her majesty was of the mind to have the said queen enticed to go from hence, and to be advised by the councillors of her own realm, where, as I take it, many occasions of unquietness and practice might be taken away that her being here might work, both by the heads of such as here she is ruled by, and also by the solicitation of such princes as like to entertain, cumber, and be desirous of her; which to do, neither the one nor the other cannot have such commodity if she were in Scotland. I think also upon that you write, that your friends in Scotland will most allow that resolution; whereat I somewhat muse, seeing the lord James, at his late being here, wrought what he could, and in the same mind hath continued, to persuade the said queen his sister to come home; and if he be now of another mind, I know not what he meaneth. But if he persist in his former opinion, then it may be feared that you shall offend more than the queen of Scotland."

On the same day that Throckmorton wrote this letter, M. de Chantonnay, in a long dispatch from Paris, informed the king of Spain of an interview he had had with the English ambassador, who had announced to him Elizabeth's determination to refuse the safe conduct to the queen of Scots.



The reasons Throckmorton on this occasion alleged for the refusal were, the non-ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the apprehension that when Mary had established herself in Scotland, she would marry the king of Sweden, and then with his assistance attempt to enforce her claim to Elizabeth's crown and restore Romanism. M. de Chantonay was pressed by Throckmorton to declare his opinion on this measure, but he merely expressed his surprise at the sudden change in Elizabeth's policy, and his fear that this slight upon Mary would have the effect of reviving the old national hatred between England and Scotland. It is amusing to see how imperfectly the continental powers were at this time acquainted with the internal condition and affairs of our island.

It was this same day, also, that Mary chose for giving a final audience to the ambassador Throckmorton, an account of which he gave in a long dispatch quoted from the state-paper office by Tytler. She was deeply offended at Elizabeth's refusal, and when he was introduced, she commanded all her attendants to withdraw, and then, alluding to the passionate behaviour of the English queen in her interview with M. d'Oysel, she said, "I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen your mistress was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysel." After this rather severe sarcasm, Mary proceeded, "There is nothing, monsieur l'ambassadeur, doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself as to require of the queen your mistress that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. [Elizabeth was at this time on one of her progresses.] I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for though the late king your master used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, monsieur l'ambassadeur, I came hither safely; and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I

have; and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen your mistress and me was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think that the queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her highest kinswoman and her next neighbour." Mary then added, with still more warmth, "Indeed, your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind (*intend*) to ask it. But, monsieur l'ambassadeur, let your mistress think that it will be deemed very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impeach my going into my own country. I ask of her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects. And yet I know there be in her realm some that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the same mind she is of, neither in religion nor in other things. The queen your mistress doth say that I am young, and do lack experience; but I have age enough and experience to behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a queen and my next kinswoman."

We cannot but acknowledge that in this high-spirited remonstrance Mary betrayed an irritation of feeling towards her own protestant subjects, which ill accorded with her declarations of forgiveness and oblivion, and which boded no good settlement for the future. The allusion to Elizabeth's catholic subjects showed that the plan of arming them against her government had been thought of, and could not but act as a warning to her. Throckmorton made the best excuses for his mistress that he could, and reminded Mary of her assumption of the English title and arms, and of her refusal to ratify the treaty, to which she returned the same answers as on former occasions.



Mary was at this time on her way to the coast. She had left Paris on the 21st of July, and proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, accompanied by the king of France, the queen-mother, Catherine de Medeis, the king of Navarre, her uncles the Guises, and the principal members of the family of Lorraine. She remained at St. Germain till the 25th, when she took leave of the royal family, and continued her journey, accompanied by the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and many other distinguished persons. We trace her on her route at Beauvais on the 2nd of August, at Abbeville on the 7th, and at Calais on the 9th. On the 12th of August, Cecil wrote to the earl of Sussex, "The Scottish queen was the 10th of this month at Boulogne, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither those in Scotland nor we here do like her going home. The queen's majesty hath three ships in the north seas to preserve the fishers from pirates. I think they will be sorry to see her pass." On the 11th of August, Mary had sent lord Henry Stuart of St. Colme from Calais to Elizabeth, to state again her reasons for not ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and her answers to the other articles of complaint. He was to say that the treaty was one between the queen of England and the king of France, and that therefore, since the death of her husband had changed her position, it did not concern her; that as it specified the late king her husband, it was rendered informal by his death, and required to be drawn up anew before she could sign it; that as all the French forces had been withdrawn from Scotland except those allowed by the treaty, and she had now ordered those to be sent home, she had more than fulfilled the treaty; that the fort of Eyemouth, and all new fortifications, had been demolished; that since the death of the late king, the Scottish queen had not used the arms and title of England and Ireland, and as they had been used on buildings and in acts belonging to France, she had not the power to efface them; that, having forgiven and forgotten all offences committed by her subjects, she was now returning to Scotland with the resolution to live in good accord with them; that nevertheless she was sending the lord of St. Colme to Scotland to take the advice of her nobility on the ratification of the treaty, and she begged he might be allowed a safe-conduct to pass through England; and she prayed Eliza-

beth to believe in her good intentions, and in her desire for her friendship.

At length, on the 14th or 15th of August (the day is differently stated by different authorities), taking advantage of a fair wind, Mary embarked. She was accompanied in her voyage by three of her uncles, the duke of Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis of Elbœuf, by some Scots of rank, and by several French noblemen, among whom were Damville, Brantôme, Castelnau de Mauvisière, and Chastellart. From Brantôme we learn the circumstances of her departure. When her ship sailed, Mary remained on deck, and never turned her eyes from the French coast till night veiled it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread on the deck, and laid herself on it to rest, having given strict orders that her attendants should awake her at daybreak, if the coast of France were still visible. During the night there was a calm, and the ship made little progress, so that in the morning the coast might still be discerned in the distance. The queen sat up in her bed, and watched it intently until at last it disappeared, when she bade an affectionate and sorrowful adieu to the country of her youth: "Farewell, France!" she said, "beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" A favourable wind then sprung up, and she proceeded rapidly towards her native land.

Elizabeth is accused of having sent out a fleet to intercept her, though this statement still admits of doubt. We know that three English ships were cruising in the Scottish seas to protect the fishermen from the pirates who then infested those parts, but the expression in the letter from Cecil to Sussex, last quoted, will perhaps hardly bear the construction that they were commissioned to capture the queen of Scots. It is certain, however, that Mary and her friends were apprehensive of some design of this kind, and she accordingly held her course along the coast of Flanders as far as Zealand. Assisted by a thick fog, she passed unobserved, and landed at Leith early on the 19th of August. She remained there till evening, and then proceeded to Edinburgh and took up her abode in the residence of her ancestors, the palace of Holyrood. One of her ships, which had been separated from the rest, and which had on board the earl of Eglinton, was captured by the English cruisers and carried into port, but as soon as it had been examined, it was released and pursued its course.



## BOOK V.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE FIRST BEGINNINGS OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

CONTRARY to the general expectation, Mary at first followed a course of extreme moderation, and seemed most anxious to secure the attachment of her protestant subjects. She had been received by her subjects with great pomp, and with the warmest manifestation of joy. The satisfaction of having once more a sovereign among them was increased by her beauty and graceful manners, and there could be no doubt of the sincerity of their professions of loyalty, although the rudeness of Scottish manners and the stiffness and harshness of Scottish protestantism, grated upon a mind which had been accustomed from childhood to the courtly manners of France. One of her first steps was to publish a proclamation, declaring her resolution to maintain the protestant form of worship, which she found established, and forbidding any one to interfere with it on pain of death. Aware of the strong and intolerant feelings of the reformed ministers, she sent for John Knox, in the hope of gaining him over by gentle means. When he came into her presence, she began by expostulating with him on the violent character of his celebrated book against female government, and pointed out to him its dangerous tendency to excite subjects against their rulers. Knox replied, that he had rebuked idolatry and persuaded people to worship God according to his word, which he imagined was very different from provoking people to rebellion, inasmuch as the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping leads all good subjects to obey the prince from their heart. But he excused his book on the plea that it contained matters of opinion only, and not of conscience, and declared that he should be an obedient subject as long as the prince abstained from persecuting God's true servants. He contended that in matters of religion, Christians were bound to obey God in preference to man,

and he gave instances from the bible and the first ages of Christianity, of men who refused to acknowledge the idolatrous faith of kings and emperors. The queen interrupted him with the remark, that these men did not resist. Knox argued that the refusal to obey a command was itself resistance. "But," said Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." That, Knox observed, was merely because they did not possess the power. At this reply, Mary became a little excited: "What!" she said, "do you maintain that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," said the reformer, "if princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to kings by their subjects, than to parents by their children; and yet, if a father or mother be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the frenzy be overpast." Then, fixing his eye steadily upon the queen and raising his voice, he continued, "It is even so, madame, with princes that would murder the children of God who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." Mary stood for a moment silent and astonished at the menacing tone of the preacher, who, to use the words of Randolph in one of his letters to Cecil, had "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her weep." Mary is said to have burst into tears, until, encouraged by some words of the lord James (the only other person present), she recollected herself, and said with offended dignity, "Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; they must do what they









MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

OB. 1587

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

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list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject unto them, and not they to me." "God forbid," said Knox, "that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is, that both princes and subjects should obey God, who has in his word enjoined kings to be nursing fathers and queens nursing mothers to his church." "Yea," said Mary, "this is indeed true; but yours is not the church that I will nourish. I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it the true church of God." This somewhat unguarded expression of Mary's resolution to support popery drew forth another indignant reply, and Knox launched out into a violent attack upon the Romish church, until the queen was called away to dinner, and the conference ended.

Many of the more moderate leaders of the congregation, among whom were the lord James and Lethington, regretted Knox's violence, but he was supported by the general voice of the ministers, and by the rude zeal of the populace. The queen was indeed obliged to undergo several trials of this kind. A few days after her arrival, she went in procession from Holyrood house to the castle, where she dined in state. She was received at the west gate of the city by five black slaves, apparelled in great magnificence, and twelve of the chief citizens carried the canopy under which she rode through the streets. Pageants had been prepared for the occasion, all partaking of the religious feelings of the reformers, and composed without much tenderness for those of the queen. When she came out of the castle to return to her palace, we are told by an eye-witness, that the first sight she saw was a boy of six years of age, who came as it were from heaven, out of a round globe, and presented her with a bible and psalter and the keys of the gates. Next was performed an interlude on a stage, in which were exhibited Koran, Nathan, and Abiram, burnt at the altar as they were offering strange fire. This was designed as a "terrible signification" of God's vengeance against idolatry, and was levelled at the queen's attachment to the faith of Rome. The earl of Huntley had with great difficulty hindered them from adding to the pageant a popish priest struck with fire from heaven as he was elevating the Host. But the subject which caused most discontent among the protestants was the restora-

tion of the mass in the queen's private chapel. At first the ministers would hardly believe that this would be attempted, and many of them declared that they would rather lose their lives than allow of it. Their preaching produced an immediate effect on some of the more fiery zealots of their party, such as the master of Lindsay, who, when he heard that the queen's mass was about to be celebrated, buckled on his armour, and, collecting his followers, rushed into the court of the palace, and declared aloud that he would put the priests to death. But the lord James placed himself at the door of the chapel, and succeeded with difficulty in appeasing the fury of the multitude.

Knox blamed the lord James with some bitterness for his interference, and his opinion had many supporters. It was a question which brought great uneasiness to this bold reformer's mind, and a letter is still preserved which he wrote to Calvin on the 24th of October, requesting to know his opinion upon it. In this letter, Knox informed Calvin how Mary's return had disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, and that she had not been three days in Scotland before the old idol of the mass was set up. "Some men of weight and authority," he said, "but few in number, have opposed this proceeding, alleging that they cannot with a clear conscience permit that that land, which the Lord by the efficacy of his word has purged of external idolatry, should be again before their eyes defiled with the same pollutions. But because the major part even of those who still agree with us in doctrine have persuaded otherwise, the impiety was allowed then to prevail, and it is now increasing in strength." He proceeds to state that many defended this toleration of their queen's "idolatry," on the pretence that Calvin himself approved of it, and he was anxious to have a statement from him how far this was true. "I confess candidly," he says, "that I never before felt how grave and difficult a thing it was to contend against hypocrisy when masked with piety; I never feared open enemies, when I might hope for victory in the midst of troubles, but now this perfidious falling off from Christ (which by them is called by the gentler name of indulgence,) wounds me so much, that I feel my strength giving way daily under it." Knox appears at this time to have become more reconciled to



the conduct of the lord James, for in sending his salutations to Calvin, he assured him that he was the only one of those who frequented the court who was opposed to these popish practices, "and he so far drawn with the rest that he dared not disturb their idol violently." Randolph had written to Cecil in the middle of September, that the queen's "mass was terrible in all men's eyes;" and but a few days after the date of Knox's letter just quoted, the English agent again referred to the unpopularity of the queen's private religious establishment. "Upon All-hallow day," he says, "the queen had a long mass. That night one of her priests was well beaten for his reward by a servant of the lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again that no man, under pain of confiscation of goods and lands here, say or come unto her own mass, saving her own household that came out of France."

In the midst of this manifestation of discontent the queen was highly offended at the strong protestant feeling displayed in the city of Edinburgh. On the last day of September, Archibald Douglas was elected provost, and two days after proclamation was made at the High Cross, in the name of the new provost and the other municipal officers, commanding all monks, friars, priests, and all other papists and profane persons to quit the town, under pain of being burnt in the cheek and carried through the town in a cart. Mary, in great anger, deposed and imprisoned the provost and baillies, and appointed others in their places, heedless of the expostulations of the citizens.

Mary had not been long in Scotland, before jealousies and feuds began to show themselves among her nobility. The lord James seemed to enjoy her entire confidence; he alone of her nobles had the power of controlling the violence of the protestant party, and the moderation he had already shown made it a matter of the utmost importance for the queen's present policy to secure his support. The earl of Huntley, as the chief of the Scottish catholics, was also in favour at court, but he was a man in whom few trusted, and the queen's uncles, whose mission appears to have had for its object to observe the state of parties in Scotland and advise their niece accordingly, seem to have warned her against him; it is said that Huntley made an offer to them of reducing the whole of the north of Scotland to obedience to the church of Rome, but that

they treated it as a mere vain boast. Maitland of Lethington was also in favour, and had been appointed the queen's secretary. The duke of Châtelherault and his son the earl of Arran kept away from court. The duke began to fortify the castle of Dumbarton, apprehensive that the queen would take it from him by force, and Arran remained at St. Andrews. The catholics appear to have attempted to gain them over to their party, and they were apparently encouraged in their discontent by Huntley, and the catholic lords. To all these the favour in which the lord James stood at court was a source of great mortification.

Alarmed at the leaning which Mary seemed to show to the protestants, this party looked to the Guises and to the French alliance for support; and the queen's uncles, although they were well aware of Huntley's crafty and unscrupulous character, knew also that he was very powerful, and held him and the catholics in hand. They had objects in view which rendered it necessary for awhile to give more open encouragement to the protestants. Throckmorton, in France, unravelled their unprincipled schemes for the subversion of protestantism, and made them known to Elizabeth. He learnt that they were distrustful of their niece, and that they had resolved, in case she joined sincerely with the protestant leaders, to desert her and raise a faction in Scotland against her, which was to be led by the duke of Châtelherault and his son the earl of Arran, the earl of Huntley, and the lord Hume.

At this moment the attention of the court was called to the turbulence of the Scottish borderers, and the lord James was dispatched, with the title of the queen's lieutenant, and a powerful force, to reduce them to order. He marched to Jedburgh and Dumfries, and pursuing the border robbers into their strongholds, destroyed their petty fortresses, hanged twenty of the chief offenders, and sent fifty more in fetters to Edinburgh. He then held a meeting with the English wardens for the arrangement of border disputes. This occurred at the end of October and the beginning of November, and during the lord James's absence, an attempt had been made by the Roman catholic clergy to establish themselves at court. But it did not suit the policy of the house of Guise to support them, and their advances were not only received coldly, but Mary soon afterwards yielded to the protestants on a point which



could not fail to give great offence to the catholic priesthood. The protestant ministers had hitherto received no support from the state, and were entirely dependent on the scanty and precarious contributions of their congregations. Their case was brought forward in a general assembly of the church held in Edinburgh in the month of December. The revenues of the ancient church were at this time held partly by the protestant lords, who had obtained possession during the late troubles, and such of the catholic prelates and other beneficed ecclesiastics who still retained possession of the property of the church. The ministers demanded that a portion of the property which had belonged or did belong to the catholic church should be set apart for their support, and although this was strongly opposed by the protestant barons, who were unwilling to give up any of their share of the booty, and by none more than by Lethington, yet at last the proposal was so far agreed to, that the catholic clergy were compelled to surrender one-third of their revenues, as the only means of securing the rest. This third was to be applied to the maintenance of the protestant preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the crown, which had been much dilapidated. It was a very important concession, inasmuch as it amounted to a recognition by the crown of the right of the presbyterian ministers to be supported by the state; but it was so managed as to give satisfaction to nobody. The ministers complained that the great mass of the ancient possessions of the church had gone to enrich lay proprietors, that the crown had benefited by the remainder, and that a very small portion had been set aside for their wants. It appears, however, that the sum thus collected was much less than was expected, for the bishops and abbots had contrived to alienate to strangers a considerable portion of the church lands, with the intention of resuming it if they again came into power, and many of them now evaded the production of their rentals, or gave in false estimates. This was not the only cause of discontent given to the protestant preachers in this assembly; for the barons of their party had refused to accept the book of discipline, and they had determined to yield to the queen the private celebration of mass.

Mary had acted with much policy in this

transaction, for, without giving her protestant opponents any great advantage, she had managed to add considerably to the influence of the crown, which was the aim of her French advisers. Even Cecil looked with dislike on this measure, and a letter to that minister, written by Randolph on the 15th of January, speaks on this subject with some asperity, and gives us a glimpse at the manners of the court, where apparently had been brought the freedom and licentiousness of that of France. "Where your honour," says Randolph, "liketh better the diminution of the bishops and other livings, than the augmentation of the crown therewith, what can I better say than that which I find written, *merx meretricis, et ad meretrices reversa est* (it is the goods of the harlot, and to harlots it has returned). I find it neither done for zeal to Christ's religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more. I find not also that all other men, besides the queen, are pleased with this: the duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Abroath; the bishop of St. Andrews [the duke's brother] from as much of his livings; the lord Claude, the duke's son, in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh; the abbot of Kilwinning, as much, besides divers others of that race; so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a begging." He adds, "I know not whether this be able to make the duke a papist again; for now *conferunt consilia* (they hold council together), the bishop and he."

It is not difficult to see that the whole policy of the Guises at the commencement of Mary's reign in Scotland was directed to one aim, that of obtaining from Elizabeth a formal recognition of her title to the English crown. They were convinced now of the error which had been committed in prematurely publishing her claims during the lifetime of her husband, the late king of France, and they now hoped, by making use of the protestants, to persuade Elizabeth to obtain an act of parliament declaring that Mary was the next heir. The reason of their anxiety to effect this object is now easily seen; if their plans for the suppression of protestantism succeeded, and they could employ the whole force of the catholic princes against England, Elizabeth being set aside for heresy, Mary would at once



succeed in her place without any room for opposition, and the house of Guise would be raised to the highest pitch of its ambition. Elizabeth no doubt penetrated these designs, but, independent of this consideration, the question of the succession was one on which the English queen was particularly delicate, and it required the greatest caution in moving it to her. Mary had scarcely arrived in Scotland, when the duke of Guise, in France, entered into communication with Throckmorton on the subject. The lord James and Lethington, the two great leaders of the protestants in Scotland, entered warmly into this plan, which they looked upon as one which would not only establish a lasting alliance between the two queens, but which would protect themselves and their party, and they laboured cordially to promote it. It had occurred both to Lethington and to the lord James during the period between the death of Francis and the return of Mary to her kingdom, and both had suggested it to the English ministers, but we cannot discover that the matter then proceeded any further. After Mary's arrival in Scotland, she had studiously sought the friendship of Elizabeth, and the amicable feelings between the two queens seemed to be gaining strength. Letters of mutual congratulation passed between them, and when the French nobles who had accompanied Mary to Scotland returned, they were received at Berwick with unusual pomp. The Scottish queen chose this moment for making a formal application to Elizabeth, and she employed on this difficult errand Maitland of Lethington. He was charged with a message from Mary expressive of her great regard for the English queen, and of her earnest desire to promote the alliance and friendship between the two countries. He is said also to have carried with him letters from the Scottish nobility, filled with professions of gratitude to Elizabeth for her former good offices, and requesting her to show kindness and courtesy towards their queen, both in public and private, in order that the friendship which was now begun, might not only be preserved by good offices, but that it might be daily knit closer; and they promised that they on their part would omit no opportunity of showing their zeal and anxiety for the preservation of perpetual amity between the two kingdoms. The ambassador then, according to his instructions, suggested that there was one certain way to bury in oblivion all ancient

animosity, and destroy the source of discord for the future, which was, that the queen of England should procure an act of parliament, and confirm it by her own authority, declaring the queen of Scots the lawful heir to the English crown, next to herself and her children, if she should have any. After Lethington had advanced many arguments to show how equitable such an act would be, and of how much advantage to all Britain, he added, that no one should more earnestly labour in settling this question than herself, inasmuch as Mary was her nearest relation, and expected such a declaration from her affection and kindness. Elizabeth replied to this proposal with an air of surprise. "I expected," she said, "a very different embassy from your queen, and I wonder that she has forgotten what, after a long contention, she promised before her departure from France, the ratification of the treaty entered into at Leith, which she was to perform as soon as she arrived in her own country. I have been long enough satisfied with words, and it is now time, if she have any sense of her own dignity, that her actions should correspond with her professions of friendship."

Lethington, in reply, stated that he had been sent on this mission before Mary had begun to apply herself to public business, that she had been engaged in receiving her nobles, most of whom she had never seen before, and that many, especially those from the north, without whom she was unwilling to enter upon so important a subject, had not yet presented themselves at court. Elizabeth then demanded with some warmth, "What need has your queen for consulting whether she shall ratify that which she has bound herself by her signature and seal to ratify?" The ambassador replied that he had no instructions on this point, and that therefore he was not prepared to enter upon the question. From this conversation Elizabeth returned to the proposal made by Lethington. "I have particularly noticed," she said, "that you have declared verbally in the name of your queen, and what you have said in the name of the nobles in support of it, you have reminded me, that she being sprung of the blood of the kings of England, I am naturally bound by that tie to love her as my nearest relation, a fact which I neither can nor wish to deny. I have shown openly to the whole world, in all my actions, that I never attempted anything against her safety or the tranquillity of her kingdom;



and they who are acquainted with my most intimate thoughts and feelings, are sensible that, even when your queen gave me the most justifiable cause of offence, by usurping my arms and laying claim to my kingdom, nothing could ever induce me to believe but that those grounds of animosity originated with others, and not with her. But, however these things may be, I hope she would not deprive me of my sceptre while I live, or prevent my children, if I should happen to have any, from succeeding; and if, in the meantime, any casualty should happen to me, she will not find that I have done anything which can either hurt or weaken whatever right she may choose to assert to the English throne. What that right is, I have neither thought it necessary to inquire, nor am I inclined very rigidly to call it in question; I leave it to those who are concerned to get this subject decided by the judges. But if your queen's claim be just, this she may assuredly expect from me, that I shall do nothing to injure it; and God is my witness, that I know no one, next to myself, that I would prefer before her, or who could possibly exclude her, if the succession were disputed." Elizabeth concluded by stating that, on so grave and weighty a subject, now for the first time seriously agitated, she required a longer time for consideration; and thus the ambassador was dismissed from his audience.

A few days after this interview, the Scottish ambassador was again called to court, and Elizabeth assumed a tone still less conciliating. "I wonder exceedingly," she said, "what the nobles intend by making such a demand immediately upon the arrival of their queen, especially knowing that the cause of the former offence is not removed. But what do they demand? That I, after being so seriously injured, should gratify her without any satisfaction having been given me. This demand is little better than a threat; and if they persist in it, I desire them to know that I am not more deficient than they in strength at home, and allies abroad, who will defend my right." Lethington declared that, so far from intending disrespect, the nobles had entered upon this question, not merely for the sake of their own queen, but in the hope of thereby establishing the public peace, and strengthening the alliance between the two nations; that they had the less apprehension of giving offence to

Elizabeth, from the experience they had had of her former kindness, and that they were influenced in some degree by a wish to provide for their own safety, which would be seriously compromised should the alliance between the two countries be broken. Upon this, Elizabeth entered upon a long justification of her refusal. "If," she said, "I had ever attempted anything which would have lessened the claim of your queen, then there might have been just cause to require that what was wrong should be corrected; but this demand, that, while alive, I should place my grave-clothes constantly before my eyes, is unexampled—nothing like it was ever asked of any prince before; yet I take in good part the design of your nobles in asking it, and the more so, because I perceive in it their desire to honour their queen and promote her dignity. Nor do I less commend their prudence, which would provide for their own security, and spare the effusion of Christian blood, which I confess could not be avoided, should any faction arise to lay claim to the kingdom. But what faction of this kind could there be, or to what strength could they trust? However, passing this over, suppose I were of my own accord inclined to grant what they require, do they think I would do it sooner to satisfy the wishes of the nobles, than to gratify the inclinations of their queen? There are, besides, many other considerations which render me averse to this measure. First, I am aware how dangerous it is to touch this string, and it has always appeared to me prudent to abstain from whatever might tend to bring the right of succession into dispute; for there has already been so much controversy and debate about legal marriage, about bastards and legitimate children—each, according to his inclination, flattering one party or the other—that on account of these disputes I have myself hitherto delayed entering into the matrimonial state. Once, when I publicly accepted the crown, I married myself to this kingdom, as a pledge of which behold the ring I constantly wear; with regard to any other marriage, however that may be, I am determined, as long as I live, I shall be queen of England. When I am dead, let whoever has the best right succeed me; and if that right belong to your queen, I shall in the mean time do nothing to obstruct it; but if any other have a superior claim, it is unjust to demand that I should openly injure it. If there be



any law against your queen's succession, I am ignorant of it, nor shall I willingly inquire too strictly into the matter; but if any such exist, I, when I ascended the throne, swore to my subjects that I would not change their laws. Now with regard to your second assumption, that a declaration of the succession would bind our friendship more closely, I am afraid that it would have a contrary effect. Can you believe that I would willingly have my funeral robes constantly before my eyes? Kings have frequently this peculiarity, that they dislike even their children who are to succeed them by right. What dislike had Charles VII. of France to Louis IX.? And he again to Charles VIII.? Of late, how did Francis hate Henry? It is therefore likely I might become averse to my relation, if she were once declared my heir, in the same manner that Charles VII. became indisposed towards Louis XI. To this must be added, and this possesses the greatest weight with me, that I know the inconstancy of this people. I have seen how tired they are apt to be of a present government, and how eagerly they turn their eyes towards the next successors. I know it is natural for many, as they say, to adore the rising rather than the setting sun. But, to pass over other examples, I have learnt this from my own times. When my sister Mary reigned, how ardently did many desire to see me seated upon her throne, and how solicitous were they in advancing my interests; nor am I ignorant what perils some men would have encountered to have accomplished their design, if my will had kept pace with their wishes. But now perhaps the same persons have not the same affection for me; like the boy who, when asleep, rejoices over an apple that he has had offered to him in a dream, but in the morning when he awakes and perceives his disappointment, his joy is turned into tears. So is it with those; when I was plain Elizabeth, they attended me with the greatest affection, and if by chance I looked pleasantly upon any one of them, he thought immediately within himself that, as soon as I ascended the throne, I should reward him, rather according to his desire, than to the services he had done me; but now when the event has not answered this expectation, there are many who would desire a change on the chance of bettering their fortunes. For no wealth of a prince, however great, is capable of satisfying the insatiable appetite of men; but if the affections of my subjects

have grown weaker, and their inclinations are changed, because I am moderate in bestowing largesses, or from any other trivial cause, what might I not expect of these discontented subjects, if a certain successor to the throne were appointed, to whom, upon every disgust, they might resort, and to whom when irritated they might carry their complaints? To what danger should I then expose myself, do you think, with so powerful and near a prince for my successor, to whom inasmuch as I added to her strength by confirming her succession, in so far should I take away from my own security? And this danger can neither be averted by any degree of caution or restraint of law, nor is it easy for princes to whom the hopes of a crown are presented, to confine themselves within the bounds of law or equity. If, indeed, my successor were once publicly declared, I should never after consider my situation secure." At another audience, a few days afterwards, the ratification of the treaty was again discussed, and Elizabeth, some short time afterwards, sent sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland on an embassy, the object of which was to prevail with Mary to delay it no longer. In October, 1561, Mary proposed that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to reconsider and revise the treaty, but her answer was not satisfactory to the English queen, and on the 5th of January the queen of Scots wrote her the following letter, which is an interesting declaration of her sentiments at this time. "Whereas," says Mary, "by your letters of the 23rd of November, we understand that, for our answer given to sir Peter Mewtas, as he has reported it, ye see no cause to be therein so well satisfied as ye looked for, we cannot well imagine what lack could be found therein; for as our meaning in the self (*same*) is and has been sincere, just, and upright, so in the uttering of our mind to him we so tempered our answer, as we thought might well stand with your contentment and quietness of us both; and to that end wished that the treaty, which ye required to be ratified, might be reviewed by some commissioners sufficiently authorized on both parties; whereunto ye have in your letter apponed (*applied*) such a just and necessary consideration, that the world shall not, by our dealing by open assembly of ambassadors, take occasion to judge that the amity is not sound, but in some points shaken or crazed (*weakened*.) As we not only do well allow, but also take



the same for a plain declaration of your good mind and an infallible token of your natural good love meant towards us. And, therefore, where ye think it better that we should communicate either privily to your servant Thomas Randolph, or rather by our own letters to you, what be the very just causes that move us thus to stay in the ratification, we do willingly embrace that same rather, and presently (*now*) mean so plain to utter our mind unto you, as ye shall well perceive the memory of all former strange accidents is clean extinguished upon our part, and that now, without any reservation, we deal frankly with you, in such sort as is convenient for two sisters professing such firm amity to treat together. We leave at this time to touch in what time that the treaty was past, by whose commandment, what ministers, how they were authorized, or particularly to examine the sufficiency of their commission; which heads are not so slender, but the least of them is worthy of some consideration; only will we presently touch that head which is meet for us to provide, and that which on your part is not inconvenient, but such as in honour, justice, and reason, ye may well allow. How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by very inspection of the treaty itself ye may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger for it. We trust, being so near your cousin, ye would be loath we should receive so manifest an injury as awnterlie (*perhaps*) to be debarred from that title which in possibility may fall unto us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that ye deal friendly with us; we will have at this present no judge of the equity of our demand but yourself. If we had such a matter to treat with any other prince, there is no person whose advice we would rather follow; so great account do we make of your amity towards us, and such an opinion have we conceived of your uprightness in judgment, that although the matter partly touch yourself, we dare adventure to put mickle (*much*) in your hands. We will require nothing of you but that which we could well find in our heart to grant unto you, if the like case were ours. For that treaty, in so far as concerns us, we can be content to do all

that of reason may be required of us, or rather to enter into anew, of such substance as may stand without our own prejudice, in favour of you and of the lawful issue of your body; provided always that our interest in that crown, failing of yourself and the lawful issue of your body, may therewithal be put in good surety, with all circumstances necessary and in form requisite; which matter being once in this sort knit up betwixt us, and by the means thereof the whole seed of dissension taken up by the root, we doubt not but hereafter our behaviour together in all respects shall represent to the world as great and firm amity as by stories is expressed to have been at any time betwixt whatsoever couple of dearest friends mentioned in them—let be to surpass the present examples of our own age—to the great comfort of our subjects, and perpetual quietness of both the realms, which we are bound in the sight of God by all good means to procure. We leave to your own consideration what reasons we might allege to confirm the equity of our demand, and what is probable that others would allege if they were in our place, which we pass over with silence. Ye see what abundance of love nature has wrought in our heart towards you, whereby we are moved rather to admit something that others perchance would esteem to be an inconvenient, than leave any root of breach; and to set aside the manner of treating accustomed amongst other princes, leaving all ceremonies, to propose and utter the bottom of our mind, nakedly, without any circumstances; which fashion of dealing, in our opinion, deserves to be answered in the like frankness. If God will grant a good occasion that we may meet together, which we wish may be soon, we trust ye shall more clearly perceive the sincerity of our good meaning, than we can express by writing. In the mean season we desire you heartily, as ye term us your good sister, so imagine with yourself that we are so in effect, and that ye may look for no less assured and firm amity at our hands than if we were your natural sister indeed; whereof ye shall from time to time have good experience, so long as it shall please you to continue on your part the good intelligence begun betwixt us. And thus, right high, right excellent, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the tuition of the Almighty."

In the month of December, 1561, Paul de Foix was sent from France as ambassador to



Mary, to compliment her on her safe arrival in her own kingdom, and an ambassador from Savoy, the marquis of Morretta, arrived in Edinburgh at the same time. In the suite of the latter came the celebrated David

Riccio, or Rizzio. De Foix, after his mission to Scotland, was sent, in the February of 1562, as resident ambassador of the king of France in England, where he was charged also to watch over the affairs of Scotland.

## CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE OF THE LORD JAMES; ARRAN'S MADNESS; PROPOSED MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO QUEENS; REBELLION OF THE EARL OF HUNTLEY.

AMIDST these negotiations, the lord James seemed to be daily rising in favour with his young sovereign. On the 7th of February, Mary created him earl of Mar, and next day she celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence his marriage with Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl Marshall. We are assured that the solemnity of this event was "such as the like had not been seen before." The whole nobility of the realm attended at the ceremony in the church of St. Giles, and conveyed the married couple in great state from thence to the palace of Holyrood, where the queen gave a great banquet. Randolph, in his correspondence with Cecil, told him how devotedly Mary pledged the health of the queen of England in a cup of gold which weighed eighteen or twenty ounces, and then sent the cup as a present to the ambassador, as he was sitting in the midst of her nobles. The evening was spent in amusements of various descriptions, and the queen, in honour of the marriage, created a number of knights. The festivities, which were much in the taste of the young queen, were kept up next day. Mary's taste for pleasure was, indeed, strongly pronounced, and it is evident, not only from the complaints of the ministers, but from information derived from other sources, that her court at this time was gay and licentious.

This marriage was followed by an event that caused a great sensation among the Scottish nobility, between some of whom feuds had been springing up ever since the queen's return, and in several instances their quarrels had disturbed the peace of the capital. Huntley and Bothwell, two nobles equally devoid of honourable principles, were generally, one or the other, at

the bottom of these tumults. Although the Hamiltons had been received at court, their attendance was not constant, and they seemed only to come from time to time to save themselves from suspicion of disaffection. It is said that the earl of Arran had become violently enamoured of the queen, and he was accused of having plotted to gain possession of her person, and force her into a marriage with him, and this is said to have been made a pretext for the establishment of a body-guard like that which existed in France. In the night of the 29th of March, Arran went mad, and escaping from his father's house by a window, he hurried to Falkland, where the court then was, and accused himself, his father, the duke, the earl of Bothwell, and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, of having entered into a conspiracy to seize the queen, murder the new earl of Mar, and take possession of the government. Bothwell, who was notorious for his profligacy, he charged with being the originator of the plot.

The old writers give us accounts more or less credible of the circumstances of this strange affair. The earldom of Mar had once been in possession of the Hamiltons, but it had been forfeited to the crown for treason, and it is said that Huntley's hostility to the lord James was much increased when the earldom of Mar was given to him. Huntley is said to have made many attempts in vain to undermine the lord James at court, and then, with the aid of the earl of Bothwell, he employed all his talents at intrigue to raise a strong faction against him, and to seduce the Hamiltons into it. This seemed to be the less difficult, as there was a matrimonial alliance between the two families, one of Huntley's sons having



married a daughter of the duke of Châtelherault. Bothwell is said to have first offered his services to the lord James in ridding him of his enemies, the Hamiltons, and, on meeting with an indignant repulse, to have gone over immediately to the Hamiltons, and urged them against the lord James. Bothwell, it is said, suggested to the duke the facility of seizing the person of the queen when she was riding, as was her daily custom at Falkirk, to a short distance from the palace, attended by the new earl of Mar and a very small retinue of unarmed attendants. The earl of Mar, as it was represented, might easily be slain in the scuffle, and thus, having the queen in their power, they might dispose of the government at their pleasure. The young earl of Arran is said to have been dragged into the plot by his father, and to have been an unwilling conspirator. Anxious to save the earl of Mar, he wrote him a private letter to warn him of his danger, and by some mistake of the messenger the reply of the earl of Mar fell into the hands of Arran's father. Upon this, Buchanan, from whom this story is taken, tells us that a consultation was held by the principal conspirators, "and Arran was committed to close confinement by his father, from which, having escaped during the night, he hurried to Falkland. As soon as his flight was known, horsemen were dispatched in all directions after him, to apprehend and bring him back, but he concealed himself in a wood during the night, and reaching Falkland in the morning, he gave a detailed account of the conspiracy. Soon after Bothwell and Gawin Hamilton, who had undertaken to carry it into execution, followed him into the castle of Falkland, where they were detained by order of the queen. When the whole design was thus made manifest, and the leaders had arrived at the spot, at the time mentioned by Arran, spies were sent out, and reported that horsemen had appeared in many places. Arran, when interrogated respecting the details of the conspiracy, became a little disturbed in his mind—deeply enamoured of the queen, and united in close friendship with the earl of Mar, he greatly desired to be of service to them; yet, at the same time, he wished to free his father, who was too easily drawn into such hazardous enterprises, from any concern in the conspiracy; and his mind, tormented during the solitude of the night between filial affection and love, became so

deranged, that his distraction appeared evident, both in his countenance and conversation. There were other previous causes which might likewise affect the young man. Having been educated liberally, and living in a style agreeably to the splendour of his family, till now, that his father, a man of penurious habits, by the advice of some who encouraged his avarice, had reduced his numerous retinue to one servant only. Those who had undertaken to perpetrate the deed were committed to custody, Bothwell to the castle of Edinburgh, and Gawin to Stirling, till the matter should be inquired into. Arran was sent to St. Andrews, whither the queen was proceeding, and ordered to be taken care of in the archbishop's castle. While confined there, during his lucid intervals, he wrote such rational and collected letters, respecting himself and others, that he became suspected of having feigned madness, to free his father from the conspiracy of the murder. The rest he accused constantly and earnestly, and being often brought before the council, when, from the design having been so secretly managed that it was impossible to confirm his testimony by other witnesses, he offered to prove his charge against Bothwell by arms." As the inquiry proceeded, Arran's statements became more incoherent, and his mental derangement more evident. He talked of enchantment and diabolical operations, and declared that he had been bewitched by the mother of the earl of Mar, whom he spoke of as a notorious sorceress.

What we know of the circumstances of this extraordinary case from such writers as Buchanan, who wrote partly from popular rumour, and from the brief notices in Randolph's dispatches, is very unsatisfactory. The conduct of Bothwell and the abbot of Kilwinning appeared suspicious enough to justify their retention in prison. The duke of Châtelherault protested his innocence so earnestly and feelingly, that Mary forgave him all offences which he might have committed towards her, and she proposed to the council that a pension might be granted to the earl of Arran, to allow him to live according to his rank, independent of his father. But in the end she obtained from the latter the surrender of the castle of Dumbarton.

At this time various proposals and suggestions were made for the marriage of the Scottish queen, which took no effect, either from policy, or from dislike on the part of Mary. At the end of April, an ambassador



arrived from Sweden to negotiate a marriage between Mary and the Swedish king, but after being kept in Scotland for some weeks, he returned with an answer declining the proffered alliance. It is said that Mary was guided in her policy on this occasion partly by the wish to give no offence to Elizabeth, to whom also the king of Sweden had offered his hand. The earl of Lennox, and his wife the lady Margaret (daughter of Margaret Tudor and her second husband the earl of Angus, and therefore niece of Henry VIII.,) were at this time living in England with their son the lord Darnley, and had entered into a suspicious intercourse with the catholic faction. This was discovered by Elizabeth, who saw in it, perhaps correctly, a plot for the marriage of the young earl Darnley with the Scottish queen, and she suddenly committed Lennox and his countess to the tower. Mary gave her full approbation to this proceeding, and declared her firm resolution never to unite herself with one of that race.

Indeed the friendship between the two queens seemed at this time to be mutually sincere, and Mary especially was anxious for a personal interview. Two parties, however, in Scotland, were opposed to this step, and from similar motives. The catholics, who had looked with great uneasiness at Mary's concessions to her protestant subjects, were fearful lest the personal influence of Elizabeth might complete the conversion of their queen from the Romish interests; while Knox and the extreme presbyterian party were equally afraid that Mary, in her visit to England, might be persuaded to adopt the prelatial scheme of the English protestants, which they looked upon with as much repugnance as Romanism itself. The principal objection to the meeting that existed in England, seems to have arisen from the discontent at the non-ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the assumption of the English title; but these were not insurmountable difficulties, and towards the end of May, the skilful diplomatist, Maitland of Lethington, was sent as ambassador to England to treat with Elizabeth on this important subject. Lethington's mission was successful; Elizabeth agreed to waive all other considerations, and consented to the meeting, leaving the place and time to be arranged, and as a testimony of her friendship she sent back by Lethington her portrait, as a present to the Scottish queen. The laird of Lething-

ton arrived at Edinburgh on his return on the 12th of July, and proceeded to the court, which was then at Stirling. Mary was overjoyed at his message, and immediately addressed letters to all the nobility of the realm, calling on them to meet her at Edinburgh, for the purpose of making preparations for this important event. There appears to be no doubt that Mary's joy was sincere, but she was doomed to experience a sudden and unexpected disappointment. The great conspiracy against the protestant faith throughout Europe was now gradually developing itself. In France, the state of things became more and more alarming, and Elizabeth, who now felt the necessity of giving her support to the protestant party there, determined to put off the meeting with the Scottish queen, which was intended to have taken place in the autumn, until the following year, that she might remain in the south for the purpose of watching their interests. She accordingly sent sir Henry Sydney as her ambassador to Scotland, in July, with a very warm and cordial message to Mary, expressing the extreme reluctance with which she had delayed the meeting, which she had looked forward to with the greatest pleasure, and stating that she had sent her ambassador to confirm the treaty for the interview, begging her to fix the period at her own pleasure, at any time between the 20th of May and the last day of August in the year ensuing. The sorrow of Mary on receiving this message, as described by her ministers and by the English ambassador, was of the most poignant description. Moreover, she is said to have intimated suspicions of Elizabeth's sincerity, but she was reassured by Sydney's assurance of her friendship and good intentions, and she proposed to confirm the meeting immediately, and to fix the day. It happened that most of Mary's council were at this moment absent, and Lethington thought it prudent to delay till they could be called together; whereupon Mary promised that she would send her final resolution within a month.

Everything we know seems to show that Elizabeth was sincere in her preparations for the meeting. The place first proposed was York, but as the English queen became more anxious to remain in the south, this was changed for Nottingham. The French ambassador in England, in a dispatch of the 11th of July, printed in the collection by M. Teulet, informed the French king



and Catherine de Medicis, that the meeting was to take place on the 8th of September. Four English peers, the earls of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and lord Arundel, were to receive Mary at Berwick, and from the moment she entered England all the charges of herself and her household were to be defrayed by the English treasury. The archbishop of York and the earl of Rutland, as governor and lieutenant-general of the county, were to receive her with all possible honours on the borders of Yorkshire, and when she approached York, she was to be met by the duke of Norfolk, who would conduct her to Southwell in Nottinghamshire, where the queen of England was to meet her, and they were to proceed in company thence to Nottingham.

Such is the programme of their intended interview, as it was stated by the ambassador of France, who requested of his sovereign particular instructions for his conduct on this important occasion. For, whatever feeling might exist in England or Scotland, it is certain that at the French court it was looked forward to with great apprehension, and that there was a wish to hinder it by every possible means. The remarks of M. de Foix, in the dispatch just referred to, are worthy of particular attention. "The experience of the past," he says, "has shown (what in fact is probable in itself), that princes do not willingly incur the great expense required by such interviews for mere friendship and good-will, and to salute and see each other, but they have always a design for their common profit, and often to the prejudice of a third; as is witnessed by the interviews of the kings of France with those of Spain and England, and the popes. On which account such visits have always been looked upon with suspicion by neighbouring princes. And even supposing this meeting had the effect only of uniting the two queens in a strict friendship, this would be prejudicial to the king, to whom it has always been very advantageous that the English should have an enemy at their back, to hinder them from easily undertaking anything in France. Which being well known to preceding kings of France since the time of Charlemagne, and especially since Philip de Valois of good memory, they have by all means hindered the reconciliation and union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and king Charles

VII., who by his prudence and courage drove out the English, married his son the dauphin to a daughter of king James III. of Scotland, named Margaret; who afterwards succeeding to the throne as Louis XI., preserved all his life this amity, being accustomed to call the Scots the rampart and bulwark of the French against the English. And king Francis I. also, both by marriages and other means, always tried to preserve this amity; insomuch that in the year 1542, when king Henry VIII. of England went to York to hold an interview with the king of Scotland his nephew, who had promised to come and meet him at York, to arrange a marriage between his son Edward and her who is now queen of Scotland, and by this means to unite the two kingdoms, he was the means that the king of Scotland, contrary to his promise, did not go. This amity will naturally render it more easy for the queen of England to undertake any enterprises she will in France, even for the recovery of Calais; to which the great preparations she has made and makes daily, in munitions, arms, ships, and other sea equipages, seem to tend; on account of which, it seems necessary, in anticipation of the future, to retain the Scots in this island in league and amity with the king. Not only their sex, age, and relationship, but the profits of both princesses, seem to give an occasion for amity between them. For the queen of England will see in it a great advantage and security, for it will deprive her subjects, both catholics, who are in no small number, and others, from receiving any support from the queen of Scots, . . . while the latter will satisfy Elizabeth in anything to obtain a declaration in her favour relating to the succession."

With these declared sentiments, no one can doubt that there was a foreign influence employed to hinder a meeting between Mary and Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Mary fulfilled the promise she made to sir Henry Sydney, and a copy of the treaty for the meeting, ratified and signed by the queen of Scotland, is preserved in the British Museum. By the first article of this treaty, it was "accorded by the commissioners (Maitland of Lethington and lord William Howard), upon certain knowledge of the natural affection that both the said queens of Scotland and England do bear one to the other, and consequently of their mutual earnest desire to meet personally together, that both the said



queens shall, by the permission of Almighty God, meet together at the city of York, or in default thereof at some convenient place betwixt the said city and the river Trent, in the realm of England, betwixt the 20th of August and the 20th of September" [1563.] The second article declared that, "because the meeting of the two queens should be full of joy, and give cause both to continue their present entire love and affections, as also to increase the same, it is accorded that neither of them, nor any of their councillors, servants, or subjects, shall do anything of one part to the other that may be prejudicial to either of the said queens, the realms, or the liberties of the same, provided, nevertheless, that the queen of England may at her pleasure require the ratification of the treaty made at Edinburgh, 6th of July, 1560. The said queen of Scots shall not be pressed into anything which she shall show herself to dislike, before that she be freely returned into her own realm, nor that she or any person coming in company with her, and being of her train, shall be challenged or troubled during her abode within the realm of England, for anything past or by-gone before her entry into the realm of England." The next articles provided for the manner in which any offence committed by the Scots in her company against the laws of England should be tried and judged; and that all Scots going on their queen's business should have a safe passage backwards and forwards. It was further provided that, "for the more certain knowledge of the number that shall come with the said queen of Scots, there shall be on the part of the said queen a certificate made in writing of the names and surnames, with their qualities, of all noblemen and persons of great estate, and of the number of all sorts, that shall come into the realm of England by virtue of the said articles; that is to say, the number of such as shall be reputed to be of the said household by itself, and likewise of the train of every other nobleman attending upon her; which certificate shall be delivered at the least ten days before her coming to the frontier, to the warden of the marches, and by him shall be delivered to such principal person of the nobility as shall be sent from the queen of England to receive the said queen of Scots upon the frontier, and to conduct her to the place of interview. And it is further accorded that the said queen of Scots shall, if she please, enter into this realm of England by the

town of Berwick, so as her train within that town exceed not the number of three hundred persons at one time, and that in the whole, from the time of her entry until her return, there may pass and repass through the said town the number of three hundred persons, and not above, and the rest to pass by Norham and Wark." The queen was to be permitted, during her stay in England, to use the rites and ceremonies of the Roman catholic religion. In ratifying this treaty, Mary stated that, "seeing that it hath not pleased God to grant unto us both the occasion of this present year to meet together, we have, nevertheless, thought good for the manifest declaration and countenance of our great desire to meet with our said dear sister, to confirm and ratify the tenour of the said articles of accord, which by these presents we do ratify, reserving the time of our meeting unto the next summer, in which time we trust that Almighty God will give remedy to these impediments, remove all occasions tending to the contrary, and will of his goodness further our good meanings, being grounded upon a sincere, mutual, and natural love the one to the other, and intended principally to the perpetual weal and repose of both realms and subjects."

In his dispatch of the 11th of July, quoted above, the French ambassador, De Foix, concluded by giving information of the arrival in Scotland of a papal legate, "whom, as I have heard say, the queen of Scotland has been constrained to cause to be stopped at Dunbar, by the remonstrance of my lord James and others of the council," until the principal lords of Scotland had been called together to decide whether he should be received or not. We learn, however, from the letters of Randolph, that the papal messenger, who brought a secret message from the pope, was conveyed by stealth into the queen's closet by Lethington, while the protestant nobles were at the sermon. It happened unluckily that the sermon was shorter than usual, and the earl of Mar coming suddenly into the ante-chamber, with Randolph and others, the envoy of the pope was hurriedly smuggled away by the queen's four Marys. Randolph, however, caught a glimpse of him, and his suspicions were excited, but he was subsequently assured by Lethington that his errand was merely to ask the queen to send some bishops to the council of Trent, then sitting, and to urge her to remain steady in the Romish faith. The jesuit had a narrow escape, for it was



no sooner known to the more zealous protestant leaders that he was in Scotland, than it was determined he should be put to death, and it was only through the exertions of the earl of Mar that he was allowed to depart uninjured. Randolph intimates his opinion, that this envoy had some other secret business under cover of that which had been stated to him by Lethington.

As it was now certain that the meeting with Elizabeth would not take place this year, Mary determined on making a progress in the northern parts of her dominions. It is said that the object of this visit was to put a check upon the treasonable designs of the earl of Huntley; but it seems certain that that nobleman and his friends entered into a conspiracy for the ruin of the earl of Mar, and the re-establishment of the catholic influence, which was to be carried into effect during the queen's visit to the north, where the power of the Gordons lay. The earl of Mar appeared indeed to be rising in favour every day, and he certainly justified it by the vigour and ability he displayed in the government of the kingdom. During Lethington's absence in England, the Scottish borders were again disturbed by the tumultuous disorders of the wild chiefs who inhabited them. The centre of these outrages was the town of Hawick in Roxburghshire, where Mar, armed with full powers against the offenders, arrived by a sudden march. Having surrounded the town with his soldiers, the earl proceeded to the marketplace, and having caused a proclamation to be read, forbidding any one on pain of death from receiving or sheltering a thief, he apprehended fifty-three of the most notorious outlaws, of whom eighteen were drowned, for lack of trees and halters. The others were carried to Edinburgh, where six more were hanged, and many thrown into prison.

The royal favour, joined with his abilities and successes, drew upon the earl of Mar the especial hostility of the catholic party, who are said to have been urged on by encouragements from France. It was believed that his influence over the queen was the sole reason of the protection given to the reformed faith, and of the leaning towards England; and it was currently reported that her uncles the Guises had written privately to her, remonstrating on her too great indulgence to the protestant party, and urging her to entrap its leaders

and put them to death. But this and many other intrigues of this period are involved in profound obscurity, into which we cannot penetrate for want of authentic documents. Huntley is said to have caused several attempts to be made to assassinate the earl of Mar. On one occasion he is accused of having excited a tumult in the capital, in order that, when the earl of Mar, as usual, went in person to appease it, some of his creatures might murder him in the crowd. This plan not succeeding, Huntley is said to have placed some of his men within the precincts of the court, to intercept and slay his rival as he left the queen's presence at night; but Mar having received information of this design, and caused some of the assassins to be arrested, Huntley was called before the council to explain why his followers were found in arms in such a place at that late hour, and made his excuse that they were some of his attendants returning home armed, who had been detained unexpectedly beyond the ordinary hour. Huntley's animosity against his rival had just now been increased by a new subject of offence. The two earldoms of Mar and Murray, forfeited to the crown, had been left for several years under the management of the earl of Huntley, who enjoyed at least a great part of the revenues, and hoped eventually to obtain a grant of them. That of Mar, as we have already seen, had been conferred on the lord James, but it was subsequently discovered that one of the Erskines had a title by blood to this earldom, and it was determined to restore it to him, and give the lord James that of Murray instead. Thus Huntley was disappointed in his hope of obtaining either, and in his anger he resolved to take summary vengeance. Huntley's family was at this time in especial disfavour. One of his sons, sir John Gordon, in consequence of a private feud, had attacked lord Ogilvy in the streets of Edinburgh, and desperately wounded him, for which he was seized and thrown into prison. But he escaped, and fled to his estates. His mother, the countess of Huntley, was a woman of great talent for intrigue, and is represented as endowed with extraordinary powers of persuasion. She interceded with the queen, and exerted her influence with her son, and it was finally agreed that sir John should be pardoned, on condition of his surrendering himself to the queen's officers, and he appeared before his sovereign, and



was ordered to ward in the castle of Stirling. But for some reason or other he repented of his submission, and, on the way to Stirling, he contrived to escape from his guards, and to fly again to his estates, where he collected a thousand horsemen, and was now setting the royal authority at defiance:

Although capricious and changeable, Mary was warm in her attachments and bitter in her resentments, and she was now extremely provoked at the conduct of the Gordons. It was no doubt this partly which decided her to make her progress to the north. Huntley was aware that this could forbode him no good, and he determined to be upon his guard; but he saw in it also an opportunity of carrying into effect his treasonable designs, by drawing the queen into his power, and ridding himself of his rival. It was said, also, that at this moment the earl of Mar had partially fallen into disfavour, because, though his conduct had been marked with the greatest moderation, yet he still retained enough of the formal morality of the puritan to render him sometimes an irksome cheek on Mary's indulgence in those pleasures and gaieties for which she had imbibed a taste in the court of France. The presbyterian writers declare that the queen at this very moment was contriving Mar's disgrace, and even his death. Be this as it may, she was received in state by the earl of Huntley at Aberdeen, on the 13th of August. It is said that the countess was employed to practise all her arts upon her sovereign, who, to facilitate still more Huntley's designs, was invited to visit his palace at Strathbogie. We are assured that Mary, on her side, was dissimulating her designs against the Gordons, and that thus, under an insincere show of friendship, they were mutually intriguing against one another. But the Gordons were anxious not to let slip the opportunity; sir John contrived to surround the town with his followers, and it was determined to carry into effect the project for murdering the earl of Mar, and gaining possession of the queen's person before they left Aberdeen. Their design, however, was defeated by the vigilance of Mar, and the queen, suspicious of their designs, insisted on the delivery of sir John Gordon into ward, and this demand being evaded or denied, she refused to visit Strathbogie, and proceeded to Inverness, in the castle of which it was her intention to hold her court.

Buchanan gives us the following account of Mary's departure from Aberdeen. He says that, while the intrigues between the queen and the Gordons remained still in suspense, by the mutual dissimulation of both parties, the queen resolved to proceed, and being invited by John Lesley, one of the barons dependent on the house of Huntley, to visit his house, about twelve miles distant from the town, that place being lonely, appeared to the Gordons well adapted for effecting the assassination of the earl of Mar; but Lesley, who was acquainted with their secret designs, earnestly entreated them not to load him or his family with the infamy of appearing to betray the life of the chief man in the kingdom, the brother of his queen, and one against whom he had no quarrel. Next night the court rested at Rothmay, a village of the Abernethys, where everything passed quietly, because the queen had promised to go to Strathbogie next day, to which time the project of the murder was deferred, as the court would then be entirely in the power of Huntley. On their way the earl of Huntley entered into a long conversation with the queen, and at last openly demanded the pardon of his son sir John, whose fault, he said, was simply that of having fled from prison, into which he was thrown for no act of treason, but for the mere act of being concerned in a tumult of which he was not the cause. The queen insisted that, for the vindication of her authority, sir John Gordon should be restored to ward, and suffer imprisonment for a few days. This Huntley refused to do, because, as we are told, it would have seriously embarrassed his plans, as his son would thus be a hostage in some sort for his good behaviour, and he had designed, if the attempt failed, to throw all the blame on him, which could not be done if he were already in custody.

The queen was so highly offended at Huntley's behaviour on this occasion, that, although almost within sight of his magnificent mansion, she halted, and gave immediate orders for changing their course and proceeding to Inverness. Here, to her still further indignation, she found the gates of the castle closed against her. Huntley's son, lord Gordon, was governor of the castle of Inverness, and his lieutenant, who was one of Huntley's retainers, refused to open the gates, except by the express orders of his master, who contrived to be absent. The position of the queen was now critical, for



Inverness was a weak town, entirely commanded by the castle, while the country around was filled with the vassals of the Gordons; sir John hovered near with his thousand horse, and some of the fiercest of the clans had been summoned from the mountains. But the spirited conduct of the queen, ably seconded by the earl of Mar, again defeated their plans. Strong watches were placed on all the approaches to the town, preparations were made to render the defence of the place by a small number of men the most effective possible, and the vessels which had followed the court with provisions were brought up the river to such a position that, if attacked, the queen and her court might embark without difficulty. With these precautions, the queen passed the night in Aberdeen, well informed, by the capture of some of Huntley's spies, of the designs which had been formed against her. The opportunity was thus again lost, for next day, when it became known for what purpose Huntley's forces had been collected, the whole of the clan Chattan deserted him and went over to the queen, and their example was immediately followed by the Frasers, Monros, and others of the bravest of the highlanders.

Mary now felt sufficiently strong to chastise her opponents, and preparations were made for attacking the castle; the queen herself declaring that "she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapsack." The garrison, however, did not wait for the assault, but surrendered the castle, and the captain was immediately hanged. If Mar had been in any disfavour before, he seemed now to have completely regained his place in the affection of his sister, who took advantage of this moment to show her sense of his faithfulness and of the dangers to which he was exposed by formally conferring upon him the earldom of Murray. She then commenced her journey back to Aberdeen at the head of three thousand men, and having been informed that Huntley had posted himself with considerable force in the woods on the bank of the Spey to attack her by surprise, she crossed that river in search of him, but found him not. The English ambassador Randolph, who accompanied Mary in her northern progress, wrote to Cecil in one of his dispatches—"What desperate blows would that day have been given, when every man should have fought

for so noble a queen and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours and not to be bereft of them, your honour may easily imagine."

The queen had no sooner reached Aberdeen, than she proclaimed the earl of Huntley a traitor, or, in the language of that time, put him to the horn. Huntley now, overrating his own strength, determined to resist, and, having fortified his castles of Findlater, Auchendown, and Strathbogie, he collected his forces, and marched to Aberdeen in the hope of taking the court by surprise. The opportunity seemed favourable, for most of the highlanders who had joined the queen at Inverness had been sent home, and the royal forces were not considerable; but Huntley's followers disliked the service on which they were employed, and they gradually fell off until, when he encamped on the banks of Loch Skene, he mustered only eight hundred men. When certain information had been received of Huntley's approach, the new earl of Murray, with the earls of Morton and Athol, marched out to meet him, and they found him stationed at the hill of Corrichie, about twelve miles from Aberdeen. At this time his forces are said to have amounted to no more than five hundred men, who were soon dispersed, and Huntley himself perished, while his two sons were taken prisoners.

The battle of Corrichie took place on the 28th of October, 1562. Buchanan has given a rather detailed account of the circumstances connected with it, the main features of which appear to be confirmed by the contemporary entry in the *Diurnal of Occurrences*. Huntley, he tells us, perceiving that the whole appearance of the court scenery was shifted, the earl of Murray, but lately destined for death, being now in the greatest favour, while he himself, fallen from the highest expectations of honour and dignity, had become an object of the most implacable hatred, imagining that he had proceeded too far to expect pardon, had recourse to the most desperate measures, and perceived no other remedy for his present dangers than to get in any way he could the queen's person into his power. For, though he knew she would at first be highly offended, he did not despair of being able to bend her womanish mind, in time, by assiduity, flattery, and the marriage with his son, which



he believed was in accordance with the wish of her uncles. "Wherefore, having communicated his intention to his friends, it was determined to cut off Murray by any possible means; for on his removal, there was no one to whom the queen could entrust the government, or who was able to manage it, if she gave them her confidence. His spies encouraged him with hopes of accomplishing his purpose; and among his supporters was the earl of Sutherland (John Gordon), who, by assiduous attendance at court, and great professions of affection towards the queen, obtained the knowledge of her private counsels, and communicated them to Huntley. He not only watched for the convenient time and opportunity, but even offered his assistance to effect the murder of the earl of Murray; besides, though the town was adapted for the purpose, being open on every side, and convenient for lurking assassins, the citizens, either conciliated by bribes, joined in alliance, or restrained by fear, durst attempt nothing. The highlanders were sent home. The earl of Murray had but a small number of attendants brought from the most distant parts of the country, whose opposition was not much to be dreaded; and as Huntley had the command of the whole of the neighbouring districts, the affair might be effected almost without bloodshed, for one man only being slain, and the queen in their power, all other sores would be easily healed. Urged by these considerations to make the attempt, when everything was arranged, the interception of certain letters of the earl of Sutherland and John Lesley led to the discovery of the whole design. Upon this, Sutherland fled; but Lesley acknowledged his fault and obtained pardon, and afterwards, during his whole life, he remained a brave and faithful subject, first to the queen, and afterwards to the king.

"Huntley, who waited the issue with a great band of followers, in a situation surrounded with marshes, and almost inaccessible, having learnt what had taken place at court, determined by the advice of his friends to retreat to the mountains; but induced by the promises of many of the neighbouring nobility, then with the queen, who were his allies, he again changed his intention, and resolved to await the event of a battle in a station fortified by nature. Murray, with the troops in which he could trust, amounting to scarcely a hundred horsemen, and followed by the nobles who

were present, especially James Douglas earl of Morton, and Patrick Lindsay, advanced against the enemy. The rest of his army, about eight hundred, collected from the country around, and, having for the most part been previously corrupted by Huntley, more likely to draw on Murray's troops to their ruin, than afford them any assistance in the hour of danger, marched along with him, boasting mightily, and promising that they alone would defeat the enemy, while the others might look on as spectators. Some horsemen being sent forward to secure all the avenues round the marsh, in order that Huntley might not escape, the rest advanced more slowly; and although during the preceding night a great number of the Gordons had deserted, above three [five] hundred still remained with him, keeping possession of their station. When Murray had arrived at a neighbouring declivity whence there was a view of the marshes, he halted with his party drawn up in order of battle in one line by themselves; the rest immediately on being led against the enemy, openly discovered their treason by sticking in their bonnets sprigs of heather, of which great quantities grew there. When they drew near, Huntley's party, confident of the result, ran towards them; and when they saw their line thrown into confusion by the traitors, and already flying, they threw away their spears, that they might more quickly pursue them, and drawing their swords and shouting treason, to strike terror into the ranks which remained unbroken, then rushed forwards at a quick pace against their enemies. The traitors, thinking they should sweep along with them the line which still remained firm, rushed towards them; but Murray, who saw no hope in flight, and believed that nothing remained but the glory of an honourable death, ordered his soldiers to present their spears, and not allow any of the fugitives to pass through; and, thus excluded, they passed on both wings in great disorder. Huntley's men, who now thought the affair ended, when they saw the line, though small, bristling with extended pikes, and themselves scattered, disordered, and unable to come to close quarters on account of the length of the spears of their opponents, they became panic-struck, and turning their backs, fled with greater speed than they had advanced. The traitors, when they beheld this change of fortune, instantly turned upon the fugi-



tives, and, as if to wipe away their previous fault, slew all they could overtake. About a hundred and twenty of Huntley's men were slain, and a hundred made prisoners; while on the other side no one was hurt. Among the prisoners was Huntley himself, with his two sons, John and Adam. The father, heavy through age, and asthmatic through corpulence, died in the hands of those who took him; the rest were brought late in the evening to Aberdeen."

The house of Gordon now experienced

the full weight of the royal displeasure. Huntley's eldest son, the lord Gordon, was found guilty of treason, and imprisoned; and his second son, sir John Gordon, who was accused of having been the first promoter of this rebellion, was executed immediately after his capture. The third son, Adam Gordon, was pardoned on account of his youth; but the immense estates of the family were seized by the crown, the title was forfeited, and this great family was reduced to indigence.

### CHAPTER III.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE; GAIETY OF THE SCOTTISH COURT; VIOLENT REMONSTRANCES OF JOHN KNOX.

THE assistance given to the French protestants, involved England during the present year in hostilities with France, which caused some suspicions at least to be mixed up with the relations between England and Scotland. If Mary did, as we might naturally suppose, sympathize with her uncles and the French catholics, she acted with such profound dissimulation, that even Randolph was convinced that she clung more to the friendship of Elizabeth than to her connexion with France; and although several French agents arrived in Scotland at this period, and were received at court, that able diplomatist intimates his belief that they were entrusted with no mission of importance. In a letter to the lord Robert Dudley (soon afterwards created earl of Leicester), written from Edinburgh on the 18th of November, 1562, Randolph informs that nobleman of the arrival of two distinct messengers from France to the Scottish court, and declares that, as far as he could gather, they were not of a political character. "This advantage," he adds, "I have gotten by the hasty arrival of these two gentlemen, and by the suspicion that is grown of their coming, which gave all men occasion to think that they came for little good, that I perceive that if the queen were both of will and power to annoy my mistress, that she should want both counsellors thereunto and ministers to be employed therein, except such as dwell upon the borders, who, what kind of men

they are, your honour knoweth right well. \* \* \* Touching the good will that is borne unto the queen's majesty, my sovereign, in the queen herself, I find it nothing diminished of that that at any time I have before written; and in her subjects (I mean only the godly) I find it so increased, in special since the support sent into France, that I think her majesty the happiest woman alive."

Both queens were at this time suffering from sickness, Mary from an attack of an epidemic resembling influenza, which had swept through her court, and Elizabeth from a more serious disease, on her recovering from which she wrote a complimentary letter to the queen of Scots. The latter, at the end of the year, sent Lethington on a new mission to England, to congratulate Elizabeth on her recovery, and to offer her mediation in restoring the peace between England and France. He was instructed to "impart to our said good sister the unquiet thoughts and manifold cares which these troublesome times do breed unto us, wherein the present calamities we see be so great, that they cannot well receive any increase, and yet we cannot but fear worse to come. The desolation already chanced in that noble realm is lamentable to all men, be they never so far strangers unto it, yea, I think very enemies, in whom nature mon (*must*) work some horror or compassion, either for pity, at least for the example's sake, to see the people of any country,



kinsfolk and brethren, run blindly and headlong to the destruction the one of the other; but to us mon be most dolorous, for the honour and particular interest we have there. We consider the broader the flame groweth, it shall entangle and endanger all the neighbours the more; and therefore Christian love and common charity requireth that every one put to his helping hand to quench the fire. The matter is so far gone already, and our conscience begins to prick us, that we have too long forborne to deal in it so far as we might conveniently, at least to assay if by our mediation any good might be wrought." After stating that she was embarrassed by the circumstance of her near relationship to the contending parties on both sides, Mary proceeds, "we feared that entering once to meddle anywise in it, we could not so justly hold the balance, nor so indifferently, but we should appear to incline more to the one side, and by that means offend the other; so that how uprightly soever our proceeding should be, we should thereby hazard the loss of some of our dearest friends. This preposterous fear has thus long kept us in suspense; but now when we weigh on the other part the matter to be so far gone already, that it mon end by victory, or else by treaty; the victory, whatsoever it shall be to others, it must to us be most dolorous; for whosoever win, our dearest friends shall lose, having on the one part our good sister, and on the other the king our good brother and our uncles, so that we cannot but abhor to think that we shall be spectatrix of so unpleasant a bargain; for avoiding of the which, of necessity, we mon turn ourself to the only remedy that remains, to have the matter, if it be possible, taken up by treaty, whereof as none has better cause to be desirous, so if our credit be as good with the parties as our affection towards both designs, there can be no more fit an instrument to procure good ways."

In pursuance of these sentiments, Lethington was to sound the English queen, and ascertain her inclinations with regard to a treaty with France. But this was not the only object of his mission to England, for he received another set of instructions, relating to Mary's claim to the English succession. Elizabeth had just called together her second parliament, and Mary, knowing the prejudice of the people of England against her as a catholic, was alarmed lest any step should be taken injurious to her claims.

Lethington was therefore sent, under the pretext of offering her mediation between England and France, to watch the proceedings of the English parliament. He was accordingly directed, in a paper entitled "Other instructions to the laird of Lethington, our secretary and ambassador, to be used if the cause so requires, and at his discretion," that, "if he gets any knowledge, advertisement, or understanding, that in the parliament of England presently holden, it be proposed, moved, or any question or difficulty arise touching the succession of the crown of England, failing of our good sister and the lawful issue of her body, where-through any danger may appear, that either by misknowledge of our title, or neglecting the same, the succession may be established in the person of any other than us; then and in that case, our said ambassador shall not only renew unto our said good sister, and reduce to her remembrance all conferences and communieations past betwixt our said good sister and him, touching that matter, but also shall enlarge unto her and make manifest the good title and interest we have and pretend to the succession of that crown, as nearest and lawful in the right line from king Harry the Seventh, by just descent from his eldest daughter Margaret, sometime queen of Scots, and desire our good sister that according to justice and equity, having also respect to the good amity and intelligence presently (*now*) standing betwixt us, entertained for our part by all good offices, she neither do, procure, nor suffer to be done or procured, anything that may be prejudicial to us and our title aforesaid; and in case her own conscience, the love of her country, or earnest suit of the people, press her to establish" otherwise, he was to make an earnest protest to the contrary. "*Item*, Ye shall desire to have access and ingress in the parliament-house, to the effect ye may in the presence of the estates of the realm declare the validity of our title, and the interest we pretend; and desire of them the heads contained in the former articles; answer, if need be, the objections to be moved in the contrary; and in case they would so far neglect the common law, good order, and equity of our cause, that setting the same apart, they will refuse our reasonable desire, and proceed further to the contrary; ye shall in our name, and upon our behalf, publicly and solemnly protest, that we are thereby injured and offended, and for such lawful remedy is at the law and consuetude



(*custom*) has provided for them that are enormously and excessively hurt."

There appears to have been no necessity on this occasion for Lethington's interference, and indeed circumstances were not favourable for any new declaration on the part of Mary for this favourite object of her desires. During the sitting of the parliament, discovery was made of a plot among some of the English catholics, for which several persons were executed. One of the chief conspirators confessed that they had been intriguing with the duke of Guise, to bring over six thousand French soldiers into Wales, in the month of May following, and there to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England. They urged in their defence that they had no design of attempting anything during Elizabeth's life, but that they had been assured by a magician that Elizabeth would not live beyond the month of March; and when we couple this with the circumstance that this year the pope promised pardon and absolution to any one who would privately murder the English queen, we can hardly doubt that some infamous design against her person was contemplated by the French catholic princes.

We have, however, at present, no reason for believing that the Scottish queen had the slightest knowledge of this affair; although, among the few secret documents of this period which are preserved and have seen the light, there are one or two which prove that Mary was not sincere in the indulgence she showed to her protestant subjects. On the 30th and 31st of January, 1563, she wrote letters to her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, and to the pope, declaring her firm and unchanged resolution to persevere in the faith and obedience of the church of Rome, and expressing her regret that her refractory subjects still continued in their heresy. In her letter to the cardinal she declared to him the grief she felt at the miserable condition of her country, her wish to restore the catholic faith, even at the risk of her life, and her determination to die rather than give the least countenance to heresy.\* The same sentiments

are repeated in the letter to the pope, whom she assured that it had been her fixed intention, ever since her return to her dominions, to employ all her thought and power to reduce to obedience to Rome her "poor people," whom she had found, to her great displeasure, "out of the good way, and submersed in the new opinions and damnable errors" which then prevailed in some parts of Christendom.†

The sentiments here expressed were certainly not in accordance with those which Mary professed in public, and they are sufficient to justify the suspicions and fears of Knox and his fellow-preachers, that if they put their trust in the queen's promises of indulgence, they would find eventually that they had rested upon false hopes. The preachers failed not to raise the cry of alarm, and they probably knew best the form in which it would reach most effectually the hearts of their countrymen; but they spoke with a violence of language which shocked not only the court, but many of the leading men of their own party, and even the English ambassador Randolph, who blamed their intemperate zeal and their want of charity towards their opponents. Knox and his friends were at this time greatly scandalized at the increasing gaiety and freedom of manners. The chief occupation of Mary's court appears, indeed, to have consisted of masques and dancing, and the scandal such scenes caused among the more rigid reformers was increased by the suspicion that they were intended to mark the joy of their queen for the proceedings of the Guises against their protestant brethren in France. In one of his Sunday discourses in the middle of December, Knox gave vent from the pulpit to a violent invective against the evil practices of princes, which was intended to apply more especially to the chiefs of the house of Guise in France, but some parts of it were interpreted as an unjustifiable attack upon the Scottish queen. Next day the preacher was summoned before the queen, and in an audience of some length he explained and defended his scr-

\* ... Supplicandolo a tenermi per sua divota figliuola, facendogli testimonianza—come potrete fare, se vi piace—del despiacere che ho di questo miserabile paese, et credere ch'io mi stimerò felice di poter rimediare, se ben bisognasse con la propria vita, la quale io perderò più tosto che, cambiando mia fede, approvar in parte alcuna le loro heresie. Both letters are in Italian and are printed in Prince Labanoff's collection.

† Essendo sempre stata nostra intenzione d'impiegare, come noi habbiamo fatto, il nostro studio, il pensiero, la fatica, et il modo, che è piaciuto a Dio di darci, doppo il nostro ritorno in questo reame per ridurre il nostro povero popolo, il quale habbiamo con nostro grandissimo dispiacere truovato fuori della buona via, et sommerso nelle nuove opinioni et dannabili errori, li quali sono oggi nella christianità in diversi luoghi.



mon, which he declared had been misreported. "My text," Knox said to her, "was this, 'And now, O kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour wherein God has placed them, and the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question: But oh, alas! what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme judge whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth; for whilst that murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed? And how can it be otherwise? for princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them; but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand. For in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we are all born, but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, madame, I said that, albeit in scripture I found no praise of it, and that in profane writers it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy, than of sober men; yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided; the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing; secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be to drink in hell, unless they repent."

Bold language like this could not be agreeable to the royal ear, although it was not the first time that Mary had been compelled to hear such from Knox. She re-

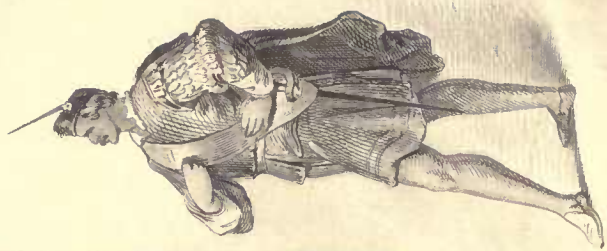
proached the preacher with his bitterness, told him that as she knew he held different opinions from her uncle, she could not expect him to approve of their actions; but she begged him, if he saw any blame in her, to come and admonish her in private, and not to reprove her in public. Knox's hatred of the persecuting Guises was not to be restrained; "I am assured," he replied to the queen, "that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his son Jesus Christ; and for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am assured their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now."

The few glimpses we obtain of the interior of Mary's court at this time show us the queen in her gaiety and love of admiration descending from her rank to an undignified familiarity with her courtiers, which might well shock the too sensitive feelings of the rigid reformers. At the same time several circumstances occurred to show that the gaiety of the court was not without danger. One of the Hepburns had presumed on these familiarities to insult the queen in a manner which rendered it necessary for him to seek safety in flight; while the fate of a young French gentleman named Chastelard, who came over to Scotland in the suite of M. de Damville, was more tragical. Chastelard was handsome and accomplished, and excelled especially in Mary's favourite science of music, and he was led by the favour shown to him, and the familiarity to which he was admitted, to aspire to her love. One night in the February of 1563, a few minutes before the queen entered her bed-chamber, he was discovered concealed in it by her female attendants. Next morning, when Mary was informed of what had occurred, she contented herself with ordering him to leave the court. Chastelard seems to have supposed from the lenity with which he was treated, that Mary was not really offended at him, but that she had inflicted this punishment to disarm public opinion, and he followed her secretly to Burntisland, where, on the night of the 14th of February, as the queen was stepping into bed, with none but her ladies in attendance, he started from a recess in the chamber where he had again concealed himself, and threw himself at her feet. The court was soon roused by the shrieks of the ladies, and





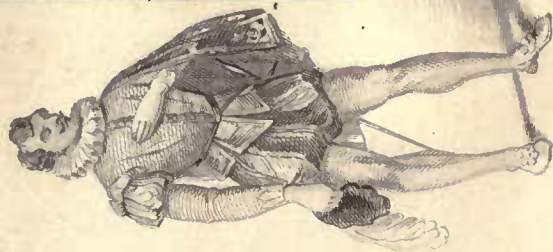




Engraved by J. Rogers



MURDER OF RIZZIO



Painted by Henry Fradette

# MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AND HER SECRETARY CHATELAIN.



Chastelard was seized, and acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt upon the queen's honour. Mary, in her first anger, ordered the earl of Murray, who was one of the first to come to her assistance, to dispatch the offender with his dagger; but Murray desired that justice should be done in a more deliberate manner, and he caused him to be secured and committed to safe custody, until he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, within a few days after the offence had been committed. This man's fate brought scandal on the court in more ways than one. We are told by Brantôme, that his behaviour at the place of execution showed a contempt for all religion, and that drawing from his pocket a volume of Ronsard, instead of a missal or breviary, he read aloud that poet's hymn to death, and then resigned himself to his fate with indifference and gaiety. Many, who imagined that such attempts could not have occurred unless Mary had thrown aside the reserve and self-respect which ought to have been her protection, complained that religion and morality were equally disregarded in her court.

The irritation caused by Knox's attack on the court gaieties had hardly subsided, when a new cause of offence arose in the loose manner in which the laws against popish ceremonies were administered. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the prior of Whithern led the papists in a general disregard of the queen's proclamation, believing, probably, that she would approve of their conduct, and the Roman clergy began to celebrate mass commonly in private houses. The vigilance of the protestants was soon roused, and the catholics, finding it dangerous to act so openly, retired to more secret places to practise the ceremonies of their religion. The protestants believed that they were encouraged in their proceedings by the queen, and taking upon themselves to enforce the law, they pursued and seized several of the offenders. At the same time they announced to the Romish clergy in general that in future they would not content themselves with making complaints to the queen or to the council, but that they would proceed on their own responsibility to carry the proclamation into execution. Mary, who was then residing at Lochleven, was alarmed at this proceeding of the protestant preachers, and immediately summoned Knox to appear before her. She expostulated with him earnestly

on the persecuting spirit which animated his acts and his discourses, and recommended more moderation in future. Knox argued that it was the duty of princes to carry into force without hesitation or partiality the laws against idolatry which were in existence, and that, if they failed to do so, others must do it for them, and he quoted examples from scripture to show that this might be done even by those who did not possess the authority of the magistracy. He ended by beseeching the queen to administer the laws strictly herself, and leave no occasion for others to interfere. The queen seemed offended, but, for some reason or other, her sentiments appeared to have undergone an entire change before the next day, when she sent for Knox again, and he met her as she was engaged in hawking. She received him with unusual favour, entered into confidential talk, and professed to have been convinced by his arguments of the preceding day that offenders against the proclamation ought to be proceeded against and duly punished. At the same time she warned him against the bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for the protestant office of superintendent of the district of Dumfries. In accordance with the sentiments expressed by the queen on this occasion, the archbishop of St. Andrews, the prior of Whithern, the parson of Sanquhar, and other Romish ecclesiastics, were subjected to judicial proceedings on the charge of celebrating mass in Scotland; "after great debate, reasoning, and communication had in the council by the protestants, who were bent even to the death against the said archbishop and other churchmen," the archbishop was committed by the queen's order a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and the prior of Whithern was sent to the castle of Dumbarton. Other priests were similarly imprisoned in different places.

This happened on the 19th of May, the day before that on which the parliament was to assemble. Next day, the meeting of the states was held with unusual ceremony. The queen rode to the Tolbooth in procession, accompanied by her ladies, and their beauty and brilliant dresses added not a little to the effect of the scene. They surrounded the throne and filled the galleries of the hall of assembly, when the queen opened the session with a speech, which had been written in French, but which she translated and read in English; and she



delivered it with so much grace as to excite the admiration of all present. Nevertheless, the session promised to be a turbulent one, for the preachers exercised a considerable influence over the representatives of the nation, and under their direction stringent measures were in preparation to repress the licentiousness and extravagance which had been imported from France. At this stage of the proceedings the earl of Murray interfered to hinder measures which he said would only irritate and disgust the queen, who had shown them so much moderation and indulgence. Knox was indignant at what he looked upon as Murray's apostacy, and in a personal interview reproached him with so much asperity, that it was followed by a temporary estrangement between them. The last words which Knox addressed to his old friend for several months summed up briefly his sentiments on this occasion; "I leave you," he said, "victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your sovereign; should this continue, none will be more glad than I; but if you decay (as I fear ye shall), then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you—it was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent papists."

Disappointed in his expectations of reform, Knox's preaching increased in violence, and gave offence both to catholics and protestants. He entered the pulpit to address a strong appeal to the protestant leaders, reminding them of all they had gone through in defence of their religion and liberties, and reproaching them with their remissness now that the victory seemed to be secured. His words came with the more force, as he had been their companion throughout the struggle, and his eloquent voice had often supported them in the day of tribulation. As he warmed with his subject, his gestures became so energetic, that one of his hearers tells us he expected to see him "dang" the pulpit to pieces and fly out of it; and when he reminded the protestant chiefs of their earlier trials, he appeared as though the vision of the past presented itself bodily before his eyes. "I see before me," he said, "the beleaguered camp at St. Johnston (Perth); I see your meeting on Cupar Muir; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and, worst of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eye, in which all of you, my lords, in shame and fear left this town—

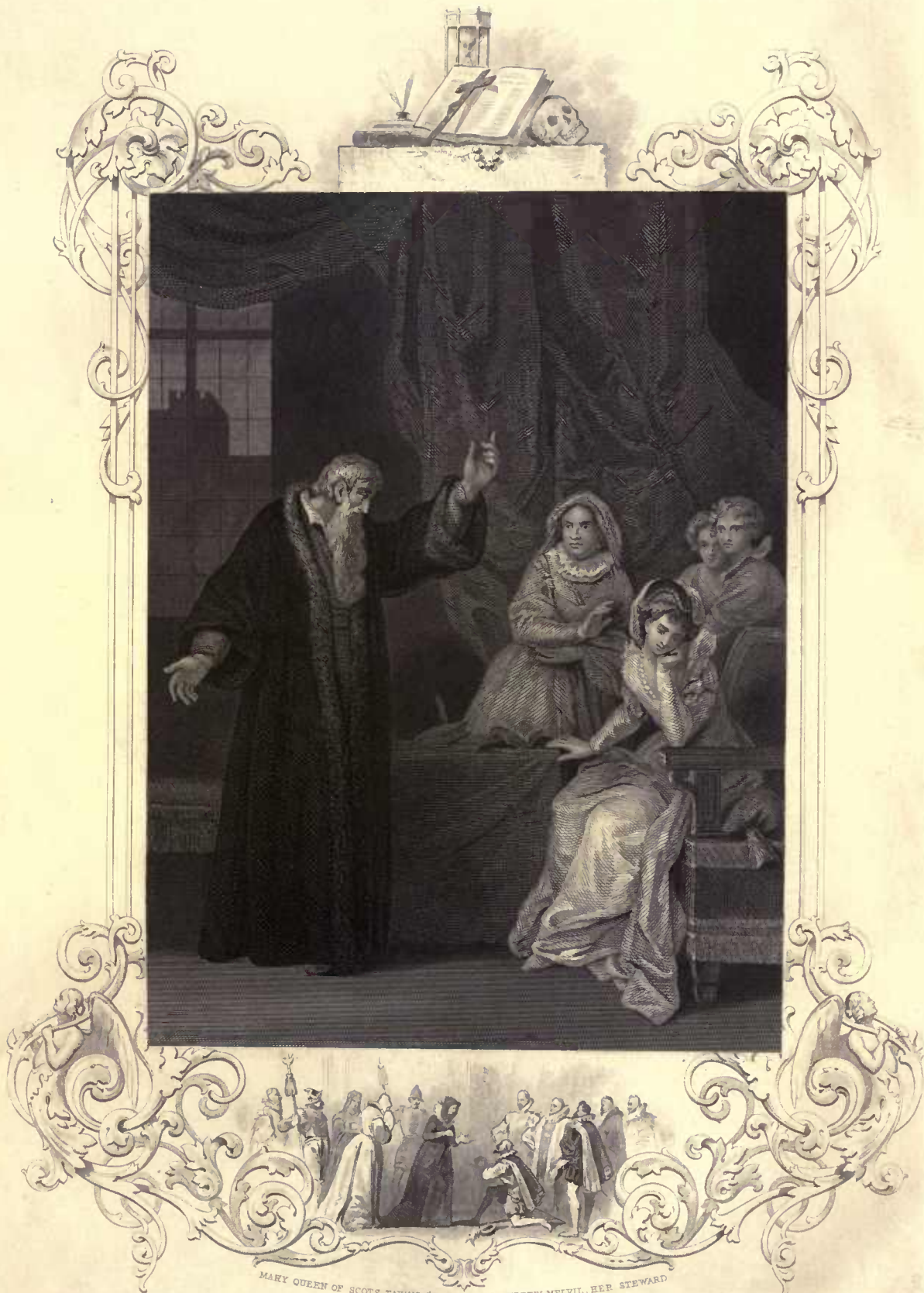
and God forbid I should ever forget it! What was then, I say, my exhortation unto you? and what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth? Speak, I say; for ye yourselves live to testify! There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The queen says, 'ye will not agree with her.' Ask of her that which by God's word ye may justly require; and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds; forsake not your former courage in God's cause, and be assured he will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage; dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my lords, will I say—note the day, and bear witness hereafter; whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Jesus Christ from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country."

Knox confesses himself that his extraordinary freedom of speech on this occasion gave offence to men of all parties. He was again summoned to court, and the queen, who appears to have been especially offended at his allusions to the question of her marriage, upbraided him with great bitterness for the violence of his language, and she burst into weeping and lamentation when she complained of the little effect her former admonitions and warnings had produced upon him. She accused him of ingratitude, because he had rejected all her proffered favours, and in spite of them, still continued to preach against her. Knox excused himself on the plea of that sort of inspiration which many of the reformed preachers laid claim to. He said that in the pulpit he was not his own master, but the servant of God, and it was his duty to preach openly and boldly the word of God, without sparing the princes of the world. As to Mary's offers of favour, he was not one who sought to









*Painted by R. Smirke, R.A.*

*Engraved by J. Rogers*

## MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS REPROVED BY KNOX



attend in the courts of princes or in the chambers of ladies, but he was a preacher of Christ's gospel. Mary interrupted him to ask what he had to do with her marriage, or what he was within the commonwealth? Knox himself appears to have been irritated at this last question. "I am," said he, "a subject born within the same, and albeit neither baron, lord, nor earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger; and, therefore, what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face. Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband [he meant, of course, a papist,] they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself." On hearing this, Mary burst into a new passion of tears and lamentation, and, in spite of all the exertions of Erskine of Dun (who had brought Knox to the queen's presence), to soften and appease her, she indignantly ordered the preacher

to leave the room. It was soon known that Knox had fallen under the queen's serious displeasure, and as he passed into the outer chamber, the courtiers assembled there looked upon him with coldness and avoided him. As he passed on, his eye fell upon a party of the queen's ladies, seated together, and dressed in all the gorgeous apparel, the extravagance of which had provoked his severe reproof from the pulpit. Knox stopped, and addressed them in what he calls a "merry" mood,—his words, as related by himself, being as follows:—"Ah, fair ladies," he said, "how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven in this gear! But fie on that knave Death, that will come whether ye will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can carry with it neither gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones." Knox's conduct on this and the previous occasion, entirely alienated from him Lethington, and the result was a temporary schism between the moderate and the violent reformers.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### NEGOTIATIONS AND INTRIGUES RELATING TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN.

THE suspicion and alarm which the various projects of marriage for the Scottish queen excited in the minds of Knox and the more zealous protestants, appear to have been equally entertained in England, and to have led to a series of intrigues of a mysterious character which it is not now easy to fathom.\* Elizabeth feared that a match with any continental prince would lead to new combinations against protestant England, and disturb the good understanding then existing between the latter country and Scotland, and she determined to use every effort to promote a match with

some grandee in Scotland or England. Mary had one object at heart for which she was willing to make great sacrifices—the obtaining an act of the English parliament acknowledging her rights as next heir to the crown; and other means having failed in procuring this acknowledgment, she appears to have been willing to make her marriage a step towards it. The Scottish protestants saw in any foreign marriage a prospect of imminent danger to their religion, and they were in general willing to give their support to the views of Elizabeth in this respect. The autumn of 1563 and the winter follow-

\* It is much to be desired that the letters and other documents relating to Scotland at this period, preserved in the English state paper office, were printed. We can only at present use them in the extracts

given by Tytler, who unfortunately was too much in the habit of seeing only those parts which told for his own views, and overlooking or neglecting those which told against them.



ing were spent in negotiating and intriguing on this subject, but it was not till the latter end of the February of 1564, that Elizabeth at length authorized her ambassador Randolph to propose for the honour of Mary's hand her favourite the lord Robert Dudley. This proposal created surprise among all parties, for it was generally believed that Dudley aspired to the hand of Elizabeth herself, and that that princess was not altogether adverse to the alliance. Murray and Lethington suspected at first that the proposal was not sincere; and Mary, when Dudley's name was first mentioned to her by Randolph, told him that she was taken by surprise, but that she thought a mere subject of the queen of England like the lord Robert Dudley was not a becoming match for a queen of Scotland. But she soon began to show less disinclination to the proposal, and she ended by intimating that she was willing to receive the English lord for her husband, on condition that, as a preliminary, her title to the English crown should be acknowledged.

To judge of Mary's sincerity in this matter, we must bear in mind that it appears from her published correspondence that during this same time, the spring of 1564, she was engaged in a correspondence of the most secret kind with the cardinal de Granvelle and with her French relations, which had for its object to bring about a foreign marriage; and that it is sufficiently evident from allusions in the letters which remain that she was not placing herself so confidently in the hands of Elizabeth as some have supposed. A passage in Mary's letter to the cardinal, dated on the 5th of March, shows us the under current of Mary's feelings towards her protestant nobles at this time: "I like much better," she says, "without occasion, to receive displeasure from those who seek to give it me, than to have given it to them or others; for their ill-will towards me arising only from my not having like them broken my faith to God and men, I feel honoured by it, and I will endeavour to keep myself and my kingdom in peace, and to secure my right elsewhere (*i.e.* the English title), with as much equity as they by their fraudulent dealings have hazarded country, friends, and reputation; from whom I hope to preserve myself, with the aid of God, who has been my only conductor so far, and who I feel assured will not leave me; yet I will not appear to know anything of their fine designs, and keeping

myself out of reach of their plots, I shall be glad for men of character to judge of our behaviours." In another letter, written to the cardinal de Granvelle, on the 11th of March, speaking of the danger of a new war between France and England, Mary says, "Neither party pleases me by boasting of my support; for I have no great desire to meddle in their quarrels, being satisfied to remain in friendship with both, until I see further what is best for me to do."

It can hardly be doubted, indeed, that the purposed marriage with Leicester was not agreeable to Mary, and she seems to have continued the negotiations on the subject chiefly in the hope of securing her favourite object, her appointment as next heir to the English crown. There were many difficulties in the way of such an acknowledgment, of which Elizabeth and her ministers felt the full force. It had not been a usual custom in England to make such appointments with regard to the crown, and the people of England in general, as Mary probably knew well, were exceedingly opposed to the nomination of a papist, which they knew her to be, to the English succession. It was at this very time, indeed, that one John Hales published in England a book against Mary's title, which gave so much displeasure to Elizabeth that she caused him to be committed to the Tower. It seems clear, at the same time, that Elizabeth felt the force of these objections, and that she had no intention of acceding to Mary's wish without some security for religion; but she seems to have thought that with so staunch a protestant as the lord Robert Dudley for a husband, the effect of Mary's attachment to the Romish faith would be in a great measure counteracted. On the other hand, it is very doubtful, from the general tone of Mary's correspondence with her friends on the continent, if she had ever any intention of marrying other than a catholic husband. In the October of the very year of which we are now speaking, Mary wrote a letter to the pope approving of the decrees of the council of Trent, and assuring him of her humble devotion to the see of Rome; "We shall study," she said, "more and more for the increase and union of our mother holy church, and we will make all our subjects obey her, if God by his grace can reduce and annihilate their heresies (as I hope), along with the good order and reformation which your holiness shall be able to enforce;



and on our part we shall spare no means in our power to that end."

With such a complication of contrary policies, interests, and sentiments, we cannot be surprised at the continual delays which took place in these difficult negotiations, or that Elizabeth should be at last driven to confess to her ministers that she was lost in perplexity. She was now desirous that the interview with the Scottish queen should take place, but this time it was Mary who was backward, and, on the excuse that the season was too far advanced, she postponed it to the next year. In fact at this time another secret intrigue was in progress which had results of the most disastrous kind for Mary's happiness. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, who had acted so prominent a part in the turbulent scenes of Mary's childhood, for which he had suffered attainder and confiscation, remained still a banished man in England, where he had become a subject of the English crown. His countess was the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the earl of Angus and queen Margaret, and their son Henry lord Darnley was first cousin to Mary, and stood to the English queen in the same relation as herself, all three being grandchildren of Henry VII. of England. It seems impossible to say when first originated the suggestion of a marriage between Mary and Darnley, which was not an unlikely one, as it tended to strengthen Mary's title to the English throne, and it was generally believed that the earl of Lennox and his son were at heart catholics. It is certain that the countess of Lennox, who was an ambitious and intriguing woman, was more or less concerned in it, and it appears from subsequent occurrences that it was warmly advocated by some of Mary's favourite and confidential attendants. Be this as it may, it is certain, that the project of a marriage with Darnley was talked of before the return of the earl of Lennox to Scotland, and it was perhaps the principal cause of his recall. Nevertheless, it was so contrived (we hardly know how), that Elizabeth was induced to take up warmly the cause of the earl of Lennox, and to solicit his restoration to his dignities in Scotland. At the recommendation of Cecil, Murray and Lethington were both gained over to favour him, and he accordingly received a permission from Mary, under the great seal of Scotland, to revisit his country, with the hope that his forfeiture would soon be re-

moved by an act of the Scottish legislature.

No sooner was it known in Scotland that Mary had consented to the return of the earl of Lennox, than Knox and his party took alarm, and he made representations to the English ministers which seem to have excited their alarm also. Elizabeth at once entered into their feelings, and Cecil was directed to write to the two Scottish ministers, Murray and Lethington, to inform them that he had received secret information from his best friends in Scotland, warning him of dangers likely to arise there from the return of Lennox, and to require them to prevail with Mary to revoke her permission; and at the same time the English queen took steps to hinder the earl's departure. Murray and Lethington were offended at Elizabeth's sudden change of mind, and they replied with a freedom of diction which gave no little offence. Lethington reminded Cecil how warmly he, as well as his royal mistress, had interceded with Mary in Lennox's favour, when he was last at the English court, and urged with what an ill grace it would come from the queen of Scots to revoke without reason a promise which she had made so freely and liberally. He ridiculed the fears of those who thought the protestant cause was in any danger. "The religion here," he said, "doth not depend upon my lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeve of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the queen's majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her majesty in honour, having once permitted her licence so freely; unless she might shadow the change of her mind by the queen her good sister's request, and forbid it for her pleasure, which I perceive is not your sovereign's meaning; who would she would take the matter upon herself, which she thinketh too hard." This letter was written on the 13th of July, and at the same time Mary replied to a letter of Elizabeth on the same subject, in a manner which likewise gave considerable offence. But the correspondence on this subject was not permitted to transpire, and Elizabeth having withdrawn her opposition, Lennox proceeded to Scotland, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 23rd of September, Mary being then on a progress to the north.



The day before his arrival, open proclamation had been made at the market cross relaxing his outlawry, and the earl of Athol, a catholic peer, received the wand of peace for him, and thus became his pledge. Before the end of the month Mary returned to Edinburgh, and Lennox was then ordered to present himself at court. He rode to the palace preceded by twelve gentlemen clad in velvet coats, with chains about their necks, and well horsed; and he was followed by thirty other gentlemen and servants, also mounted, and all clothed in coats of grey livery. His reception by the queen was flattering, and as he brought with him a letter of recommendation from Elizabeth, he was supposed to have come with that princess' full concurrence, for the intrigue to hinder his return was kept a profound secret, and is only now known by the records in the state-paper office. Mary had been informed of the offence which her previous letter had given to Elizabeth, but on the present occasion she replied only to the letter brought by Lennox, in another cautiously worded as follows:—"Right high and mighty princess, our dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, we greet you well. By your letters given at Northampton, the first of this instant, and delivered to our hands by the earl of Lennox, we perceive how entirely ye tender the causes of him and of our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin his wife, and to the effect it may appear not only to yourself, but also to all others in both the realms, what good regard we have to your request, by our gentle entreating of such as from you are earnestly recommended, we have not only at the very first given him some taste of our good will in the favourable receiving of him and hearing of his petitions, but also mean to proceed further to the full restitution of him, whereby he shall be able to enjoy the privileges of a subject, the liberties of his native country, and his old titles; besides that, we intend to deal so favourably with him and our said cousin, his wife, in all their suits and causes reasonable, that they shall have good occasion to acknowledge themselves bound unto you for the benefit they shall receive at our hands, and therefore render most humble thanks unto you, for whose sake and recommendation most chiefly our favour is extended towards them. We will always willingly embrace such means as shall be offered, whereby ye may clearly

understand how well we can be content to do your pleasure. And so, right high and mighty princess, our dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, we pray the Almighty God to grant you as prosperous success in all your affairs as we wish unto ourself."

This letter was dated on the 28th of September, the day after Lennox's reception at court. It was sent to Elizabeth by sir James Melvil, the celebrated author of the "Memoirs," a very accomplished gentleman, and one likely to insinuate himself into Elizabeth's confidence, and he tells us that he was instructed to do his utmost to gain her familiar ear by turning his various accomplishments to advantage. The ostensible object of his mission was to pacify Elizabeth's anger at Mary's previous letter. "First," said his written instructions, "when you shall have delivered your letters of credit and made the usual compliments, with the greatest politeness possible, you shall declare to Elizabeth that since my journey to the northern parts of the kingdom, I have received neither letters nor news from her; that, in my impatience for them, and to contribute as much as shall be in me to straighten the ties of our friendship, I have thought fit to send you to her, to inform her of my health, and to inform me, on your return, of the state of her health, which is not less dear to me, wishing her all the happiness and prosperity that I wish to myself. You will add that I have learnt by the letters of my lord Dudley to Lethington, and by those of secretary Cecil to the earl of Murray, my brother, that she is offended at the letter which I wrote to her on the subject of the earl of Lennox, as though I had taken ill her counsels. You will tell her that I am very much mortified that she has so wrongly interpreted it. I doubted not for a single moment that her counsels came from truth and simplicity of heart, and I thought I might answer them with the same frankness. I cannot recollect the terms of my letter, not being in the habit of keeping a copy of those which I write with my own hand; though I should perhaps have done better to keep one in this instance, which would have furnished me with the means of explaining it and justifying myself. You will therefore beg her to communicate to you the passage which has wounded her, in order that you may explain to her its true sense, and calm her suspicions. It is true that when I read



her letter, I felt myself somewhat moved, and it was not without reason; for they gave me to understand that the nobles were discontented at the return of the earl of Lennox, whom I had permitted to come back to Scotland, and they tried to make me believe that his arrival would give rise to disturbances. Murray and Lethington told me themselves that they had been accused of holding the same sentiments and of having wished to oppose the return of Lennox, although both protested to me that they had never thought of such a thing, and the proofs I have had of their faithfulness, with the benefits I have conferred on them, and the confidence I have had in them, hinder me from suspecting them of this perfidy. But I am exceedingly irritated against whoever it may be who has spoken so ill of my subjects, as though they were disposed to address their complaints to others rather than to me. All this had so affected me, and put me into such a rage, that even if the terms of my letter had been stronger than they were, I should always have hoped that my good sister would not have taken it ill, inasmuch as I had in nowise the intention of offending her. Moreover my character is such that I cannot disguise my sentiments, and even if I could, I do not think I ought to do so with a sister to whom I have always written familiarly. You will try, therefore, to calm her suspicions, and if there be in my letter any expression capable of two meanings, you will pray her to choose the better; if she will do so, I am quite sure that, as I had no design of offending her, she will find that there is nothing offensive in my letter."

The conclusion of these instructions, which it must be stated we have only on the authority of Melvil himself, show us that the real object of Mary's anxiety was concealed under this errand of friendship. The parliament of England was again sitting, and the Scottish queen, knowing probably that there was a strong prejudice against her in that country, was afraid that something might be done to weaken her title. "Inform yourself with care," she continues in her directions to Melvil, "of the dispositions of the present parliament, and consult those who can enlighten you upon it. Endeavour to know why it has been convoked, what are the affairs which will be treated in it, and how long it will continue; above all try to discover if any

matter that concerns me will be brought forwards in it. You may say to the queen, as though of your own motion, that I flatter myself with the belief that nothing will pass there, with her consent, which can prejudice my rights directly or indirectly. She knows that my council and I have always consulted her in our deliberations, and that we have ruled ourselves according to her advice; thus the affair of the succession having been proposed in the last parliament, and being reserved apparently for settlement in this one, I doubt not that she will interest herself in my favour, were it only to show everybody what are her dispositions towards me, and to impose silence on our enemies, who pretend to doubt our good intelligence, and who would have reason to say that we are friends in word and not in effect."

Before we proceed, we will call attention to a document which throws considerable light on the nature of the intrigues which were now going on. It is no less than Mary's own statement of her conduct at this moment, committed to paper, for what purpose is not known, but apparently to defend her marriage with Darnley, which had just taken place; it is now preserved among the documents in the state-paper office, from whence it is printed in the collection of prince Labanoff. She begins by alluding to the project of marriage with the prince of Spain, promoted by cardinal Granvelle and others, to which she was favourable, but which was "broken off against her will by an agreement made without her knowledge by her kinsmen in France with don Charles (the son of the emperor), in whom, besides the displeasure she bore for the rupture of the other, she found no advantage for her kingdom, being a foreigner, poor and far off, and the youngest of his brothers, not agreeable to her subjects, and without any apparent means or forces to aid her in the right which she claims to the succession of this island." She resolved, therefore, she continues, "not to hazard offending her subjects, unless it were for one who would be able to reduce them by his forces; for she had none, and was, as it were, in their ward, without forces, or money, or even loyal counsel, among people who were unknown to her, and for her long nurture out of the country and difference of religion, and the recent reconciliation, forced as far as she was concerned, for the treasons and crimes perpetrated by



them against her father, her mother, her lord and husband, (the late king of France) and her; which considered, she resolved to marry rather one of this island, to which both the catholics and the protestants earnestly solicited her, and threatened openly not to suffer the contrary. Then madame de Lennox (as she has always done since I was first moved by her,) sent a messenger to me, and by letters and tokens solicited me to accept her son, of the blood of England and Scotland, and the nearest after me in succession, a Stuart by name, in order always to support this surname so popular with the Scots, of the same religion as myself, and who would always respect me as he would be bound by the honour which I should do him in this. This match was pressed by the earl of Athol, the lord Lindsay, all the Stuarts, and the catholics. The protestants brought forwards Leicester, who, on the other side, wrote to me and caused me to be solicited by Randolph; to which Murray pretended to listen, although he knew that, though his queen had written to me in his favour, it was only to deceive me and retard the others. And this Leicester himself wrote me underhand by means of Randolph, showing me the ways how on the other part to induce her by fear to consent, even by the troubles in Ireland, while I had the influence, which she feared much. Murray, on the other hand, sought to obtain underhand his legitimation, and pretending affection to me, never left me a step, and would himself provide for all the offices and strong places, and for the whole government of the kingdom, and as my lieutenant-general had rendered himself so powerful that he held me in ward, and at last proposed to me to give my crown to him and to the earl of Argyle, and rid myself of the Hamiltons, as I had done with Huntley, which put it in my mind to listen to the marriage, and in this, if not to please all, at least to please those who merited my confidence, the catholics and those of my surname; of which determination I informed Athol and those who had urged it upon me, in order that they might make themselves acquainted with the wishes of the others who joined them in it; and my mother-in-law and her husband (the earl and countess of Lennox) then used all means that her husband might be allowed to come and be established in his goods and honours, and under this colour treat for his son with me. Having obtained

this, he came here and began to employ all his friends, and practise with the others, and especially with the earl of Murray, who, thinking that all this would come to no effect, inasmuch as he could break it whenever he liked, at first was willing to agree with Lennox under colour of their surname, and in the hope that they might jointly ruin the Hamiltons, whom otherwise he dared not attack. Lennox, in this expectation, sends for his son, and in the mean time I hold a parliament in which, with the general consent, I re-establish them in their goods. The son comes but by stealth, and so Murray seeing that I was inclined really to this marriage, used means in England to have him countermanded by the queen; but he, advertised of this by his friends the catholics and others of the country who were no less". . .

The rest of this curious document is unfortunately lost, but there is enough of it to prove by Mary's own confession, that throughout these transactions she was acting with the most profound dissimulation. It appears from her own words, that she had never ceased to regard her protestant subjects with distrust and aversion; that the favour she had shown to Murray arose only from her belief that she could not, under circumstances, do without him; that she never had any intention of marrying Leicester, but that, on the contrary, the intrigue with Lennox and his countess for her marriage with the lord Darnley had commenced before the earl of Leicester was proposed, and was carried on during the whole time that that match was under negotiation.\*

The honour with which Lennox was treated on his return to Scotland, was indeed enough to surprise every one. It was evidently something more than the mere return of a banished man; and we find him, as Mary herself states in the foregoing paper, entering immediately into a faction with the earl of Athol and the catholics, although, to save appearance, he still attended the protestant place of worship. A month after his return, on the 24th of October, Randolph wrote to Cecil, "I dined with my lord of Lennox, being by him required in the morning. I found nothing

\* Yet Tytler, who obtained his materials for this part of his history from the very bundles in the state-paper office where this document is preserved, made no use of it, but insists that Mary's conduct in these transactions was nothing but openness and candour.



less for the beautifying and furniture of his lodging than your honour hath heard by report; the house well hanged [i.e. with tapestry], two chambers very well furnished, one special rich and fair bed, where his lordship lieth himself, and a passage made through the wall to come the next [nearest] way into court when he will. I see him honourably used of all men, and that the queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour. There dined with him the earl of Athol, in whom he reposes singular trust, and they are seldom asunder, saving when the earl of Lennox is at the sermon. There was also his brother, the bishop of Caithness, a protestant, who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great, and his household many, though he hath dispatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse money very fast, and, of his seven hundred pounds brought with him, I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may perchance be to him a dear purchase. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account; a cloek, and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones; and a looking-glass very richly set with stones, in the four metals; to my lord of Lethington, a very fair diamond in a ring; to my lord Athol another, as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what; to divers others somewhat, but to my lord of Murray, nothing. He presented also each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect. The bruit is here, that my lady herself, and my lord Darnley, are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young lord, and many that desire to have him here."

Mary had, meanwhile, summoned a parliament, which assembled in Edinburgh in the month of December. Its principal acts were, the reversal of the attainder of the earl of Lennox, and his restoration to his estates and honours; the confirmation of the grant of the earldom of Murray to the lord James; and a re-enactment of the severe measures against people celebrating mass. Mary addressed the parliament on the subject of the restoration of Lennox, and told them that one of the chief causes moving her to it, was the earnest suit of

the queen of England; and the act of the parliament restoring him was proclaimed with great solemnity at the cross.

During these proceedings, the negotiations for the marriage with the lord Robert Dudley continued, and the intrigues to promote that with lord Darnley were still concealed. Melvil was received at the court of Elizabeth with distinction; he ingratiated himself with that princess by his polite manners, and by flattering her vanity, and he has given in his memoirs an amusing account of his interviews. She constantly declared her friendship for the Scottish queen, and her wish for a personal interview, and Melvil went so far as to propose that she should pay a secret visit to the northern court, in disguise. While Mary's ambassador was at the English court, the lord Robert Dudley was created earl of Leicester, and Melvil being present at the ceremony, Elizabeth asked him how he liked the new peer, and received one of his courtly answers; upon which, Melvil tells us, she said, "Ye like better yonder long lad," pointing to lord Darnley. Melvil had been secretly commissioned by Mary to confer with the countess of Lennox to procure that the lord Darnley should obtain permission to go to Scotland, on pretence of visiting his father, and he skilfully parried Elizabeth's remark. "My answer again was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced."

On Melvil's return, Randolph, who had been recalled, was sent back to Scotland to continue the negotiation for the marriage of Mary with the earl of Leicester, in regard to which it is evident that the English ministers now entertained little hopes. A secret meeting was held at Berwick, in the month of November, between Murray and Lethington and the earl of Bedford, to discuss this question. "At this present," Cecil writes on the 26th of that month, "I think my lord of Murray and Lethington are upon the frontier treating friendly with our wardens for border matters; but that is I think a cloak to deal upon another matter, that is, to commune of a marriage between the queen of Scots and Leicester, which I think will not succeed." On the 30th of December, Cecil wrote again, "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester placed in this



high degree to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness." These "conditions" were the declaration of the title, which Mary appears to have insisted on being complied with before the marriage. Randolph was assured that Mary was ready to accept the marriage proposed by Elizabeth, if her title were previously established by law in England, and on the 14th of December he wrote very earnestly to Cecil, in apparent confidence that Leicester's suit would be successful. Yet at this very moment the earl of Lennox declared that his own son was destined to be Mary's husband, and it was commonly rumoured in Scotland that the lord Darnley was on his way home for that purpose. The ministers on both sides introduced much mystery into their correspondence on the subject, which is not easy to understand; but it is quite evident that they were anxious that this match should take place, for they regarded it as the great security of Scottish protestantism.

The French ambassador in London, M. de Foix, wrote in the month of January to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, on the return of an ambassador named Roullard, who had been sent to Scotland to propose a marriage between Mary and the dauphin of France, which was rejected; "Roullard," says the ambassador, "will tell you the pleasant and easy life of the said lady (queen Mary), employing all her mornings in the chase and her evenings in dances and masques; and though your majesty will think it strange, as you were pleased to write to me in your letters of the 5th of the past month, nevertheless it is the ordinary and every day practice in Scotland, where the earl of Lennox, as the greatest favourite, most frequently leads the said lady to the dance, and sometimes, for want of another, one of her gentlemen servants. And the bearer (Roullard, apparently) tells me that he has heard say several times that she would marry within six months; though I myself do not believe that she is in so great a hurry. She has begun by marrying her four Marys, and says that she will be of the band. The son of the said earl, who is called lord Darnley, at length and after long suit, has obtained permission of the queen of England to proceed to Scotland, and he is to go in two or three days, accompanied very honourably. By this your majesty may conjecture that the earl of

Leicester has no hope to marry the said lady, although the queen of England has offered in favour of the said marriage to give the said earl a duchy with a revenue of two thousand pounds sterling, and also to declare the said lady her successor.

Nevertheless, Mary was at this moment preparing to lend her ear again to the proposed marriage with Leicester, or at least to appear to do so, and that measure seemed to take a more decided form. In a letter dated on the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph gave Cecil an account of a visit he had made to Mary at Aberdeen, where she had retired to devote herself still more to her favourite pleasures and amusements. She told him it was her holiday time, and she had taken up her residence there in a merchant's house, with a small company, resolved to throw aside her pomp and avoid business; and though she received him in a friendly and familiar manner, and made him dine and sup with her every day, she refused to listen to him when he would talk of graver affairs. At length his patience could endure no longer, and he pressed for leave to treat secret and grave matters. "I had no sooner spoken the word," he says, "but the queen said, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the queen cometh thither, for I assure you you shall not get her here; nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you should think I am she at St. Andrews that I was at Edinburgh.' After some further conversation in this strain, Mary promised him he should have a letter for his mistress before he left St. Andrews, and then, said she, 'for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you.'"

Next day Mary made the ambassador dine with her, and after dinner he accompanied her in her ride, during which she conversed with him on Elizabeth's proposals. She told him that on this point she had always been willing to follow the advice and accept the proposals of her good sister the queen of England, and that it was on her account that she had refused the foreign marriages. This we know from Mary's own statements



was not the case. She told him also that it was not her intention to defer long her marriage, but she said that as she had good offers from abroad, she thought she ought not to give up her foreign alliances without receiving some good advantage in exchange. Her allusion, of course, was to the declaration regarding her title to the English succession. She then proceeded to talk of the friendship between the two countries, and of her own good-will towards Elizabeth; and, on being asked how she liked the suit of the earl of Leicester, she said, "My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of a very good gentleman, as I hear say by many; and such a one as the queen your mistress, my good sister, does so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be mine. Marry, what I shall do lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."

At this very moment lord Darnley, under pretence that as his father's heir his presence in Scotland was necessary for the affairs of the family, was preparing for his journey. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 12th of February, and crossing the Firth, he proceeded to the castle of Wemyss in Fife, where Mary was resting in her progress. He was received at court in the most flattering manner, and immediately became an object of general interest among the courtiers. Although generally suspected to be a papist, he dissimulated so far as to go in the morning to the sermon, and profess to place himself entirely under the guidance of the earl of Murray. In the evening of his first day at court, he danced a galliard with the queen. From the first moment of his appearance, the rumour became more rife than ever that he was the person really intended for Mary's husband. Yet Mary concealed her intentions; and, though she showed little inclination to listen to a proposal of the cardinal of Lorraine to obtain a dispensation for her marriage with the king of France, her late husband's brother, yet when urged on the subject of the marriage by Randolph, she declared that she intended to marry such a husband as Elizabeth would give her, adding, however, that if Elizabeth did not use her as a sister, she must do the best she could for herself.

In the middle of these intrigues, we find that Murray was suddenly alarmed for his own safety, in case the marriage with the earl of Leicester should not take place. He pretended that in the course of the negotiations he

had said and done many things on his own responsibility, which, though dictated solely by attachment to his sovereign and zeal for the interests of his country, might be seized hold of as pretexts for persecution, if the queen should marry a papist or one who was personally hostile to him. He became on this account urgent with the English ministers to press forwards the negotiations. We perceive at the same time some other slight intimations of danger to Murray, and the young lord Darnley himself was rumoured to have used threatening expressions towards him. A long letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated on the 20th of March, throws considerable light on the state of things in Scotland at this moment. "I hear daily," he says, "so many and grievous complaints of the state of government of this country, that either there is great lack of wisdom in those that have the chief charge to direct all things as they ought to be, or great fault in the subjects that, through their disobedience, no good order, be it never so well devised, can be observed. What troubles have risen in this country for religion, your honour knoweth. All things now are grown into such a liberty, and her grace has taken unto herself such a will to do therein what she list, that of late, contrary to her own ordinances, as great numbers have repaired to her chapel to hear mass, as sometimes come to the common churches to the sermon. To have her mind altered for this freedom that she desireth to have all men live as they like, she can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her, being a prince in her own country, to have her will broken therein. The subjects who desire to live in the true fear and worshipping of God, offer rather their lives again to be sacrificed, than that they would suffer such abomination; yea, almost permit herself to enjoy her mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the preachers, than ever was the pope of Rome. This kindleth in her a desire to revenge, and breedeth in others a liberty to speak and a will to attempt to amend that by force which by no other means they can get reformed. What this may grow unto, except some speedy help be put unto it, I leave your honour to think; for myself, I would I were far enough from the sight of it. Two notable blasphemies lately against God, yet not worthily punished, though somewhat done, with difficulty enough, to have the doers committed to prison. A schoolmaster in Haddington



made a play to exercise his scholars against the ministers, and baptized a cat in the name of the Father, the Son, &c. One of the queen's chapel, a singing man, said that he believed as well a tale of Robin Hood as any word that was written in the Old Testament or the New. Her own mass, and the resort unto it, such blasphemies as these unpunished, her will to continue papistry, her desire to have all men live as they list, so offendeth the godly men's consciences, and so many besides as desire alteration, that it is continual fear that these matters will shortly break out to some great mischief."

"By the way," continues Randolph, "I will tell your honour a merry tale, but very true, which commonly tales are not. There is one that attendeth upon this court called Moffet, who commonly once in three years entereth into a phrenesie. Within these twenty days his passion taketh him with such an imagination that he is the queen's husband. A great protestant he is, and very godly, when he is in his wits. He came one day into the queen's chapel, and finding the priest at mass, drew out his sword, drove the priest from the altar into the vestry, broke the chalice, overthrew and pulled in pieces all the robes and reliques, cross, candlesticks, and all that was there cut and broken. The mass-sayer was the doctor of Sorbonne, and at the hearing of it was the queen's physician, and, as he saith himself, never in greater fear of his life, and hid himself behind the tapestry until the execution of this mass-God was past. This doth as much anger the queen, as it doth please many others, to have her sacred place thus disturbed."

Randolph then goes on to observe, "These oft debates, these common controversies between her and her nobles, must needs breed great misliking, and so often renewed, yea, almost daily, to her great grief to hear of them, must needs grow to a mischief. Above all the rest, this is it that is feared that will be the breach of all good accord and quietness of this estate, though the rest be borne with; that is, if she match herself with a papist, by whom she may be fortified to her intent. Of this point there is no small care taken, and much doubt risen, what shall become of all those that in times past have so far attempted, as to establish here churches, and without her consent. Sometimes they take advice to be suitors and means unto the

queen's majesty, that she will be so careful of this estate, and of those that with all reverence and humble sort are ready to serve her and obey her next unto their own sovereign, that she will so work and travail, yea, and so provide for her in marriage, that they may be void of that care which now they do doubt, which they do think can be no ways so well as if those matters that so long have been in consultation took effect; as to match her with my lord of Leicester, being himself a protestant, should easily enough bring her to be of the same religion, or, at the least, cause her to deal more moderately in those matters than yet she doth. If this take not effect, whereunto she is now meekly well inclined, assuredly, whomsoever she doth marry, it shall be greatly to their discontentment, besides other things that are to be doubted, of the inconveniences that may arise between the two realms; as if she either ally herself again with France, or match with Spain, whereof what likelihood there is, or how she is able to bring it to pass, your honour may know much more than I. But to what end this journey of my lord of Lethington is to the cardinal, and what devices are between Granvelle and him, I know no farther than that which I wrote in my last letter. One thing I must also say, that all men here that either love their commonwealth, or know what a benefit it is to live in peace, think this country happy if they may get (as they call him still here,) my lord Robert."

Randolph next proceeds to speak of the earl of Lennox. "I have been always of opinion that my lord of Lennox coming into this country might do more hurt than good, wherein I never had so much respect unto himself, or any other man here, as I did what these men should judge of my sovereign, or whether it might be an occasion of altering of divers men's affections towards her majesty, who was, and yet is, accounted a protector and defender of the godly of this realm, in whom they had always such trust and hope, that as she hath delivered them out of their enemies' hands, so would she have a continual care over them, and to keep from them such inconveniences as may fall upon them. My lord of Lennox is come home, restored and established in his land, in peace and credit with the queen, an instrument and ready to serve her against any, especially those



whom she most misliketh. To this end he fortieth himself; he joineth with those in most straight familiarity that are noted greatest enemies to all virtue, as Athol and Caithness, earls; Ruthven and Hume, lords: the lord Robert [Robert Stuart, bishop of Caithness,] vain and nothing worth, a man full of all evil, the whole guider and ruler of my lord Darnley. These things being spied and noted to the world, it is easy to be seen whereunto they are bent, that in their hearts are enemies to the truth, and desire nothing so much as the subversion of those that have been maintainers of the same, as in special the duke and the earls of Murray and Argyle, who now perceiving their intents, seek by the best means that they can to prevent the same. Their chief trust, next unto God, is the queen's majesty, whom they will repose themselves upon, not leaving in the mean season to provide for themselves the best they can. The duke, my lord of Murray, and my lord of Argyle, have joined themselves within these eight days in a new bond, to defend each other's quarrel, that is not against God and their sovereign. My lord of Argyle hath taken into his defence, in all his just actions, the earl of Montgomery, alias Eglintoun, and intendeth to make a marriage between the earl of Cassillis and the duke's daughter, or, if that cannot be, between him and the countess of Crawford, his near kinswoman, and the greatest marriage in Scotland. To both these earls my lord of Lennox hath actions, who being now thus joined in friendship, shall be able enough to defend themselves, or if he intend anything by way of deed, shall be able enough to debate their quarrels. Always they are loath to come to this, and are sorry that any such guest is suffered to come amongst them that may give occasion to enter into such terms as now they are forced into. It is now found by the wisest amongst them how great an oversight it was for them to give their advices to let him come home; and because it was much easier to have been stayed by the queen's majesty, than to be withstood here, when this queen's affection towards his return was known, they are sorry that her majesty did so much yield unto her will to let him come, who may and is like enough to be occasion of so great troubles. Of my lord Darnley they have this opinion, that in wisdom he doth not much differ from his father. The

honour, countenance, and entertainment that he hath here, maketh him think no little of himself. Some persuade him that there is no less good will borne unto him by many of this nation, than that they think him a fit party for such a queen. How easily a young man so borne in hand, daily in presence well used, continually either of the best or next about her, may be induced, either by himself to attempt, or by persuasions of others to imagine, I leave it to the judgment of others. Of this queen's mind hitherto towards him, I am void of suspicion; but what affections may be stirred up in her, or whether she will be at any time moved that way, seeing she is a woman, and in all things desireth to have her will, I cannot say. This is also needful for your honour to understand, that the queen hath conceived displeasure towards my lord of Argyle. Her hatred is still mortal towards the duke, which lately burst out in over many words and in too many men's hearing. He thinketh himself in evil case. I find him more pitied and better beloved than ever he was. He keepeth continually at home. Few of his name repair to court. They seek all quietly to live, and through innocency or not offence of law to avoid all dangers that are intended, or what mischiefs soever shall be preached against them, whereof they do most assure themselves if this queen do marry any other than my lord of Leicester, but specially if she take my lord Darnley. This putteth no small fear also among the Douglasses, for what cause your honour knoweth. With divers of them of late I have had some talk. I maintain them in good hope, the best I can, that there is no danger that way. From the duke I have received this message, that he cannot be without fear of the overthrow of his house, if the lord Darnley marry the queen. As he hath hitherto shown himself friend and servant to her majesty, so he hopeth not a little but he shall always have occasion to serve and honour her during his life, and make his whole house bound unto her for ever. He did put me in remembrance of a letter written unto him by the queen's majesty a little before his sovereign's home coming, assuring him of her majesty's favour and support, if anything should be unjustly attempted against him, he doing his duty to his sovereign. He will, therefore, repose himself wholly in the queen's majesty, and



desireth her highness to have such care over him as one willing to serve her and may hereafter be able to be a friend at commandment. Of this message was my lord of Kilwinnie messenger, and the same again confirmed by my lord of Argyle, who for his own part offereth all service that lieth in his power, and of whom I have received the effect of that which I have written in my whole letter.

"These things I doubt not shall be weighed and considered of your honour. To help all these unhappy men I doubt not but you will take the best way, and this I can assure, that contrary to my sovereign's will let them attempt, let them seek, and let them send to all the cardinals or devils in hell, it shall pass their powers to bring anything to pass, so that that be not refused here that in reason ought to content her. How long the kingdom will stand between my lord of Murray and my lord of Lennox, your honour may judge by this, that my lord of Lennox hath joined himself with those whom my lord of Murray thinketh worst of in Scotland. What opinion the young lord hath conceived of him, that lately talking with the lord Robert, who showed him in the Scotch map what lands my lord of Murray had, and in what bounds, the lord Darnley said that it was too much. This came to my lord of Murray's ear, and so to the queen, who advised my lord of Darnley to excuse himself to my lord of Murray. The truth is, these be no matters to make or to take quarrels for, yet these suspicions, doubts, and heart-burnings between these noblemen may break out to great inconveniences, and for my own particular I would not greatly care (though this be unadvisedly spoken, for I know there is of many of those much good will borne unto me) which end went forward, so that the queen's majesty may ever be thought of and reputed to be a patron and friend to this nation, as presently (*now*) she is."

Mary had now evidently made up her mind to the marriage with Darnley, and there only remained the rather delicate task of imparting this resolution to the courts of France and England, and that of obtaining the consent of her nobility. In England the opposition to this alliance was sure to be great, and one of Mary's first cares was to send the laird of Lethington, whose diplomatic skill was well known, on an embassy to Elizabeth. We know from a dispatch of the French

ambassador in England, M. de Foix, written on the 24th of March, that Lethington's mission had then been announced at the English court, but at that time Elizabeth seems still to have believed that the negotiations for the marriage with the earl of Leicester were progressing satisfactorily. On the 15th of April, Lethington arrived in London, and at the same time came a letter from Randolph with information that not only had the marriage with Darnley been resolved upon, but that the queen of Scots already lived on terms of such familiarity with him as to give rise to a variety of injurious reports. Elizabeth saw that she had been duped in the affair of the Lennoxes, and her indignation was great; but the principal offenders were then out of her reach. Under pretext, however, that the whole proceedings were connected with plots among the English catholics, in which the countess of Lennox was a principal agent, she caused that lady to be confined to her own house, and subsequently committed her to the Tower; and, being informed by Lethington that Mary had not proceeded so far as to be unable to retrace her steps, she sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton in haste to Scotland to use his utmost efforts to dissuade the young queen from such an alliance. Throckmorton set out on his embassy at the beginning of May, and three days afterwards Lethington followed him.

During his absence the progress of events in Scotland had been very rapid, and not less important. Darnley's mind was soon intoxicated with the amorous attentions of the queen and with his sudden elevation, so that he became so vain and overbearing as to disgust the greater part of the nobility, of whom he spoke with scornful disdain. He even talked openly of reducing the exorbitant power of the earl of Murray, and he boasted of his great influence among the catholics in England and of the strong party which he could raise there. Mary was on her side led entirely by her passion for the young lord, and she acted with a greater degree of wilfulness than she had ever shown before. The Hamiltons, who looked upon Lennox as their bitterest enemy, were greatly alarmed at the increasing favour in which he stood at court; and the earl of Murray, professing disgust at the increase of popery in the queen's household, kept away. It was at this moment that the young earl of Bothwell, a man



notorious for his unprincipled character, returned suddenly to Scotland. He had been accused of a plot to murder the earl of Murray and obtain possession of the queen's person, and, on being summoned to stand his trial, he made his escape to France. Murray, whose life had often been threatened by Bothwell, looked upon his return as foreboding no good to himself, and he and the earl of Argyle now demanded justice against him, and the queen summoned him to stand his trial for high treason. On the evening of Tuesday the 1st of May, the day before the trial was to take place, the earl of Murray came to Edinburgh for the purpose of prosecuting it, accompanied by a force of five or six thousand men; and Randolph states that more would have come, "saving that they were stayed by the queen, who hath shown herself now of late to mislike that my lord of Murray so earnestly pursueth him, and will not give his voice to take the like advantage upon some others whom she beareth small affection unto." Bothwell was unwilling to venture among such a large concourse of his enemies, and he sent his kinsman Hepburn of Whitsum to appear for him, and protest his innocence. Judgment, however, it is said, would have been pronounced against him but for the interference of the queen, who was popularly believed to have used her influence in screening him. If such were the case, it was probably done at the desire of the catholics, of whom he was a reckless partizan.

It is quite evident that at this moment Scotland was in a state of great agitation. The protestants took the alarm and began to associate together for mutual defence, and people talked openly of the necessity of placing the queen under restraint, or taking some other violent method of hindering a marriage from which they all saw so much to apprehend. A breach was apparent between the queen and those protestant leaders under whose directions the government of Scotland had been carried on with so much moderation and wisdom since the queen's return to her dominions, and people dreaded the consequences. "To this point it is come," writes Randolph on the 3rd of May, "that my lords of Murray and Argyle will at no time be in the court together, that, if need be, the one may relieve or support the other. The duke is content to live at home, and thinketh himself happy if he may die in his bed.

The preachers look daily, by some means or other, to have their lives taken from them; or to be commanded to silence, as already she hath done one Mr. Thomas Drummond, a godly and learned young man that preached at Dumblane. With my lord of Argyle there came to this town the lord David, the duke's son, with most part of the duke's friends. Assured bands and promises are made between the duke and my lord of Murray, that nothing shall be attempted against each other, but it shall be defended to the uttermost of their powers. The earl of Glencairn having been required by the earl of Lennox to enter into the like band, hath refused it and joined with the duke. My lord of Morton this time was absent, but so misliked, that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that my lady's grace (the countess of Lennox) will give over her rights of Angus, and so he will become friend to that side. In this Lethington laboureth, not much to his own praise. The lord Ruthven, Lethington's chief friend, is wholly theirs, and chief counsellor amongst them. Suspicions do rise on every side, in which I have my part, as of late, because I was at the west border, and am thought to practise with the master of Maxwell, I know not what myself. My lord of Murray was willed not to have to do with me; and when he said he could not choose but speak well of me, 'Well,' saith she (the queen), 'if you will, let not Argyle have to do with him.' For all that, I have supped thrice with my lord of Murray. My lord of Argyle took the pains to come to my lodging; he brought with him the lord David. He hath been plain, and, to be short, misliketh all."

Mary appears at this time to have been much ruled by the inferior attendants on her person, by her ladies, and especially by her private secretary, David Rizzio, or Riccio. This man was an Italian who came over in the suite of Monsieur de Morette, sent by the duke of Savoy on an embassy to Mary's court in 1561, and he had first obtained the queen's favour by his musical talents. She subsequently took him into her confidence, and admitted him to great familiarity, and gradually advanced him over the heads of those who were much superior to himself; and by this means, and by the pride and petulance which accompanied his advancement, he had gained



many enemies. It was said that he was the main promoter of the marriage with Darnley, and the latter had taken him into his most intimate confidence, and seemed to treat him as his only friend. "The chief dealers in these matters," says Randolph, in the letter just quoted, "are, David Riccio, the Italian, Mingo, valet-de-chambre, Athol, and Ruthven, whom I should have named first. Thus your honour seeth our present estate, and how things do frame amongst us. So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despicable words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. My lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse-meat; if he have no more from you, we shall see him presently put to his shifts. His men are bolder and saucier, both with the queen's self and many noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne; divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their doings. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them. My young lord, lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the duke to knock his pate when he is whole."

The protestant preachers were especially alarmed at the new state of things, and on the 3rd of May, the day on which this letter was written, they held an assembly to consult on their interests. "This day," Randolph goes on to say, "the chief of the protestants that at this time are present with the ministers, assembled in the church. Consultation was had what order might be put unto that confusion that had grown up, wherein every man might do and say what he would, without reproof, against God's glory and his word. Their deliberation contained three heads: first, how to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the queen's chapel, as others; next, that her own laws might be put in execution without offence; the third, that liberty might be granted, without inhibition or reproof, to such as are admitted to preach the true word of God. Long reasoning hath been hereupon. It was determined that the request should be put in writing, and certain appointed as messengers for the rest."

Mary was particularly embarrassed by Murray's opposition to her marriage with Darnley, and she now tried every means,

not sparing either flattery or threats to obtain his consent, but in vain. At length, in an interview in lord Darnley's chamber, on the 8th of May, she attempted to gain her object by taking him by surprise. Drawing him aside, she suddenly placed in his hands a paper containing a written approval of her marriage, and an engagement to promote it with all his power, and required him to sign it at once, if he would show himself her faithful subject, and avoid her extreme displeasure. He declined firmly, but respectfully, alleging reasons why he could not conscientiously approve a measure which he thought had been adopted too hastily, and would be injurious to her kingdom. Mary burst into one of her passionate appeals, at one minute caressed and flattered him, and at another threatened; and at last, finding she could not prevail, after many "sore words," she accused him of ingratitude, and dismissed him with expressions of violent resentment.

Mary now determined to delay no further, and she summoned the Scottish nobility to meet at Stirling on the 15th of May, that she might announce to them her intentions and obtain their consent. She at the same time sent one of her courtiers, named Beaton, with new instructions to Lethington, worded, we are told, in very passionate language, and directing him to tell the English queen that, having been so long held in suspense by her fair words and promises, she had now determined to listen to her no longer, but to make choice of a husband for herself, and to that end she should call her nobles together and take their advice. Lethington was directed to proceed from England to France, and there use his utmost exertions to obtain the French king's approval of her union with the lord Darnley. Lethington had, however, left the English court on his return, and Beaton met him near Newark, and delivered his dispatches. Hitherto Lethington appears to have given no decided intimation of the part which he took at this difficult crisis, and while the queen seems to have regarded him as entirely in her interest, we know that Murray and his friends were fearful that he would not be willing so far to compromise himself as to declare openly against the marriage. But these new instructions seem to have decided him in the course he intended to take. Instead of obeying them, he put them in his pocket, and hurrying forwards, overtook Throckmorton at Alnwick,



to whom he communicated the instructions he had received, and in very angry terms expressed his high displeasure at the course which Mary was now pursuing, and his wish that Elizabeth might interfere to prevent it. The two ambassadors continued their route into Scotland together.

Throckmorton arrived in Edinburgh on the 15th of May, the very day on which the convention of the nobles was held at Stirling, whither he immediately proceeded. The nobles had assembled in great numbers; the leading catholic peers and all the lords of the queen's party were there, and those who were opposed to the marriage seem to have been overawed into acquiescence. Having obtained a declaration on the part of the convention in accordance with her wishes, Mary immediately conferred the honour of knighthood on the lord Darnley, and then created him lord of Ardmarch and earl of Ross, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. It was at this moment that it was announced that the queen of England's ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was at the castle gate, and demanded an immediate audience. He was at once ushered into the royal presence, where he delivered in strong language the remonstrances of Elizabeth on the ill-advised proceedings of the Scottish queen, and on the presumption of Lennox and Darnley, who, Elizabeth's own subjects, had dared to engage in such enterprises without consulting with her. At the same time he summoned them both to return immediately to England, on pain of confiscation there. Mary expressed her surprise at Elizabeth's interference, declared that she had rejected all foreign suitors to please her, and said that she had supposed she was acting in full conformity with her wishes in selecting an Englishman for her husband.

Amid these intrigues, Knox began again to stand forth boldly with his warnings and denunciations. He had never been deceived by the queen's declarations of favours to the protestants, but had always believed that she was dissimulating, and many of those who were at one time scandalized at his violence, now thought that he was in the right. The party of Murray and Lethington began again to act in alliance with him. The protestants, indeed, were now becoming so alarmed, that they began to meditate desperate measures, and the question is said to have been seriously discussed, whether it would be best to slay the lord Darnley, or

to seize him and his father and deliver them up to the English. According to the accounts we have, Riccio and Darnley seem to have been at this time the chief directors of the queen's counsels, and the pride of Darnley especially had given offence to all the nobles except those who hoped through him to overthrow the protestant influence. Randolph, a close observer of what was going on, wrote to the earl of Leicester on the 3rd of June—"David is he that now worketh all, chief secretary to the queen, and only governor to her gude man; the bruits (*reports*) here are wonderful, men talk very strange, the hazard towards him and his house marvellous great; his pride intollerable, his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies, as I hear say, that sometimes he will be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all, and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life, to live under such estate and government as this is like to be. What comfort can they look for at the queen's majesty's hands, or what support, if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end he was sent into this country. I spare here to speak so much as I have heard; and knowing so little of the queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give."

Mary was at this time preparing a new embassy for England, and she chose her master of requests, John Hay, who, as a man of character and moderation, was likely to be listened to with attention, to labour to reconcile Elizabeth to her union with Darnley. His instructions were dated at Perth, on the 14th of June, and it was directed that, "In the first, after our most hearty recommendations made to our said good sister, ye shall declare unto her that, whereas by the message of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, knight, her late ambassador here, we heard, although besides (*contrary to*) our expectation, of her great discontentation and misliking of our choice of the earl of Ross to be our husband, a matter which at the first appeared to us most strange and uncouth, thinking rather to



have received good will and approbation of our intended purpose, principally in consideration that by the space of a whole year past, or thereby (*thercabouts*), by the declaration of master Randolph, her agent in this our realm, shown in manner of advice, we have always understood, and taken it for her meaning, that in case we could be contented to forbear to deal with the houses of France, Spain, and Austria, in marriage, and join with any subject of this whole isle, and specially of England, that then she would most willingly embrace and allow our doing. And when as we followed the same her advice and counsel, moved by it, and taking a greater regard of the same, than of the advices of any our other nearest friends, which for her respect we passed over and disdained to use, had thus inclined ourself to match with one of this isle, her own subject and near cousin, thinking thereby to have fully pleased her, and by the contrary, understood her said misliking and discontentment, we could not wonder enough, finding our sincere meaning so mistaken. And although before the coming of her ambassador, we had fully condescended with ourself, and in our heart were determined, to have my said lord of Ross in husband, and thereupon had written to our friends, our whole nobility agreeing without variance to the purpose, as both they and we continue in the same mind; yet having consideration of our amity, and regarding her message declared by her said ambassador, we were contented to delay and suspend the final accomplishment and solemnization of our marriage for a convenient season, that thereby our said good sister might well perceive, that as heretofore we have always used her advices, specially in this most weighty cause of our marriage, and think we have done no otherwise." The document is here injured, but Mary goes on to propose that commissioners on both sides should meet to arrange the differences which were likely to arise between the two queens.

"Further," says Mary, "ye shall declare unto our said good sister, how we cannot but think very strange and fremmit (*extraordinary*), the sharp intreating and handling of our dear cousin the lady Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox, our father's sister, and can judge no other but that this her evil and hard intreating is for our cause, seeing that the day immediately preceding the coming of the lord of Lethington, our

secretary and late ambassador towards our said good sister, it pleased her to visit the said lady in her own chamber, doing her therethrough great honour, and showing her as great humanity (*politeness*) in that point as of the prince by the subject could be asked or looked for; although that conceit continued not long, for even on the morn, and ever since, her case has been so to our knowledge that we pity it; and she herself being our said good sister's subject, and so near cousin, we doubt not but the same will be repaired, and she relieved of her present trouble; at least, if it were for no other cause, but to make the sowers of rumours disappointed, who think and make all men to believe that her hard intreating is for our sake; which opinion, as we know to be vain and untrue, so would we wish by her liberty and restitution it might be cut off and deled forth of memory. Item, ye shall declare to our said good sister, with what good heart and affection our cousin the earl of Lennox is minded to do her humble service; and because his living lies both in Scotland and England, and he therethrough obliged and devinet (*bound*) to us both, and both our kingdoms; that therefore it may be the pleasure and goodwill of our said dearest sister to grant and give full licence and liberty to the said earl to pass and repass betwixt this our realm and the realm of England, as oft as he thinks good, without prescription, or any certain time of returning or remaining. And in case by that liberty it may perchance be suspected that he is able to do or procure things in hurt or prejudice of our said good sister and her realm, it may be answered on this behalf, that during his remaining in Scotland, his lady and youngest son shall remain in England as pledges for the loyalty and good behaviour of the said earl to our said good sister, and towards her realm and lieges; so that, on the other part, his said lady and son may remain in Scotland when he is in England."

Hay arrived at Elizabeth's court on the 27th of June. The English queen and her council had been much irritated and embarrassed by the course things were taking in the north, for it is quite evident they saw in this marriage considerable danger to English protestantism. On the 3rd of June, the French ambassador, de Foix, paid a visit to Elizabeth, and found her playing at chess in her private chamber. Knowing that the subject of greatest interest at this moment



was the marriage of the lord Darnley with the Scottish queen, De Foix began the conversation by observing that the game of chess was an image of the discourses, cautions, and events of the actions of men, in which, when one lost a pawn, it seemed indeed but a small thing, yet very often it led to the loss of the whole game. The queen replied, that she understood very well the allusion of the ambassador; she knew lord Darnley was but a pawn, yet that he would nevertheless be enough to give her mate, unless she took great care. Elizabeth then rose from the game, took the French ambassador aside, and expressed to him great anger and resentment for what she characterized as the disloyal conduct of the earl of Lennox and his son. Throckmorton had returned home from his embassy on the 1st of June, and his report seemed rather to have increased Elizabeth's irritation. On the 12th of June, she submitted the question of Mary's marriage with Darnley formally to the privy council, and it was agreed that it was fraught with danger to the protestant establishment in England, and, consequently, to Elizabeth's crown. They accordingly recommended that all possible steps should be taken to prevent it.

Such was the state of things at the English court, when the protestant party in Scotland, lead by Murray and Argyle, applied secretly to Elizabeth for assistance. The latter, while she summoned Lennox and Darnley, as her subjects, to return to England, and wrote to the queen of Scots to express a strong disapproval of her proceedings, gave Murray and his friends assurance that she would protect them against their enemies, as long as they laboured together for the support of protestantism and the preservation of the amity between the two countries. The first open manifestation of the discontent of the protestant barons was occasioned by the convention of the nobility, which Mary had appointed to take place at Perth on the 22nd of June, to give their final consent to the marriage, and fix the day. Murray absented himself on the excuse that his life was in danger; while the preachers, encouraged by Knox and the earl of Argyle, not only raised their voice loudly against the marriage, but, in order to embarrass the court still more, they appointed the general assembly of the church to be held in Edinburgh at the very time when the nobles were to meet at Perth. The protestants

in this assembly drew up a petition to the queen, praying that the blasphemous mass and all popish idolatry should be utterly abolished, not only throughout the kingdom, but in her own household; that she herself, as well as her subjects, should profess the true religion as it was based on the word of God; and that all persons should be compelled to attend the preaching of the ministers. They also required that further provision should be made for the support of the latter; that pluralities should be abolished; that greater care should be taken in the appointment of teachers in colleges and schools; that a fund should be established for the relief of the poor; and that the agriculturists should be relieved from the burthen of tithes. The earl of Glencairn and five commissioners were appointed to present this petition to the queen, a duty which they performed at Perth on the 1st of July. She replied cautiously but firmly, that as she believed in the truth of the catholic faith, she could not consent to abandon it herself or to banish it from her household; but she reminded the commissioners that she had allowed a complete liberty of conscience to her subjects, which she hoped they would extend to her. With regard to the other points contained in the petition, she said that she was willing to refer them to the decision of the three estates.

The protestant lords now began to meditate more desperate designs. It was determined, at all risks, to seize upon Darnley and his father; and the earls of Murray and Argyle held a secret meeting with lord Boyd at Lochleven, on the 1st of July, to consult on the best means of carrying their design into effect. As Mary was then at Perth, and it was known that she was to proceed thence with Darnley and her court to Callander, near Falkirk, the seat of lord Livingston, the conspirators determined to intercept her at a wild spot near Beith, where she must pass, and while the queen was taken to St. Andrews, Darnley and his father were to be held in custody until arrangements could be made for delivering them up to the English. With this object, they communicated with Randolph, and obtained an indirect assurance, that the English commander at Berwick would receive the two captives. Mary, however, received timely warning of her danger, and, having ordered Athol and Ruthven to assemble their followers, she left Perth at day-



break on the 3rd of July, with an escort of three hundred horse, traversed the distance between that town and the firth of Forth, and reached Callander without encountering any interruption on the road. Argyle arrived at Kinross only to learn that the royal party had passed that place two hours before him, and that his object was thus entirely defeated.

Mary now perceived the dark cloud that was gathering round her, and she attempted to avert it by new professions of her resolution to support the protestant religion as established in Scotland. At Callander she attended for the first time a protestant sermon, and professed her willingness to listen to the arguments of Erskine of Dun against the church of Rome. She thus drew many of the more moderate of her subjects from joining in the agitation that was going on; while Murray and the lords of his party became more and alarmed, and not only entered into bonds among themselves, but made application directly to Elizabeth for protection and assistance. Everything now threatened the country with civil war. Mary, however, was resolved to persevere in her own course, and her proceedings against the lords who opposed her were marked by courage, firmness, and ability. Early in June, the earl of Argyle had collected his forces to attack the earl of Athol, upon which Mary sent them a peremptory order to remain at peace. The earl of Murray, having summoned his adherents to meet him at Glasgow, she sent a herald to that city to forbid the meeting, on pain of treason. She prorogued the parliament from July, when it was to assemble, till the month of October. Then, following up these energetic measures by one still more decisive, she summoned her subjects to attend her in arms at Edinburgh, provisioned for fifteen days, to be ready to march against her enemies, and directed letters to many of the chief protestants, appealing to their loyalty, and declaring solemnly that she had never harboured the thought of doing anything against the free exercise of the protestant faith. One of these, to whom addressed is unknown, but dated from Edinburgh on the 16th of July, is preserved in the British Museum, and is worded as follows:—"Trusty friend, we greet you well. The evil bruit and untrue report spread by seditious persons amongst our lieges has grieved us indeed, as that we should have intended to impede or molest any our sub-

jects in the using of their religion and conscience freely, a thing which never entered in our mind, although over many have credited the report; and to the effect that this vain bruit may vanish as a thing without ground or foundation, we have directed our letters to signify our sincere meaning to all our good subjects, and with that we thought it very meet and convenient to write unto you in particular, as one of whom we never had but good opinion, and saw your ready good will to serve when the occasion of the common weal required. The effect is to certify and assure you that, as hitherto ye have never perceived us mean stop, stay, or molestation, to you or any others in using your religion and conscience, so may you look for the same our good will and clemency in time coming. For next God, behaving you as a good subject to us, think no other but to find us a favourable and beneficial mistress and prince, willing to contain you in good peace and quietness, without innovation or alteration in any sort. And in case ye shall be desired to rise and concur with any man, as under pretence of these vain bruits, we pray you to estay and take no heed to them that so shall desire you, as also if it shall happen us to have to do either with our old enemies, or otherwise, we look to be certified by you presently in writing with the bearer what we may lippin (*expect*) for at your hands; farther of our mind we have declared to the bearer hereof, whom to ye shall give firm credit. Subscribed with our hand at Edinburgh, the 16th day of July, 1565." A postscript immediately follows:—"After this our letter written, and when we hoped that so suddenly we needed not to charge you, we are constrained to give you warnings and pray you effectuously, that ye, with your kin, friends, and force ye may make, address you to come to us, being in feir (*array*) of war, and be provided for fifteen days after your coming to attend and await upon us. For seeing armour taken on already without occasion, it were little enough that we looked to our own surety and estate. This we doubt not but ye will do according to our lippinnis (*expectations*), with all possible haste. We have not a commodious bearer ready, and yet would not delay our letter, for it will sufficiently enough declare our meaning."

At the same time with these proceedings, an attempt at justification was made with regard to the earl of Murray. He had



refused to attend the convention at Stirling, on the plea that Lennox and Darnley had designs upon his life. He was now summoned by the queen to appear and make good this accusation. She gave him a safe-conduct, countersigned by such of the privy council as were with her, for himself and eighty attendants, a small escort for a nobleman in his position in Scotland in those times and under such circumstances. Lennox and Darnley disclaimed any design against him, and the former offered to fight the man who had accused them of it. But Murray was too well aware of the value of such protests and threats, and he again refused to obey.

There was in the mind of queen Elizabeth a strange mixture of liberality on one side, and of extravagant notions of the divine right of kings on the other. She had a feeling for oppressed subjects, especially if they suffered for religion, but she had no notion of their being helped by themselves. A rebellion of subjects she looked upon with the utmost abhorrence,

however they might have been provoked to it. Hence she acted on a very wavering policy towards the Scottish, as well as towards the French protestants. She would not allow them to be entirely crushed, while she still anxiously avoided the appearance of taking part with them; and by giving them such equivocal countenance, she often led them into disasters which might have been avoided. At the same time, this very crafty policy was perhaps the salvation of liberty, both religious and civil; for had she prematurely provoked that terrible contest which happened more than half a century later, it is very difficult to conjecture what might have been the result. Elizabeth's policy was, however, certainly injurious to the protestant lords in Scotland at this time; for by that degree of encouragement which her agents held out to them, they seem to have been led to compromise themselves more than they otherwise would have done; while the little open support she gave them exposed their weakness.

## CHAPTER V.

MARY'S MARRIAGE WITH DARNLEY; RISING AND FLIGHT OF THE PROTESTANT NOBLES; MARY JOINS THE CONTINENTAL CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

It was under these unpropitious circumstances that Mary consummated her marriage. The bishop of Dunblane had been sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation for it, and the queen only waited his return, which took place on the 22nd of July. The banns of marriage were immediately published in the church of St. Giles. Darnley had, on the 20th, been created duke of Albany; and on the 28th Mary addressed letters patent to the heralds, announcing her intention on their marriage to confer upon him the title of king, and ordering proclamation to this effect to be made throughout the kingdom. "Forasmuch," said this document, "as we intend, at the pleasure and will of God, to solemnize and complete the band of matrimony, in face of haly kirk, with the right noble and illustrious prince Henry duke of Albany; in respect of which mar-

riage, and during the time thereof, we will, ordain, and consent, that he be named and styled king of this our kingdom, and that all our letters, to be directed after our said marriage, be completed by and in the names of the said illustrious prince, our future husband, and us, as king and queen of Scotland, conjointly." Next day, Sunday the 29th of July, the marriage took place in the chapel of Holyrood-house. Between five and six in the morning, the queen was first conducted to the chapel by several of her nobles, and it was remarked as ominous, that she was dressed in a mourning gown of black, with a wide mourning hood. She was led into the chapel by the earls of Lennox and Athol, who left her there while they went to fetch the bridegroom. They were received by two catholic priests, who, after the banns had been asked the third time, and a



notary had drawn up an instrument to the effect that no man opposed the marriage or alleged any cause why it should not proceed, performed the ceremony. Mary was then conducted to her chamber, followed by her husband, and, as a part of the ceremonies, she was required to cast off her care, and, laying aside the sorrowful garments she then wore, to give herself to a pleasanter life. After some feigned reluctance, she consented, and then every man that could approach her was suffered to take a pin out of her dress, and she was committed to her ladies, who undressed her, and arrayed her in garments more fitting for the occasion. After this commenced the festivities of the day. As the newly-married couple were conducted to the dinner, the trumpets sounded, and a "largess" was cried, and money was thrown in great abundance to the crowd of attendants. The king and queen sat together at the high table, the latter served by three earls, Athol as sewer, Morton as carver, and Crawford as cup-bearer; while three other earls, Eglintoun, Cassillis, and Glencairn, performed the same offices to Darnley. The time between dinner and supper was occupied with dancing and other gaiety, which were repeated after supper until the hour of retiring.

Mary was at this time in her twenty-third year, and Darnley had just completed his nineteenth. It was said that she had expressed a wish that his proclamation as king should be postponed till he was of the age of twenty-one, or at least till it had been confirmed by parliament; but Darnley, who had entirely gained the ascendancy over her, refused to wait, and insisted that he should be proclaimed king at once. "Whereupon," says Randolph, in his graphic description of these ceremonies, "this doubt is risen amongst our men of law, whether she being clad with a husband, and her husband not twenty-one years, anything without parliament can be of strength that is done between them. Upon Saturday, at afternoon, these matters were long in debating, and before they were well resolved upon, at nine hours at night, by three heralds at sound of the trumpet he was proclaimed king. This was the night before the marriage. This day, Monday, at twelve of the clock, the lords, all that were in this town, were present at the proclaiming of him again, when no man said so much as amen, saving his father, that

cried out aloud, 'God save his grace!'" There is no room for doubt that this marriage raised gloomy forebodings in the minds of Scotchmen in general. "So many discontented minds," says Randolph, "so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage. So little comfort as men do take, was never seen at any time where men should have shown themselves to rejoice, if that consideration of her own honour and of her country had been had, as appertained in so weighty a case. Thus they fear the overthrow of religion, the breach of amity with the queen's majesty, destruction of as many of the nobility as she (Mary) hath misliking of, or that he do pick a quarrel unto."

The principles which were in future to guide Mary's government were now soon apparent. Three days after her marriage, the earl of Murray was summoned to appear at court, and on his failing to present himself, he was proclaimed a rebel and put to the horn, which was in Scotland the formality of denouncing the extreme penalties of the law. At the same time the queen's subjects were ordered to join the queen in arms to proceed against her domestic enemies. On the 5th of August, the earl of Bothwell was pardoned of all offences, and permitted to return to Scotland, where he was soon afterwards promoted by the queen to some of the highest offices of the state; thus showing that the complaints of Murray's friends were not without foundation, that the Scottish queen, while pretending resentment against Bothwell, really hindered the proceedings against him.

As soon as Elizabeth heard of the marriage, she dispatched one of the gentlemen of her bedchamber, Mr. Tamworth, to the Scottish court to express her dissatisfaction, and to urge upon Mary a reconciliation with the earl of Murray. He was instructed to tell the queen of Scots that she looked upon her actions as very strange, not only towards her, but towards her own poor subjects, and she feared that it would lead to deplorable consequences. Elizabeth complained that Mary had accused her of deception and dissimulation in her proposals for a marriage with the earl of Leicester, assuring her that in all her negotiations she had acted with perfect sincerity; and she expressed her astonishment that, although Lethington had been sent to England to



communicate with her on the marriage with Darnley, and she had sent back sir Nicholas Throckmorton to signify her disapproval, Mary had proceeded so far, before the return of Lethington, or the arrival of Throckmorton, that her advice was no longer in time to retard the marriage, although she had promised Elizabeth a delay of three months. The English queen protested against the detention of her subjects, Lennox and Darnley, in Scotland, which she said was contrary to the faith of existing treaties, and an offence which she could not forget. She further complained that, on the part of Mary, an embassy had been sent by John Hay merely to amuse her, and she demanded an explanation of a passage in the letter sent by this envoy which implied a threat on the part of Mary to call in the aid of foreign princes in support of her title as next heiress to the English throne. She begged her not to break the amity between the two countries, urged her above all to make no change in the religion as then established in Scotland, and appealed to her in favour of her brother the earl of Murray.

Tamworth found Mary at Edinburgh, just returned from an expedition against Murray and his friends, who had been compelled to retire into Argyle. She received him in a spirited manner, and spoke proudly of her claims to the English throne. In the written replies to Elizabeth's expostulations and complaints, she defended her conduct with regard to the marriage, and declared that the embassy of John Hay was a *bonâ fide* one. With regard to the remonstrance of Elizabeth, that other princes would think strangely of this marriage, Mary replied that "she knew well enough the wishes of the greatest princes in Europe." She offered similar justifications with regard to Elizabeth's other charges. "She could not," she said, "take it well that the queen of England should judge so lightly of her enterprises, the more so as she felt satisfied she had done nothing hastily, and she believed that she had the means of effecting successfully all her enterprises. And, as to the government of her own kingdom, she had never been curious to know how the queen of England conducted herself with her subjects, inasmuch as it was not the custom of princes to intermeddle in one another's affairs, and that she expected the same forbearance of the queen of England, according to justice and equity." Mary

denied absolutely any intention to interfere with the liberty of her subjects in matter of religion, or to make any change in Scotland in respect to it. With regard to the earl of Murray, she requested that her good sister the queen of England would refrain absolutely from all interference with regard to him or to any other of her subjects.

The dispatches of M. de Foix, the French ambassador in England at this time, contain allusions to these events which show that Randolph did not, as Mr. Tytler assumes, misrepresent the state of public feeling in Scotland. On the 12th of August he sent to the French king the first intelligence he had received of the Scottish marriage, and informed him that it was so unpopular, that on the Sunday night, the day of the nuptials, the people of Edinburgh rose up in a tumultuous manner, and continued during the whole night in so great a riot, that, to appease it, the queen was obliged next morning to call before her the principal citizens, to whom and to such of her protestant lords as were at court, she gave her answers to the articles which had been presented to her on the part of the protestants, "with the gentlest words she could possibly employ; which she could not be prevailed upon to do before." She said that having been bred in the catholic religion, and having all the great princes her friends and kinsmen of the same faith, she could not conscientiously relinquish the private celebration of the mass, and therefore she begged her subjects to allow her that degree of liberty which she freely gave to them, and at the same time she promised them that they should none of them be disturbed by her means in the free exercise of the protestant faith and ceremonies. With respect to the other demands of the protestants, she declared that she could not give a distinct answer until the meeting of the estates, but that to whatever should be determined in parliament she would scrupulously adhere.

The few foreign letters of Mary during this period, which have been brought to light by the researches of prince Labanoff, are, as far as they go, important documents in showing the real motives and sentiments of the Scottish queen at this time. Probably the most valuable of all are shut up in the secret archives at Rome, where they are permitted to be consulted by nobody. The following letter, written by Mary to the king of Spain, on the 24th of July,



and therefore five days before her marriage, must convince us of the insincerity of her declarations of tolerance towards her protestant subjects, and at the same time it shows us that the protestants were justified in their suspicions of her real intentions. "My good brother," she says to Philip II., "having so perfect a knowledge of the virtues with which God has endowed your majesty, I see that he has not only entrusted to you the lot of so many peuples whose king you are, but also that he appears to have placed and commissioned you in this world above all the others, to be the defender of the holy catholic faith. As I am also one of those to whom God has given the charge of a kingdom, I have always resisted, as much as it has been in my power, against those who hold a belief contrary to my own; and, in order to have more means of carrying this into effect, I have resolved, according to the advice of my subjects, to marry the son of the earl of Lennox. I am assured that your ambassador, whose duty it has been to interfere in all this in order to put a stop to the progress of the new sect, will already have informed your majesty of the reasons which have decided me to take this step. They wanted to compel me to renounce the celebration of the mass; having refused, and taken the resolution to persist in it until death, I have informed your ambassador of everything that passed, feeling assured that, having so much need as I have of your aid and assistance, your majesty will grant them me to maintain the faith for the support of which you arm such great forces against the Turks. And, as I can well say that there is no war more dangerous for Christendom, and more pernicious to the obedience due to princes, than that of these new evangelists (may it please God that your majesty may never experience it in your estates), I supplicate your majesty, as much for that reason as in consideration of the will which I have had, and which I shall have all my life, to be leagued with your majesty towards and against all, to have the goodness to urge upon your ambassador to support the rights which the said son of the earl of Lennox and I have in England, and to give him direction to declare to the queen of England that your majesty will not permit anything to be done to our prejudice. I hope the day will come when we shall be able to acquit ourselves of the obligations which we shall

thereby have contracted towards you; and, in the mean time, I recommend myself to your favour, praying God, monsieur my good brother, that he give your majesty as much life and prosperity as you can desire. From Edinburgh, the 24th of July, 1565. Your good sister, Marie R."

We here see distinctly that for some time before her marriage Mary was in confidential communication with Spain, through the ambassador of that country at the court of Elizabeth, and that the object for which she sought this alliance was the overthrow of protestantism in Scotland. These communications can hardly have passed without being at least suspected by Elizabeth's ministers, who seem also to have had good information of intrigues carried on with the English catholics to shake the throne of their queen. This will help to explain the irritation which was now gaining ground between the two queens.

Nor was the negotiation with Spain a mere matter of words. Philip declared privately his determination to assist her with a sufficient force to subdue her protestant rebels, maintain the catholic faith, and enforce her claim to the English throne; and he sent to his ambassador in England, who had conducted the correspondence with her, a sum of twenty thousand crowns, to be employed "with the utmost secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." The pope, to whom also she had applied for assistance, had sent her a remittance of eight thousand crowns; but the vessel which carried it was wrecked on the English coast, and the money fell into the hands of the earl of Northumberland.

It is no doubt to the encouragement given her by Philip and the pope that we owe the resolution with which she now acted against Murray and his confederates, and her determination to listen to no terms of peace with them. She insisted that Elizabeth should immediately recognise her right of succession to the English throne, and that she should promise to give no encouragement whatever to her rebellious subjects. She ordered Elizabeth's ambassador, Randolph, to attend the privy council, where he was required on his honour to discontinue all communication with the earl of Murray's party, or to submit to the alternative of being placed under a guard which would keep watch on his movements. Randolph set the council at defiance, telling









Engraved by W. I. Fry.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.  
THE FOUNDER OF OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

OR 1603.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF  
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.



them he would "promise nothing, either on honour, honesty, word, or writing; and as for guards to attend me, they shall fare full ill, unless stronger and better armed than my own servants." It was proposed to him by Lethington, who still remained with Mary in the office of secretary, that he should retire for a while to Berwick; but this also he refused, insisting that it was his duty, until recalled, to attend at the Scottish court. Randolph appears, for the present, to have been no further molested; but it fared worse with Elizabeth's extraordinary ambassador, Tarnworth. He carried his refusal to acknowledge Darnley by the royal title so far as to refuse a passport on his return, because it was to be signed by him as king. The borderers were duly warned of this circumstance, and on his return he was waylaid, maltreated, and carried a prisoner to Hume castle.

This occurred on the 21st of August. The day following, Mary, who was now preparing to act with vigour against her opponents, issued a proclamation, by which the earls of Murray and Argyle, with their friends and adherents, were declared rebels, and she called upon her subjects to meet her in arms for the purpose of proceeding against them. Urgent letters were at the same time addressed to many of the Scottish lords, calling upon them for their active services on this occasion. One of these is preserved in the British Museum; it is dated from Edinburgh, on the 23rd of August, and runs in the following words:—"Trusty friend, we greet you well. That which we before suspected has now declared itself indeed, for our rebels have retired them to the in-country, the suffering whereof is no ways to us honourable. We mind, God willing, in proper persons to pass for their pursuit, whereunto it is needful that we be well and substantially accompanied. We pray you therefore effectuously that ye, with your kin, friends, and household, well bodin in feir of war (*well equipped in warlike gear*), and provided to remain full fifteen days after your coming, address you to meet us at Edinburgh the 25th day of August instant, by six hours at even, and so to pass forward with us, as ye will declare the good affection ye bear to us and our service, and do us most acceptable pleasure." It is signed by Mary and her husband, as queen and king.

About four thousand men are said to have obeyed this call, and with these Mary and her husband marched from Edinburgh.

They were at Stirling on the 28th of August, and from thence they proceeded direct to Glasgow, where we find them at the end of the month. The lords had also assembled a considerable force, but they seem to have been weakened by a division of opinion as to the object for which they had taken up arms. According to the account of Buchanan, the duke of Châtelherault and the Hamiltons proposed that the queen as well as Darnley should be deposed and put to death, the result of which would have been that the crown would descend to the duke's family; but Murray and his friends, who were opposed to the ambition of the Hamiltons, insisted on the adoption of a more moderate course, upon which the greater part of the Hamiltons refused to rise, though the duke remained with the earls. According to this historian, the lords were in force at Paisley, when Mary advanced to Glasgow. But, instead of waiting for her, they made a counter-movement, and, calculating on the zealous protestantism of the south-eastern counties, the earls of Murray and Glencairn, and the duke, at the head of a thousand men, advanced to Edinburgh, which they entered on the last day of August. Thence they addressed a letter to the queen, deprecating her hostility, and declaring if she continued to persecute them their blood should be dearly bought. At the same time they dispatched their agents to England, with urgent entreaties for assistance.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh were staunch protestants, and neither Darnley nor the queen were popular among them. We perceive, indeed, from contemporary notices, that while the court had remained in the capital there were continual broils between the citizens and his followers or partizans. But the castle was held by a governor devoted to the queen, with a sufficiently strong garrison, and the citizens stood too much in awe of its guns to dare to join openly in the insurrection. During the short period the lords remained in Edinburgh, these guns continued to be fired from time to time upon the town, until, informed of the approach of the royal army, the lords evacuated it, and retired to Dumfries, from whence they dispatched Robert Melvil to the English court, to represent urgently their wants, and to solicit an immediate aid of three thousand men, with some English ships of war in the firth.

When Mary was assured of the retreat of



the lords to Dumfries, instead of pursuing her course to Edinburgh, she returned to Glasgow, where she established her court for a short time, and employed herself in acts of vengeance against her opponents. On the 10th of September she wrote from that city a letter to Philip of Spain, of which the following is a strictly literal translation:—"Monsieur my good brother, the affection with which you have always employed yourself for the maintenance and support of our catholic religion, has caused me heretofore to seek your favour and aid, foreseeing that which is now come to pass in this kingdom, which tends to the entire ruin of the catholics, and to the establishment of those wretched errors, to which we, the king my husband and myself, wishing to offer resistance, shall be in danger of losing our crown, and, by the same means, the right which we claim elsewhere (*i.e.* to the English crown), if we have not the aid of one of the great princes of Christendom. Which being considered, and the constancy with which you have proceeded in these matters in your estates, and how much more than any other prince you have firmly supported those who have propped themselves with your favour, we have chosen to address ourselves above all others to you, to aid us with your counsel, and enable us to conquer by your aid and support; to have which, we have dispatched to you this English gentleman, a catholic and faithful servant of the king my husband and myself, with ample charge to render you an account of the state of our affairs, with which he is well acquainted, praying you to give credit to him as you would to ourselves; and dispatch him back very soon, for these occasions are so necessary, as it concerns us so much for the crown and the liberty of the church for ever, to maintain which we will spare neither life nor estate, being supported and counselled by you; to whom, after having kissed your hands, I pray God to give monsieur my good brother, all prosperity and felicity."

At the very time when this letter was addressed to the king of Spain, avowing Mary's hostility to the established religion, and introducing an agent to him to consult on the means of subverting it, she was drawing up a declaration to her subjects of her firm resolution to support it. This declaration is preserved in a French translation which had been sent to the court of France, and which is printed in the

collection of documents published by M. Teulet. It is dated at Dundee on the 15th of September, and is to the following effect:—"The king and queen having understood the seditious and false reports sown among their subjects, as well by mouth as by writing, by the rebels and their adherents, as if their majesties had no other deliberation but to ruin the state of religion which they found everywhere publicly established on their arrival in this country, to revoke and abolish the law of oblivion, and not to keep a single point of all that was said and promised by the queen's majesty at Stirling; tending thereby to seduce the poor people and alienate their affections from the obedience they owe to their majesties, although there is nothing of all that and the subject of such false rumours has never entered the hearts of their majesties. To obviate which, and in order that the authors of such lies may be made known for such as they are, namely, mutineers, seditious, and enemies of this commonwealth, and that all the subjects may be informed of the truth, and wholly assured of the sincerity of their intention towards the establishment of their said religion, their majesties have, by the advice of the lords of their privy council found good to make known to them, that as their said majesties have not heretofore forced any one in matters of conscience, nor undertaken anything against the religion which on their arrival as is aforesaid, they found everywhere received, so all their good subjects may hold themselves assured to be entirely secure of the same for the future. And, in order that it may be duly established, and that all the ordonnances, laws, and constitutions, as well canon and civil as municipal, prejudicial to, it may be annulled and abolished, their majesties have advised and deliberated to hold the estates as soon as time will permit. Which would already have been put in effect, if the chiefs of this tumult had not themselves been the cause of delay, and hindered, by their defection, the execution of what their majesties had, as they still have, good desire to do. Moreover they intend to keep and accomplish in every point all which the queen's majesty said or promised at Stirling, and to provide for all things tending to the safety of those who have made profession of the said religion, in their bodies, goods, lands, and possessions, as they themselves shall advise it and can



with reason require. Their majesties will also ratify and confirm anew the said law of oblivion, and finally they will make no difficulty in yielding to their said subjects all that justly they can demand or ought to expect from their majesties."

At the same time and from the same place new summonses were issued, urgently calling upon her subjects to join the royal banner. She had overrun Fife, where the protestants were strong, and plundered and destroyed the houses of Kirkaldy of Grange and other barons who had joined the insurgents. She levied heavy fines upon Dundee and St. Andrews, and her forces being now considerably increased, she prepared to attack her opponents in Dumfries. Mary's success had rendered her more resolute and more insatiable in her desire of vengeance, and her disinclination to hear reason was not diminished when she was joined by the profligate and unscrupulous earl of Bothwell, who now arrived at court with other reckless adventurers in his train. Bothwell possessed great power on the borders, and at the beginning of October he was confirmed in the hereditary office of great admiral of Scotland, and was entrusted with the command of the southern frontier. From this moment the earls of Huntley and Bothwell were the two most influential nobles of the queen's party.

The Scottish protestant leaders at least suspected, if they did not know, of the secret designs and negotiations of their queen, and this sufficiently justified their anxiety for the safety of their religion. This anxiety might appear extravagant to those who did not see the under-current of events, and probably the ultimate danger may not have been really so great as was apprehended, but the prospect before them was in appearance melancholy in the extreme. They believed—and we can have little doubt, after perusing Mary's letters to the king of Spain and to the pope—that if the queen had completely triumphed over the protestant nobles, she would have re-established the catholic faith. Their distress increased the urgency of their appeals to Elizabeth, and when expecting to be attacked at Dumfries, they sent a paper of instructions to their agent in England, Robert Melvil, which was entitled, "Informations to be given to the queen's majesty in favour of the church of Christ, now begun to be persecuted in the chief members of the same." In this document, which was

dated on the 22nd of September, Melvil was instructed to declare to the queen of England that the real aim of Mary and her husband was to subvert utterly the religion of Jesus Christ within the realm, and to re-erect in its place papistry and superstition. Hence arose the persecution of the lords, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for the maintenance of the true religion, and who had attempted "to redress the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." They complained that they were at present ruled by low and crafty foreigners, such as the two Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, in whom alone the queen had placed her trust and affection. They alleged that the earl of Murray was persecuted merely because he would not countenance these foreigners in their abuses; while Darnley, a stranger and the subject of another realm, had intruded himself upon them as their king, without their consent, and contrary to all order that ever was used in that realm. It was their only wish, they said, to redress these enormities, and for this reason they were prosecuted as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth.

Elizabeth meanwhile was following her old hesitating policy. The last thing she contemplated was to allow the Scottish lords to be entirely crushed, yet she feared to give the example of a sovereign prince openly assisting rebels in a neighbouring country. She had encouraged Murray and his friends with pecuniary assistance, and with indirect promises just before they occupied Edinburgh, but she seems to have been convinced after that time that their party was too weak to make head against Mary's forces, and she attempted to bring about a reconciliation; but the Scottish queen refused to listen to any offers of intervention. The court of France was also at this time averse to her proceedings, and were preparing to send Castelnau de Mauvissière, one of the most distinguished of the French diplomatists of his day, to expostulate with her, and endeavour to compose the differences between her and her subjects. From the letters of the French ambassador in England, M. de Foix, we gain some interesting information on the proceedings of England and France under these circumstances. In a dispatch from the ambassador to the queen-mother, written on the 18th of September, we are informed that M. de Mauvissière had arrived in England, and



that at the desire of M. de Foix, expressed through Cecil, Elizabeth had announced her willingness to send an envoy along with him to Scotland, to join in an urgent appeal to Mary to act with more moderation towards the insurgent lords. But when he accompanied Mauvissière to the palace to receive Elizabeth's final determination, they found her in a state of great excitement against the Scottish queen. She read them a letter which Mary had written to Randolph, informing him that, if it pleased Elizabeth to send her an ambassador to treat of the differences between them, the two queens, she would receive him and listen to him with pleasure, as there was nothing she desired more than to maintain the amity between the two kingdoms; "but if it was in any fashion whatever to meddle with composing the affairs between her and her subjects, she wished to be understood she would not endure that either the queen of England or any other prince should meddle therewith in any fashion, having very good means to chastise the rebels and bring them to reason." Elizabeth then told the two French ambassadors, that, considering that the queen of Scotland had already twice refused the offer she had made of intervention, she could not consistently with her dignity send another envoy, or attempt any further "to put her in repose against her will;" assuring him at the same time that she had greatly desired to effect a pacification in Scotland, and to save Mary's subjects, "whom she had placed in great danger, and, as it were, led to the butchery." She declared that she had hitherto sent envoys to admonish them not to take up arms against their queen, but "seeing that the latter did not cease unjustly to pursue them to death, and would not listen to any honest means of accord for the defence and preservation of the said subjects, not to offend her, she (Elizabeth) would now aid them with all the means which God had given her, and she wished that to be known and understood by all." M. de Foix was alarmed at the bitter tone in which Elizabeth uttered this menace, and he did not attempt to offer any justification of the Scottish queen; but he requested a passport for M. de Mauvissière, and begged that the English queen would strengthen him with her counsels. Elizabeth appears to have taken this personal appeal in good part, and, after some slight objection, she appointed some of her ministers to consult

with MM. de Mauvissière and Foix on the subject.

In the same dispatch, M. de Foix repeats some Scottish intelligence which he had received from one of Mary's servants who had brought him a letter from her, and adds his own opinions on the state of Scotland, derived from the same authority. "As to making a reconciliation," says the ambassador, "I do not think that monsieur de Mauvissière can effect it, nor any other but necessity, which is the grand teacher of the imprudent and ill-advised." Each party, he says, accused the other of plots of assassination, which had led to such bitter hatred between them that it would be very difficult to appease. On the other hand, "I hear," he says, "that the queen of Scots is possessed by young and necessitous adventurers who, by their imprudence and desire to enrich themselves with the goods of others, will keep up these divisions. And this the bearer himself, Beaton (Mary's messenger) has confessed to me, and named to me as her favourite counsellors two Italians, the one named David (Riccio), who was a musician, and was given her by monsieur de Morette when I went into Scotland by your commandment, and he is now her principal secretary; the other named Francisco, her maître d'hôtel. The earl of Athol has been made lieutenant-general, and presides over the council, a very great catholic, bold, and valiant, and active, they say, but without judgment or experience, and the irreconcilable enemy of the earl of Argyle. And where such personages hold the helm in the midst of tempests, your majesty may easily think in what danger the ship is." The ambassador finishes his dispatch with the following account of Mary's proceedings, chiefly received from persons of her own party. On the 9th of September, he says, she was "at 'Feclan,' and had dismissed, as Beaton told me, a part of her forces to recruit themselves; and with the rest, as the queen of England told me, she was going to the house of the earl of Murray, to seize his goods and turn out of doors his wife, who was with child and in her ninth month near her time of delivery. The duke and others of his league were then at Dumfries, which is a strong place near England, on the western border, and convenient for Ireland. The earl of Morton, chancellor of Scotland, has retired to his house. Max-



well, governor of the Scottish marches, who is one of the ablest and most powerful of the lords, has held hitherto with the queen; but seeing that she no longer approved of his counsel, he has left her, and has joined the duke's party."

On the 29th of the same month, M. de Foix wrote to Catherine de Medicis another letter on the affairs of Scotland. He had received further intelligence from that country, and a letter from Mary, in which, as far as we can gather, she repeated her refusal to accept the intermediation of Elizabeth. With this letter he again sought and obtained an interview with the queen of England, who, on hearing the contents of the letter, merely said that "she pitied that the queen of Scots should be so ill-advised as to seek the ruin of her most faithful subjects, taking it upon her oath that she desired all her subjects were as devoted to her; and then she began to praise warmly the conscientiousness, probity, and goodness of the earl of Murray, who desired [she said] nothing but the service of the queen his mistress." Elizabeth then, in answer to a question put to her by the ambassador, denied that she had given the insurgents any assistance. She went on to tell him that she was aware of Mary's secret embassies to Rome and Spain, and that she knew that they had plots in progress against her own crown. The ambassador stated to the queen dowager, from his own information from Scotland, that on the 21st the queen was at Edinburgh, ready to start for Stirling, to join her forces, which were assembled there, and amounted, he tells us, to fifteen thousand men, chiefly cavalry. The lords, who were still at Dumfries, had with them, he says, not more than a thousand horse, so that their cause seemed for the moment desperate. In fact, with the consciousness of momentary superiority, Mary appears to have shown less discretion than usual, and to have talked among her friends in no measured terms of the revenge she would take not only on her rebellious subjects, but upon her good sister of England. After stating that Elizabeth's suspicions had been excited by the knowledge of Mary's secret negotiations with Rome and Spain, and by her boasts that she had extensive intelligence among the catholics in England, M. de Foix proceeds to say, "And, in truth, I believe it is not without reason, for this very bearer (the messenger of Mary)

told me himself that the queen of Scots had charged him to say that she hoped that, within a few days, she should have the means of giving her a good pledge and earnest of the loan and pleasure she should receive from your majesties; and that, one of these days past, having been remonstrated with by some of her lords that she took too much pains and labour, being continually with the army and in the field in very disagreeable weather, she answered that she would never cease to continue such labours until she had led them to London. But, in my opinion, this will not be so soon as she thinks; and I feel sure that she will find herself deceived in these vain expectations with which ambition and youth too soon feed themselves."

The sanguine and passionate temper of Mary is nowhere shown more distinctly than in a letter written to her ambassador in France, the bishop of Glasgow, which has been accidentally preserved. It bears date from Edinburgh, on the 1st of October, and begins with a complaint of the long time which had elapsed since the bishop had informed his royal mistress of his proceedings. "As for our news," says the queen, "you shall know that Mauvissière had commission to treat of an accommodation, which I would willingly have accepted with the queen, my neighbour, but not with my subjects, having behaved themselves in the fashion they have done; I would rather lose all! But I feel assured that you have heard enough on this point by your brother, and, since, by Chalmers. The only news at present is that they go every day from worse to worse, and that they are now at Dumfries, where they have determined to remain until I move from hence, which will be to-morrow, and then to go, as I am informed, to Annan, which they intend to hold strong against me with the aid of three hundred English arquebusiers from the English garrison; and they boast that they will have further support, both by sea and by land, to enable them to hold against our army, which is to march to-morrow, or the day after at latest, where the king and I go in person, hoping that, when the time of the proclamation is expired, we shall retire and give them leisure to wait for the queen of England's army, which is to be ready by spring. Now, after having, as often as you can, by all means you can, persuaded the queen (Catherine de Medicis) to send us men and money in this necessity, send me



word in all diligence what I may expect; and take care always not to excite the jealousy of the man you know (perhaps the ambassador of the king of Spain in France), to whom in secret you will use the same persuasions; for at court they got to know something of your secret dealings at Bayonne. I will write more amply to you by the first convenient occasion. And above all, have an eye to see if my rebels shall enter into any secret dealings there with the protestants or Chatillon, or if the duke and the earl of Murray shall not have some agent near the queen; and you can assure the latter that they have liberty of conscience, and that it is not that which guides them any more than the public good; for I have changed nothing in the order to which they themselves agreed; and, if they have not been at the council, it is because I have never been able to make them come since I was married, except some who, after having given their opinion against them, went and joined them, of which many begin to repent. . . . . The traitor Maxwell is greatly ashamed at having broken his faith in so cowardly a manner, and has no great desire to send his son into England as a pledge, remembering how his last was treated; he has sent me word of this himself."

It is said that when the protestant lords left Edinburgh, it was Maxwell's urgent advice that made them establish themselves in Dumfries, where his power chiefly lay, and he was now preparing to betray them. We see by Mary's own letter just quoted, that he was in secret communication with the court; and when, early in October, the royal army approached, under pretence of making a last attempt to intercede for his friends, he went to Mary and entered into a treaty for himself. The terms he obtained, according to Buchanan, were the grant of a part of his father-in-law's estate, upon which he returned to the town, told the lords that the queen would listen to no terms, and that every one must shift for himself, and he set the example. It is certain that the Scottish lords, overawed by the great superiority of the force brought against them, left Dumfries and made their retreat into England.

This result had been foreseen by M. de Foix, and probably by the English court, for the chief object of Elizabeth at this moment seems to have been to protect the retreat of the Scottish lords into England, in case the last effort at reconciliation failed.

Melvil was sent back to Scotland on the 29th of September, and he carried with him a formal promise that Elizabeth would assist the protestants with four hundred arquebusiers and two thousand pounds in money. M. de Foix tells us, on information received from Melvil himself, that this small body of troops was placed under the command of captains Read and Carey, who were instructed to proceed with them to Berwick, but who were ordered not actually to join the Scots unless they saw them reduced to extremities. He tells us that it was Elizabeth's great desire to help them to make terms of reconciliation with their queen, without risking a war between the two countries, and that this was strongly urged upon them in her recommendations to Melvil, though at the same time the large and frequent reviews of troops in England at that time were no doubt intended to show that Elizabeth was not unprepared for the other alternative. On the 12th of October M. de Foix had an audience of Elizabeth, for the purpose of declaring the desire of the French king to co-operate with Elizabeth in effecting a pacification of the Scottish troubles, and she then told him that it was not her intention to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; she assured him that she would give no assistance to the Scottish lords, unless she saw that it was necessary for her own security; but, at the same time, she told him that she knew of Mary's secret missions to Spain and Rome, and that she suspected they were full of peril to the protestant faith in these islands. She again assured him of her conviction of the honest intentions of the earl of Murray, and of her belief that he had no designs injurious to the interests of his royal mistress. It was then known that Mary had marched from Edinburgh against the rebels at Dumfries, and as it was the general conviction that they would be obliged to seek refuge in England, Elizabeth had given orders to the earl of Bedford, who had a strong force under his command in the north, to protect their retreat.

Meanwhile the embassy of M. de Mauvissière had produced as little effect upon Mary as the remonstrances of Elizabeth. That ambassador had reached Edinburgh on the 23rd of September, and obtained an immediate audience of the queen and her husband. Mary told him that her subjects had rebelled against her without any



other cause than their natural turbulence and ambition, that she had made no attempt to constrain them in matters of religion, and had manifested no design to interfere with the church establishment as it then stood; that it was her rebels themselves who had first consented to her marriage, and that they had afterwards opposed it, because they thought it would hinder them all from being kings themselves. She said that she had too much spirit to endure that her subjects should give her the law, or that her kingdom, which had long been a monarchy, should be now turned into a republic. She declared to him that all her hope was in the assistance of France, and she conjured him, as a friend of the house of Guise, to labour in her cause. She declared that she would listen to no proposals for an accommodation with her rebels, and that if the king of France did not assist her in crushing them entirely, she must embrace the alternative of throwing herself into the arms of another prince. Mauvissière had brought letters from the French king to the protestant leaders, exhorting them to moderation, and had given especial instructions to his ambassador to attempt to effect a reconciliation; but Mary begged that he would not let it be known to her subjects that such was the object of his mission, and she forbade him peremptorily delivering the king's letters or holding any communication whatever with any of her rebellious subjects; but on the contrary, she wished him to let it be understood that he came to announce the speedy arrival of assistance from France to enable her entirely to crush them. She desired him at the same time to write to the king of France that she was resolved to grant no terms whatever to disobedient subjects who she knew intended to put her and her husband to death. Mauvissière acknowledges that he was embarrassed by the violent language with which Mary spoke of her subjects, and he tried to moderate her by persuasion. He assured her of the constant friendship of the king of France and Catherine de Medicis, and that it was their only wish that she should live happily with her husband, her subjects in obedience, and the queen of England her friend; that, well aware themselves of the dangers and evils of civil war, they were anxious to warn her against it, and that they advised her earnestly to come to an agreement with her nobles, while it might be done with

ease. The only direct reply he received to this proposal was, that Mary begged that the king, the queen, and M. de Mauvissière, would trouble themselves no further about this matter, as she was determined to consent to no agreement which she considered contrary to her honour and safety, but urgently prayed for immediate succour. Mauvissière said that, with respect to the succour for which she asked, it was no part of his instructions, for the king did not believe that affairs were in that extremity that they could not be arranged. As far as he could understand, her subjects did not demand anything more than the king had granted to his, which was, to live unmolested in their houses, and in liberty of their consciences, and he thought she ought to yield so far to their wishes. He suggested that the information as to their ultimate intentions was invented by their enemies, in order to make her more bitter against them. For, said he, princes were always liable to be imposed upon in this way, and they had therefore the more need of great prudence and consideration to fathom the designs of such informers; those who advise princes to extreme measures, and especially to war, not being always those best affected to their service. The ambassador declared that on this occasion he spent four hours in such expostulations, without producing any effect upon the Scottish queen. Next day, Mauvissière was sent for to attend on the queen and her husband in the garden of the palace, and Balfour, who now acted as secretary in place of Lethington, was employed to argue with him; but in the end the queen remained obstinate in her resolution to listen to no terms on the part of the protestant lords, and he prepared for his departure, very little satisfied with Mary's conduct or with the appearance of affairs in Scotland.

The earl of Murray and the chiefs of his party, when driven from Dumfries, had proceeded to Carlisle, whence they wrote to the English court, describing their miserable position, and imploring the protection of Elizabeth. The English queen at the same time received a letter from Mary, strongly protesting against any countenance that might be shown to her rebels by that princess. Elizabeth's embarrassment was increased by the intelligence that Murray himself was hurrying up to court, and she expressed some displeasure against



the earl of Bedford for having allowed him to leave Carlisle. There was now, however, no time to be lost, and a messenger was sent in the utmost haste to meet the Scottish earl on the road, and forbid him, on pain of the queen's high displeasure, from approaching nearer to the court until he received further orders. The messenger found him at Ware, and he remained there a few days, until another message from Elizabeth called him to court. The proceedings of Elizabeth on this occasion were singularly characteristic of her artful policy. The French and Spanish ambassadors were called before the queen on the 23rd of October, and in presence of them and of the lords of the privy council, the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning were introduced. They both fell upon their knees, and implored Elizabeth's intercession with their queen. The queen, with a proud air, complained of their presumption in presenting themselves before her, while they lay under the imputation of treason, and of having taken up arms against their sovereign, and she commanded Murray, on his faith as a gentleman, to declare to her if the accusation were true. Murray then denied the charge of treason, alleged that he had been so surrounded and dogged by enemies that he could not go to court without danger of his life, and declared that the charge of having plotted to seize the person of his sovereign, and of having received encouragement from the English queen, was utterly false. As soon as he had made this declaration, she turned to the foreign ambassadors and bade them mark well the words which absolved her from all complicity in their rebellion, declaring that she never had encouraged subjects to rise against their sovereigns. She then dismissed the earl and his friend from court with a severe rebuke for their traitorous practices.

When intelligence of this scene reached Scotland, it was a matter of great triumph to Mary, who was as much resolved as ever to pursue her enemies to utter ruin. She issued summonses for a meeting of parliament, which was to take place in February, with the avowed intention of procuring an act of forfeiture against Murray and his adherents. She addressed a long letter of charges against the fugitives, to the French ambassador in London, which she requested him to repeat to Elizabeth, and to declare her resolution never to forgive the offenders.

He was to request, therefore, that Elizabeth would not intercede for them, and he was to remonstrate with her on the continued imprisonment of the countess of Lennox. Murray's alarm was so great, that he condescended to solicit the favour of David Riccio, to whom he sent a present of a rich diamond, with a letter asking for his intercession with Mary. Perhaps by his influence, and the advocacy of some powerful friends, she was induced at least to postpone the meeting of the parliament.

Mary's complete success against her rebels encouraged her to proceed with more decision in her secret negotiations with Spain and Rome, and she now made a more public profession of her own attachment to the catholic faith. A deep conspiracy had been formed for the destruction of protestantism by the catholic sovereigns, to which in all appearance Mary was privy; and her ambassador in France, the bishop of Glasgow, appears to have been actively employed in it. It is said to have been planned in the summer of 1565 by Catherine de Medicis and the duke of Alva, and the chief parties to it were the kings of France and Spain, and the emperor. When the secret treaty for this purpose was ready for signature, it received some delay from the death of the pope, Pius IV., who died early in December. Pius V., who was elected in the January of 1566, entered into the views of the secret confederates no less zealously than his predecessor. To him Mary addressed a letter on the 31st of January, which has been brought to light and printed. She reminded him of the fervent zeal of the late pope, not only for the universal flock entrusted to his care, "but especially towards those sheep, which in our kingdom of Scotland had been scattered and made a prey to the wolves," and said that he had sent her both his letters and his nuncios to advise and assist her in reclaiming them. "And although, as we trust, he always found in us the will and desire, which he expected of us, and of which we have no reason to repent, nevertheless, the affairs of this our kingdom, and the troubles into which they have been thrown, which are known to everybody, and also the enemies of our religion, who (alas!) are very numerous and confident in their power, which makes them formidable to us, have hitherto hindered us from attempting anything to satisfy his most pious and sacred demand." She goes on to express



her confidence in the zeal of the new pope to carry out the plans of his predecessor, and to announce the mission of her ambassador, the bishop of Dunblane, who was charged not only to assure him of her devotion, but to consult with him and demand his assistance against her protestant subjects. Now, she said, was the favourable moment to act, when her enemies were either exiled or in her power, though she feared that in the extremity to which they were now reduced they might be driven to make some desperate attempt.

Immediately after the date of this letter, in the first days of February, two gentlemen from the French court, De Rambouillet and Clernau, arrived in Scotland, ostensibly to invest Darnley with the order of St. Michael, but really, it is said, to carry on the secret

negotiations. Clernau is said to have brought a special message from the cardinal of Lorraine. About the same time came Thornton, a messenger of her ambassador the bishop of Glasgow, who also was charged with a message from the cardinal, and who brought with him into Scotland the secret treaty or band against the protestants which Mary was to sign. Her letters to the pope and to the king of Spain, already referred to, show that she was fully prepared for this treaty, and she signed it, as far as we know, without reluctance. The French envoys encouraged her to pursue her rebels with the utmost vigour; and, after she had signed the treaty, she determined to hurry on the parliament for the forfeiture of Murray and his adherents, and the re-establishment of the catholic faith.

## CHAPTER VI.

### MURDER OF RICCIO.

IN the midst of Mary's triumph, events were in progress which show how frail was the power on which she calculated. After the flight of Murray and his friends into England, Mary used every effort to discover evidence of assistance given them by Elizabeth, and she seems to have traced the delivery of a sum of money from Randolph to the countess of Murray. A man named Johnston came forward and declared that he had received the money from the English ambassador, and that he had himself delivered it to the lady. Randolph denied the whole matter, but when Johnston was confronted with him, he still persisted in his statement. As Elizabeth denied that any assistance had been given to the Scottish lords by her directions, Mary assumed that Randolph had acted on his own responsibility, and she ordered him to leave the court, and he retired to Berwick. At the same time she addressed a letter to Elizabeth, declaring her reasons for acting thus rigorously towards her ambassador.

But Mary's troubles were now to arise from another quarter. Her marriage had been a hasty and ill-advised match and,

though for a few months the queen and her husband lived together in harmony, this soon gave way to mutual disgust and dislike. This seems to have begun to show itself openly at the beginning of the year 1566. In accordance with Mary's wishes, Darnley had begun to attend her mass at Christmas, and it was well known that at the opening of parliament measures were to be brought forward for the re-establishment of the catholic religion. The protestants, aware of this, were in the utmost alarm, which was not appeased by her promises that they should still enjoy liberty of conscience. Darnley's character was coarse and licentious, and he soon began to neglect his wife, and to offend her by his excesses. On the other hand, when they were married, Mary, in the heat of her passion, had promised him the crown matrimonial,—that is, an equal share in the sovereignty and government of the kingdom, and this he now claimed and was refused. Furious at being thus thwarted in his ambition, Darnley believed, and perhaps with some truth, that Mary was influenced in this behaviour towards him by the counsels of David Riccio, her Italian favourite. It was notorious that



this man was now Mary's chief counsellor. He was evidently a man of talent for political intrigue, a fit instrument for the designs of the Guises, and we have no room left for doubting that he was the active agent of the catholic princes of the continent. He was the confidential adviser in her secret plans for the re-establishment of popery; it was generally understood that he urged and confirmed her in her severe persecution of the earl of Murray and his adherents; and, whatever might be his motive, it was believed that he widened the division between her and her husband, and advised her to yield him no share in the government, advice which, under the circumstances, was probably the best she could have followed. Riccio had thus made enemies of all parties except the violent catholics; while the imprudent and extraordinary familiarity with which he was treated by the queen, gave rise to reports of a scandalous nature, which were eagerly propagated among the discontented portion of her subjects.

Buchanan has given us this man's character, as he was universally regarded by the protestants. At the time of which we are now speaking, he tells us, "David, perceiving the court deserted by the principal nobles, and thinking the opportunity favourable for realizing his own immoderate expectations of power, urged the adoption of rash and precipitate measures; constantly exhorting the queen to put to death the chiefs of the faction, and affirming that a few being cut off, the rest would not dare to move. But he was afraid the queen's guards, being Scotchmen, would not easily consent to this base massacre of their nobility; he therefore employed every persuasion to obtain their dismissal, that foreigners—as has been usual in the beginning of almost all tyrannies—might be substituted in their room. At first Germans were proposed for this purpose, because of the remarkable fidelity of that people to their lords; but David, on a more mature consideration of the subject, thought it would suit his purpose better to get Italians to perform that duty, because, being his own countrymen, he thought they would be more under his authority; and being men of no religion, they seemed better adapted for times of confusion, and would be more easily induced to commit any atrocity without examination. Besides, needy banditti, born and educated under tyrants, accus-

tomed to infamous warfare, and strangers who had nothing dear to them in Britain, appeared fit tools for effecting any revolution. Accordingly, adventurous mercenaries began to be sent for by degrees, from Flanders and other continental countries, but individually, and at intervals, that their design might not be discovered; and it was more dangerous to offend any of these vagabonds, than to offend the queen herself. But as the influence of David rapidly increased with the queen, so the king daily became more disagreeable; for as, in concluding the match, Mary had been rashly precipitate, so she as suddenly repented, and gave evident proofs of an altered inclination. She had, immediately after the nuptials, without the consent of parliament, proclaimed him king, and from that time in all public deeds the names of king and queen were expressed; but she soon, though still preserving both names, altered the order, writing that of the queen first, and the king's after. At length, in order to deprive her husband of all power of granting favours, she complained, that while he was engaged in hunting and hawking, much public business was either not done in time, or not done at all; and therefore, for the sake of convenience, she proposed that she should sign for them both, by which means he might enjoy his pleasure, and the public business not suffer by his absence. To this proposal, unwilling at this time to offend her, he consented; and he was then soon, on slight grounds, removed to a distance; that, being absent from the council, and ignorant of all the public business, the honour of all favours might belong to the queen alone, who persuaded herself that, when neither his friendship could be profitable nor his anger formidable, he would soon fall into general contempt; and to increase the indignity, David was substituted in his place, who, with an iron stamp, signed the official papers for the king. Excluded, by this trick, from all official business, that he might not be a troublesome witness of their secret correspondence, he was dispatched to Peebles, in the very depth of winter, with only a very mean train, beneath the dignity of many private gentlemen, rather as if going to seek plunder than recreation. At the same time there was so great a fall of snow, that, in a country barren and infested with robbers, a prince educated in a court, and accustomed to plenty, was in danger of starving, had not



the bishop of Orkney accidentally come that way, who, knowing the place, had brought some wine and other provisions along with him. The queen, not satisfied with thus bringing out David from his obscurity, and introducing him to the public, began, in another way, to adorn him with domestic honours. She had already, for some months, admitted more company than usual to her table, that, among a multitude, David's seat might be less envied. By this show of popularity, it was thought that the strangeness of the spectacle would gradually wear off, amid the multitude of the guests and the frequency of its repetition, and men by degrees be accustomed to bear anything. At length it came to this, that he, with only one or two, daily dined with her; and that the smallness of the place might diminish the odium of the action, the meals were served up in a little chamber, and sometimes even in David's own lodging [in the palace]; but this method of lessening the envy, increased the infamy of the proceeding, and afforded scope for the most discreditable remarks. Besides, what tended more to inflame the public mind, already inclined to believe the worst, was, that in household furniture, dress, the number and breed of his horses, and the rank of his attendants, he far exceeded the king himself; and what made the whole seem more unmeet, his equipage was so far from improving his appearance, that his appearance only disgraced his equipage (it appears that he was ugly). The queen, therefore, when she could not amend the faults of nature, endeavoured, by loading him with wealth and honours, to raise him to the rank of a lord in parliament, that he might conceal, beneath a robe of fortuitous splendour, the meanness of his birth and the deformity of his body; but chiefly that, by procuring for him the right of voting in that assembly, he might manage their proceedings according to the wishes of the queen. In order to advance him by degrees, that he might not appear a needy and mercenary senator, an attempt was first made to procure him an estate in the neighbourhood which the Scots call Melville. The proprietor of this estate, his father-in-law, and his other friends who had the greatest influence with him, being collected, the queen requested the proprietor to yield up the barony, and at the same time urged his relations to persuade him to do so; but not being able to succeed, the queen considered this repulse an affront, and what was

more fatal, David was offended. These transactions being public, the common people lamented the present situation of the country, and prognosticated that it would daily become worse, if men of ancient nobility and high reputation were to be turned out of the seats of their ancestors at the pleasure of a needy vagabond; while many of the older people recalled to memory, and often repeated in their conversation, the time when Cochrane, having with the greatest villany killed the king's brother, from a mason became earl of Marr, and kindled the flames of a civil war, which were only extinguished by the death of the king and almost the destruction of the whole kingdom. While such was the tenor of public remark, the muttering of private rumour, as usual in cases of dishonour, went much further. The king who, although told, refused to believe without demonstration, being informed that David had gone into the bedchamber, went himself to a small door of which he always carried the key, and, contrary to the usual custom, found it bolted within. On knocking, he received no answer, on which he retired, boiling with rage, and spent that night in sleepless vexation.

The foregoing account is no doubt coloured by party feelings, but many of its more important statements, such as the use of the iron stamp of the king's name, have been confirmed. Even the scandalous anecdote with which it concludes receives some confirmation from the statement of the French ambassador, M. de Foix, who, writing at the time, tells the queen-mother of France, Catherine de Medicis, that one reason for Riccio's murder was, that Darnley, some days before, going to the queen's chamber, which was immediately above his own, an hour after midnight, and knocking at the door several times, received no answer, until, on his threatening to burst it open, the queen admitted him; Mary was alone in her chamber, but on opening one of the closets, he found Riccio concealed there in his shirt, covered only with a dressing gown. The truth or untruth of such allegations will probably never be cleared up;\* but it is certain that there was a general belief that Mary had formed a dishonourable inti-

\* At all events, Tytler had no right to use the strong expression, "Darnley had the folly to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion; he became jealous of the Italian secretary;" without giving some evidence to disprove it.



macy with Riccio, and the historian must give due consideration to the influence which such a belief, whether well founded or not, exercises in popular movements like that which was now going on in Scotland. There can be no doubt that it contributed greatly towards alienating the affections of the people from the queen.

Tytler has traced, from letters among the inedited state-papers, the progress of the plot against Riccio. One day, about the 10th of February, Darnley, in a state of the greatest excitement, sent George Douglas, his cousin, to the lord Ruthven, who enjoyed his especial confidence, to give him his assistance against "the villain David." Ruthven was at this time sick in bed, and scarcely able to walk across the room, yet he engaged at once to assist in dispatching the Italian secretary, and Darnley bound himself by oath to keep the whole secret. Yet Randolph, who was still at Berwick, was privately informed of it, and we find the following remarkable allusion to it in a letter he wrote to the earl of Leicester on the 13th of February:—"I know now for certain," he said, "that this queen repenteth her marriage; that she hateth him (Darnley), and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself, that he hath a partaker in play and game with him; I know that there are practises in hand, contrived between the father and son, to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievous and worse than these are brought to my ears; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary, I speak not of them but now to your lordship."

As soon as Ruthven had pledged himself to assist Darnley in the murder, their next step was to call in the earl of Morton, a man equally resolute with Ruthven, and far more skillful in planning intrigue, who, at once joined in the plot. It was now determined to draw into it the protestant leaders and the exiled lords; to make one of its principal objects the recall of the latter, and their re-establishment in power; and to try and secure the support of Elizabeth and her ministers.

The designs of the conspirators were favoured by the general and intense hatred of Riccio. Filled with terror at the design,

now scarcely concealed, of restoring popery, and holding violent opinions founded on texts from the Old Testament on the duty of destroying idolatry, the reformers were ready to snatch at any means likely to defeat the plans of their enemies. They now looked upon Riccio as the grand agent of the papal league, and with the opinions just alluded to, they saw no sin in cutting him off. Accordingly the two leading preachers, Knox and Craig, were admitted to a knowledge of the plot, and were easily induced to give their consent to it; and their example was followed by Bellenden the justice-clerk, Makgill the clerk-register, the lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, and other leading men of their party. These men consulted together, and it was resolved that the only means to save their religion was to break off the parliament by murdering Riccio, placing the queen under restraint, giving the nominal sovereignty to Darnley, and replacing the earl of Murray at the head of the government. The period set apart for a general fast was approaching, and the preachers arranged it so that it should be held in the capital during the week fixed for the opening of parliament, which would thus enable the conspirators to meet together and concert their plans without attracting observation.

Matters being so far arranged, Darnley's father, the earl of Lennox, went secretly to England, to inform the banished lords of the design. It was not difficult to obtain their consent, for they knew that the opening of parliament would be the signal for their utter ruin, and they were naturally ready to seize upon any expedient to prevent it. It was, therefore, agreed by the earl of Murray and his companions in exile, including Kirkaldy of Grange, and Knox's father-in-law, Ochiltree, that information should be given them of the day fixed for the murder, and that they should manage their return so as to arrive in Edinburgh immediately after it had been committed. Two bands or covenants were then entered into, and signed by Darnley and the rest of the conspirators, both of which have fortunately been preserved. The first ran in Darnley's name, and stated that the queen having been abused by some wicked and ungodly persons, especially by an Italian stranger named David, he had resolved, with the assistance of certain of his nobility and others, to seize these enemies, and, in case of resistance or other



difficulty, to cut them off and slay them, "wherever it happened;" and he solemnly promised, on the word of a prince, to maintain and defend his assistants and associates in this enterprise, "though it were carried into execution in presence of the queen's majesty, and within the precincts of the palace." This was signed by the king, Morton, and Ruthven, and perhaps by others, and the document is endorsed, "Conditions to be performed by the king of Scots to the earls." The second covenant, endorsed, "Covenants for the earls to perform to their king," was executed on the part of the king, the earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and their accomplices. It was to bind the king on the one hand, and the conspirators on the other, to the performance of certain conditions which they had agreed upon for their mutual benefit. The lords promised to support Darnley in all his just quarrels, to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, to give him the crown matrimonial, to maintain the protestant religion and put down its enemies, and to uphold every reform founded on the word of God. The king, on his part, engaged to pardon the earl of Murray and the other banished lords, to stay all proceedings against them, and to restore them to their lands and dignities.

These documents were dated on the 1st of March. It now remained only to communicate the plot to Elizabeth and her ministers, and endeavour to obtain her support. The first intimation which she received of it, appears to have been contained in a letter from Bedford and Randolph, dated at Berwick on the 6th of March, and which therefore would not reach the English queen until after the deed had been committed, and in a longer letter which they wrote the same day to Cecil. In the latter, the writers, enjoining the strictest secrecy, gave the English ministers the following account of what they knew of the plot: "The matter," they said, "is this. Somewhat we are sure you have heard of divers discords and jars between this queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not over well known, we would both be very loath to think that it could

be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person: you have heard of the man whom we mean of. To come by the other thing which he desireth, which is the crown matrimonial, what is devised and concluded upon by him and the noblemen, you shall see by the copies of the conditions between them and him, of which Mr. Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals and taken the copies written with his own hand. The time of execution and performance of these matters is, before the parliament, as near as it is. To this determination of theirs, there are privy in Scotland these, Argyle, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Lethington. In England these: Murray, Rothes, Grange, myself, and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the queen's majesty our sovereign shall be sought and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment. These are the things which we thought and think to be of no small importance; and knowing them certainly intended and concluded upon, thought it our duties to utter the same to you Mr. Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom." Meanwhile the earl of Murray had obtained permission of Elizabeth for himself and his companions in exile to return to Scotland, and he was already on his way thither. On the 8th of March he was at Newcastle, and thence, before he crossed the border, sent a messenger with a letter to Cecil, to inform him of the conspiracy which was to restore him to power and save the Scottish protestants. Although so many public men were concerned in it, the conspiracy seems to have been carried on with great secrecy. It is said, indeed, that Mary had received some hints of impending danger, which she disregarded; and it was the same with Riccio, who had been warned by an astrologer he was in the habit of consulting to beware of



the bastard, alluding most probably to George Douglas, one of the chief conspirators, who was the natural son of the earl of Angus, but he imagined that it referred to the earl of Murray, and treated the warning with derision.

Such was the state of things when the parliament assembled in Edinburgh. The fast began on the 3rd of March, and a large body of the more zealous protestants met in the capital, to keep it under the immediate direction of Knox and his fellow-preachers. This bold reformer chose for the subjects of his sermons texts selected from the Old Testament, most of them calculated to enforce the duty of slaying the enemies of God's word. On the 4th, the parliament was opened by the queen in person. On Thursday the 7th of March, after the lords of the articles had been chosen, the act for the attainder and forfeiture of the earl of Murray and the banished lords was prepared, and it was to be passed on the Tuesday following.

On the evening of Saturday, which was the 9th day of March, the king supped in his own apartment with Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and George Douglas, the queen supping as usual apart from him in a small room or cabinet adjoining her bed-chamber, which was immediately above the king's chamber. Morton and Lindsay had caused the court of the palace to be occupied by a hundred and fifty men, who made themselves masters of the gate, and shut it against all but their friends. There was a secret staircase leading from the king's chamber into the queen's, by a door to which he had a key; and towards eight o'clock, having ascertained that the queen was at supper, with the countess of Argyle, the commendator of Holyrood, Beaton (her master of the household), Erskine (the captain of the guard), and David Riccio, seated at the table, he led the conspirators silently into the queen's chamber. Darnley first lifted the arras, and approaching the party at supper, kissed the queen, and seated himself by her side. He was followed immediately by the lord Ruthven, who was clad in complete armour, and whose features were haggard and ghost-like, from the circumstance that he had but just risen from a bed of sickness. Behind him appeared Morton, George Douglas, and others of the conspirators. The queen rose from table at this intrusion, but the first words were spoken by Ruthven, who called on Riccio

to come out, telling him that was no place for such as he. The queen said he was there by her will, on which her husband exclaimed that it was against her honour. Ruthven, meanwhile, was approaching to Riccio, and offered to seize him by the arm to drag him out, but he threw himself behind the queen, and, clinging to her gown, screamed with terror, in language half Italian and half French, "*Giustizia! giustizia! sauve ma vie, madame, sauve ma vie!*"—"Justice! justice! save my life, madame, save my life!" The queen interposed her body between him and his assailants, whom she ordered to quit the room, telling them that if Riccio were accused of any crime, he should be placed on his trial, and receive justice. Ruthven now drew his dagger, and the queen said that he struck at his victim over her shoulder. According to other accounts, it was George Douglas who did this; and Car of Faudonside is accused of having presented a loaded dag or pistol at the queen's breast. At length the king threw his arms round Mary, and held her while the other conspirators dragged Riccio out of the room; and it was then that she is said to have burst into a passion against the king, and told him that he had given her the kiss of Judas. The whole chamber was now in an uproar; the table and lights were overthrown in the scuffle; and the victim was dragged through the queen's bed-chamber, into the presence chamber, at the entrance to which others of the conspirators were ready to receive him. It was said to have been the design of the conspirators to preserve him alive till morning, in order that he might be publicly hanged; but this was forgotten in the fury and excitement of the moment, and he was dispatched with no less than fifty-six wounds, his assailants, in their eagerness to strike him, wounding each other. According to some accounts, the first blow was given by the king; but it is certain that Darnley's own dagger was found sticking in Riccio's body.

Before the deed was completed, Darnley and Ruthven returned to the closet, where the queen stood passionate and weeping. She again begged for the life of her favourite, and bitterly upbraided her husband who had suffered her thus to be insulted. He told her coarsely that for two months Riccio had had more company of her body than he, her husband. Her reply must be weighed with the general coarseness of that



age, not with the refinement of the present; she said, "it was not the woman's part to seek her husband, and, therefore, in that the fault was his own." Darnley made an excuse which is too coarse to repeat; to which she replied, "Well, you have taken your last of me and your farewell." "That were pity," said Ruthven, "he is your majesty's husband, and you must yield to each other." She is said to have retorted fiercely on Ruthven, "why may not I leave him as well as your wife did her husband? Others have done the like." Ruthven replied, "that his wife had been lawfully divorced from her former husband, and for no such cause as the king found himself grieved," and he urged the baseness of the individual whom she had taken into her favour. "Well," said Mary, "it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." "God forbid!" said Ruthven, "for the more your grace showeth yourself offended, the world will judge the worse." The queen is described as weeping continually during this conversation, while Darnley looked on and said little. At length Ruthven became so faint that he called for a cup of wine, and exclaiming, "This I must do, with your majesty's pardon," drank it off. He then persuaded her in the best sort he could that she would pacify herself. All this while Mary was not aware of Riccio's fate; but at last one of her ladies rushed into the room crying out that David was slain. The queen at once ceased weeping, and exclaimed, "If it be so, then farewell tears; we will now think of revenge!"

Such are the particulars of this terrible deed of vengeance, as far as we can gather them from the different accounts written at the time, and obtained from those who acted a part in it. When it was completed, the conspirators withdrew, and the queen was kept a prisoner in her apartment, closely guarded. The king immediately assumed the royal power, and he addressed his letters dissolving the parliament, and commanding the estates to leave the capital within three hours. Strict watch was ordered to be kept in the city, and all Roman Catholics were forbidden to quit their houses. To Morton was entrusted the guard of the palace, and his followers kept strict watch that none should go out; but, in the midst of the tumult, Huntley and Bothwell contrived to escape by a window; and sir James Balfour, and James Melvil, with one or two others of the queen's friends, were equally fortu-

nate. As Melvil passed under the queen's chamber, she succeeded in communicating with him through the window, and implored him to inform the citizens of her danger, and urge them to come to her rescue. He executed his commission, and the common bell being rung, a body of citizens hastened to the palace to demand the liberation of their sovereign. But while she was held back by her guards, Darnley showed himself at the window, assured the people that he and the queen were safe, and begged them to return to their homes. They obeyed him, and the tumult was again appeased.

So far the designs of the conspirators had succeeded to their utmost expectations; Riccio was slain, and the queen was their captive; but they seem not to have been sufficiently aware of the weak and treacherous character of Darnley. A sort of half reconciliation between the husband and wife appears to have been effected before they retired to repose, and next morning she succeeded in regaining her influence over him. She was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and the horrors and the agitation of the past night had brought on an attack of delirious fever which gave reason to fear a miscarriage. She imagined that Ruthven was coming to murder her, and she shrieked out for assistance, which she imagined was withheld. Towards the evening of the next day (Sunday), she recovered her presence of mind. In the course of the day, Murray, Rothes, Ochiltree, and others of the banished lords arrived in the capital, and their company is said to have increased so much on the way, that their entry resembled a triumph. They proceeded at once to the palace, where they were welcomed by Darnley; and no sooner was Mary informed of their arrival than she sent for the earl of Murray, and throwing herself into his arms, declared that if he had been with her he would not have suffered her to be handled so cruelly. He is reported to have been so much affected that he wept also; but after quitting her, he held a meeting with the rest of the conspirators, at which it is said to have been resolved that the queen should be shut up in the castle of Stirling, that she should be compelled to surrender the crown and government of the realm to her husband, and that the catholic religion should be proscribed in Scotland.

In the meanwhile Mary had exerted all her powers of fascination over her husband, and succeeded in exciting his fears,



and in persuading him to disavow his share in the murder.' She assured him that their only chance of safety lay in escaping together from their present position, and it was agreed that in order to obtain the opportunity for doing this, she should offer to comply with the demands of the conspirators on condition of their relieving her for a while from restraint, that her act might be that of a free princess. Ruthven and Morton, not easily deceived, insisted that she only meant to betray them; but Darnley offered to stake his life for her honour and good faith; and their suspicions were at length so entirely lulled, that they agreed to go and draw up a pardon which she was to sign, while she retired to take her repose. They accordingly delivered the paper and gave it to Darnley, and withdrew the guards from the palace. At midnight Mary rose from her couch, and mounting a fleet horse, in spite of her condition, she rode with the utmost precipitancy to Dunbar, accompanied only by Darnley and the captain of her guard, Arthur Erskine, who had contrived the escape. This occurred on the Tuesday night, and the manner in which it was effected is more particularly described in an interesting letter from Bedford and Randolph to Cecil. The earl of Murray and his friends, they tell us, came to the palace about seven o'clock on Monday evening. "He spake immediately with the king, and straight after with the queen. She said that he was welcome, and, laying the fault upon others that he was out of the country, required of him to be a good subject, and she would be to him as he ought (*as he merited*). The next day he spake with her again, as also my lord of Morton and lord Ruthven, who exhorted her humbly to cast off her care, to study for that which might be her safety, weal, and honour, promising for their parts obedience and service as became true and faithful subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worth, willed them to devise what might be for their security, and she would subscribe it. She sendeth for the lord of Lethington, and in gentle words deviseth with him that he would persuade that she might have her liberty, and the guard that was about her removed, seeing that she had granted their requests. He found it very good, and not many of the lords, as we hear, that disliked it. All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any that either she would depart or not perform

the promise to the lords, about twelve of the clock at night, she conveyed herself a private way out of the house; she, her husband, and one gentlewoman came to the place where Arthur Erskine, the captain of her guard kept the horses, and so rode her way behind Arthur Erskine until she came to Seaton. There she took a horse to herself and rode to Dunbar." She was there joined by Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, and others of her friends, and collected an army to march against the conspirators. Darnley publicly denied all participation in the murder, and he denounced Ruthven, Morton, and the other partakers in it.

Next day the conspirators sent the lord Semple to Dunbar, to request that the queen would sign their bill of pardon, as she had promised; but they were put off for two or three days, while she collected her army, and gained over some of the protestant nobles, including the earls of Glencairn and Rothes. The earl of Argyle had not yet come to Edinburgh; and the chief conspirators, finding their position desperate when they heard the queen was marching on the capital, fled precipitately. Morton and Ruthven, with Andrew Car of Faudonside, and the laird of Brunstoun, succeeded in reaching Berwick. Lethington, who knew that his safety was compromised, retired to the mountains of Argyle, and John Knox sought refuge in Kyle. The earl of Murray with his friends joined the earl of Argyle at Linlithgow, and as they were not then known to be involved in the conspiracy, and the queen's vengeful feelings ran in another direction, they obtained their pardon. The queen caused many of the citizens of Edinburgh to be thrown into prison, and two or three to be executed, on what exact charge is not known. Darnley having again solemnly denied before the privy council that the murder was committed by his will and consent, a public proclamation to that effect was made at the market cross in Edinburgh on the 21st of March, and the conspirators were put to the horn as traitors. The lands of the laird of Lethington were seized into the queen's hands, and given in keeping to the earl of Bothwell.

Mary, now again for a moment triumphant, declared that she would take revenge on all who had had any share in promoting the death of David Riccio, and the French ambassador, De Foix, expressed himself scan-



dalised at the honours she paid to his memory. The English accounts speak of the riches he had amassed. "Of the great substance he had," say Bedford and Randolph, "there is much spoken. Some say in gold to the amount of two thousand pounds sterling. His apparel was very good; as it is said, fourteen pair of velvet hose. His chamber well furnished; armour, dags, pistolets, arquebusses, twenty-two swords. Of all this, nothing spoiled, nor lacking, saving two or three dags. He had the custody of all the queen's letters, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a jewel that he had hanging about his neck, of some price, that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was slain, a night-gown of damask, furred, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet."

It appears that during these transactions, Mary had received a letter from queen Elizabeth, reproaching her with her severity towards the protestant lords, to which she wrote the following reply, dated from Dunbar, on the 15th of March:—"Right excellent, right mighty princess, and good sister. After our hearty commendations, although we know the power of the evil and erroneous reports and false narrations made unto you of us by our rebels and such as have extremely offended us in this realm, we could not think nor almost bear with the strange devised letter which we lately have received of you by this bearer, your servant, marvelling greatly how ye can be so inclined rather to believe and credit the false speakings of such unworthy to be called subjects, than us, who are of your own blood, and who also never thought nor made you occasion to use such rigour and menacing of us as ye do, through the persuasion of these, which afterwards ye will know assuredly never to have deserved your favour nor assistance to their wicked and mischievous enterprises, who in like manner have offered me often times to deceive yourself, if I would have accepted such condition of them. But I would never do it, and moreover ye willing us to remit their offences, that no prince of the world should do, but rather offer help to their punishment. Whereas ye wrote to us that we in our former letters blamed them that keep not promises, but think one thing and do another, we would ye should remember the same; for ye will find us to be handled so by them, whomto we have always done as we have spoken, and they to us the con-

trary, as daily we have experience; and last of all, some of our subjects and council, by their proceedings have declared manifestly what men they are; and if ye or any other prince should of reason procure for such traitors as first have taken our houses, slain our most special servant in our own presence, and thereafter held our proper person captive treasonably, whereby we were constrained to escape straightly about midnight out of our palace of Holyroodhouse to the place where we are for the present, in the greatest danger, fear of our life, and evil estate that ever princess on earth stood in; as your servant can show and report you the whole at length; which handling and cruel using no prince Christian will allow, neither yourself, as we believe. Desiring you earnestly to let us understand if ye be of mind to help and support them against us, as ye host (*threaten*) to do; for we are assured and not so disappointed, but (*without*) other princes that will hear of our estate, considering the same, will favour us so much as to help and support us (if need be) to defend us and our realm against all and whatsoever our said rebels and them that wrongously will maintain or assist them, against us, were it but only for their own example, that the like offence be not committed against them by their subjects likewise in their realms. Praying you therefore to remember your own honour and how near of blood we are to you; thinking upon the word of God which commands that all princes should favour and defend the just actions of other princes as well as their own; which we doubt not but ye will do unto us, knowing ours to be so just, as all the world may testify. We thought to have written to you this letter with our own hand, that thereby ye might have better understood all our meaning, and taken more familiarly therewith; but of truth we are so tired and evil at ease, what through riding of twenty miles in five hours of the night, as with the frequent sicknesses and evil disposition by the occasion of our child, that we could not at this time, as we were willing to have done. Which we hope ye will excuse till hereafter, that we mean, God willing, at the first occasion which shall be offered, more amply to make discourse unto you on the whole discourse of the proceedings. And thus, right excellent, right mighty princess, and our good sister, we commit you to the protection of Almighty God."



But the most interesting of Mary's letters at this time is one written on the 2nd of April, a few days after her return to Edinburgh, to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, in which she gives him such a version of the recent occurrences as she wished to be communicated to the French court, and in which the reader will not fail to observe how she slurs over the circumstance of Riccio's being seated at the table with her. "Most reverend father," Mary says, "we greet you well. We received your dispatch sent by captain Mure; and since sundry news having occurred, knowing not what bruit (*rumour*) is passed thereupon, we thought necessary to make you some discourse thereof. It is not unknown to you, how our parliament was appointed to the twelfth of this instant month of March, to which these that were our rebels and fugitives in England were summoned, to have heard themselves forfeited. The day thereof approaching, we required the king our husband to assist with us in passing thereto; who, as we are assured, being persuaded by our rebels that were fugitive, with the advice and fortification of the earl of Morton, lords Ruthven and Lindsay, their assisters and complices, who was with us in company, by their suggestion refused to pass with us thereto, as we suppose because of his facility and subtile means of the lords aforesaid, he condescended to advance the pretended religion published here, to put the rebels in their rooms and possessions which they had of before, and but (*without*) our knowledge grant to them a remit of all their trespasses. The said rebels and their favourers promised they should further him to the crown matrimonial, give him the succession thereof, and ware their lives in all his affairs; and if any would usurp contrary to his authority, they should defend the same to their uttermost power, not excepting our own person. Which subtle factions being unknown to us, hoping (*expecting*) no inconvenience to have been devised or succeeded, we, accompanied with our nobility for the time, passed to the Tollbooth of Edinburgh, for holding of our parliament upon the seventh day of this instant, elected the lords articulars. The spiritual estate (*i. e.* the catholic prelates), being placed there in the ancient manner, intending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion, and to have proceeded against our

rebels according to their demerits. Which for such occasions as are notoriously known, we thought necessarily should be punished, like as of truth the crimes committed by them being notified and made patent in face of our estates in parliament assembled, were thought and reputed of such weightiness, that they deserved forfeiture therethrough; and the same being voted and concluded. Upon the 9th day of March instant, we being, at even about seven hours, in our cabinet at supper, sociated with our sister the countess of Argyle, our brother the commendator of Holyroodhouse, laird of Creich, Arthur Erskine, and several others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our evil disposition, being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh, having also then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth, the king our husband came to us in our cabinet, placed himself beside us at our supper. The earl of Morton and lord Lindsay, with their assisters, bodin (*equipped*) in warlike manner, to the number of eight score persons or thereby (*thereabouts*), kept and occupied the whole entry of Holyroodhouse, so that as they believed it was not possible to any person to escape forth of the same. In that mean time the lord Ruthven, bodin in like manner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary David Riccio among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant we required the king our husband, if he knew anything of that enterprize, who denied the same. Also we commanded the lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence; declaring we should exhibit the said David before the lords of parliament, to be punished, if any sort he had offended. Notwithstanding, the said lord Ruthven perforce invaded him in our presence (he then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back), and with his complices cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands in him, struck him over our shoulders with whinyards (*daggers*), one part of them standing before our face with bended sags (*pistols*), most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber gave him fifty-six strokes with whinyards and swords. In doing whereof, we were not only struck with great dread, but also by sundry considerations was most justly induced to take extreme fear of our



life. After this deed immediately the said lord Ruthven coming again in our presence, declared how they and their complices aforesaid were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which were not to them tolerable; how we were abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death, namely in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the lords which were fugitive, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate; putting also upon council the lords Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself. That the lords banished in England were the morn (*on the morrow*) to resort towards us, and would take plain part with them in our contrary (*in opposition to us*); and that the king was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves, than for our council and nobility, maintainers of our authority, being with us in our palace for the time, to wit, the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, lords Fleming and Livingston, sir James Balfour, and certain others our familiar servitors; against whom the enterprise was conspired as well as for David, and namely to have hanged the said sir James in cords. Yet, by the providence of God, the earls of Huntley and Bothwell escaped forth of their chambers in our palace at a back window by some cords; wherein these conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves greatly disappointed in their enterprise. The earl of Athol and sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the lords Fleming and Livingston, obtained deliverance of their invasion. The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood the tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare, to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely bosted (*threatened*) by these lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should have cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls. So this community being commanded by our husband, retired them to quietness. All that night we were detained in captivity within our chamber, not permitting us to have intercommuned scarcely with our servant women nor domestic servants. Upon the morn hereafter, proclamation was made in our husband's name, by our

advice, commanding all prelates and other lords convened to parliament, to retire themselves of our burgh of Edinburgh. That whole day we were kept in that firmance (*prison*), our familiar servitors and guard being debarred from our service, and we watched by the committers of these crimes; to whom a part of the community of Edinburgh, to the number of four-score persons, assisted. The earl of Murray that same day at even, accompanied with the earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, tutor of Pitcurr, and others who were with him in England, came to them, and seeing our state and entertainment, was moved with natural affection towards us. Upon the morn (*the morrow*) he assembled the enterprisers of this late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while (*until*) we had approved in parliament all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm; or else, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual captivity. To avoid them of our palace with their guard and assisters, the king promised to keep us that night in sure guard, and that but (*without*) compulsion he should cause us in parliament approve all their conspiracies. By this means he caused them to retire them of our palace. This being granted, and the guard commanded to serve us in the accustomed manner (the fear and dread always remained with us), we declared our state to the king our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, in case he permitted these lords to prevail in our contrary (*against us*); and how unacceptable it would be to other princes our confederates in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire him in our company to Dunbar; which we did under night, accompanied with the captain of our guard, Arthur Erskine, and two others only. Of before we being of mind to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired in quiet manner the earls of Bothwell and Huntley to have prepared some way whereby they might have performed the same; who not doubting therein, at the least taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, devised that we should have come over the walls of



our palace in the night upon towes (*ropes*) and chains, which they had in readiness to that effect. Soon after our coming to Dunbar, sundry of our nobility, zealous of our weal, such as the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Marshal, Athol, Caithness, bishop of St. Andrews with his kin and friends, lords Hume, Yester, Semple, and infinite others, assembled to us; by whose advice, proclamations being made for convening our lieges to attend us and our service, the lords conspirators perceiving the same, the earl of Glencairn, as innocent of this last crime, resorted towards us by our tolerance, and hath taken his remission, and sick-like (*in the same manner*) the earl of Rothes. The earls of Murray and Argyre sent divers messages to procure our favour, to whom in likewise, for certain respects, by advice of our nobility and council being with us, we have granted remission, under condition they nowise apply themselves to these last conspirators, and retire themselves into Argyre during our will; thinking it very difficult to have so many bent at once in our contrary (*against us*), and knowing the promises past already betwixt the king and them, and our force not sufficient, through inability of our person, to resist the same, and put the matter in so great hazard. We remained in Dunbar five days, and after returned to Edinburgh, well accompanied with our subjects. The last conspirators, with these assistants, having removed themselves forth of the same of before, and being presently (*now*) fugitive from our laws, we have caused by our charges their whole fortunes, strengths, and houses to be rendered to us, have caused

make inventory of their goods and gear, and intend further to pursue them with all rigour. Whereunto we are sure to have the assistance of our husband, who hath declared to us, and in presence of the lords of our privy council, his innocence of this last conspiracy; how he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same. Thus far only he oversaw himself, that at the enticement and persuasion of the late conspirators, he, without our advice or knowledge, consented to the bringing home forth of England of the earls of Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, and other persons with whom we were offended. This ye will consider by his declaration made hereupon, which at his desire hath been published at the market-crosses of this our realm, whereof with these presents we thought necessary to send you the original. We have informed this bearer, Mr. James Thornton, upon sundry other our particular affairs; to whom give credit. We require you, in case of your absence from court, that ye pass thereto with diligence, to declare all our proceedings to the king and queen-mother, and our uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, to whom we have also written anent the premises." In a postscript, Mary added in French, with her own hand, the earnest admonition, "I pray you fail not, the moment you have seen this letter, to go to the court, in order that you may hinder the false reports from being believed; and make a discourse of it to the ambassador of Spain and the other foreigners. Your very good mistress and friend, Marie R."

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## CHAPTER VII.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH; DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN MARY AND HER HUSBAND; BIRTH OF A PRINCE; BOTHWELL.

A FEW days had thus sufficed to create an extraordinary change in the position of affairs in Scotland. Riceio, who had been looked upon as the arch-enemy of the reformed church and of the protestant nobles, no longer existed to guide Mary's counsels against them; the exiles against whom she

had expressed the bitterest animosity had returned and were pardoned; and a new set of rebels were in exile or concealment, and threatened with her vengeance. Darnley was still with her, apparently reconciled, and she was gratified by the readiness and zeal with which he denied all knowledge of



the conspiracy to murder her favourite, and assisted in her designs against the murderers. When Mary was not blinded by her prejudices or her passions, she was too good a politician not to see her real interests, and she now, confronted by so many dangers, was easily convinced of the necessity of effecting a union among those who were not in open hostility to her. She expected soon to be a mother, and overcome with chagrin at the troubles and disappointments which beset her, she must have wished to see herself surrounded by friends. It was, as we learn from the former letter, with such feelings that she effected a reconciliation between the earls of Murray and Bothwell, and she prevailed with those of Argyle and Athol to lay aside their feuds at least for a while. But the reconciliation with her nobles was followed by a greater estrangement than ever with her husband. She had hitherto but the assertions of Ruthven and his colleagues in proof of Darnley's participation in the murder of Riccio, and she appears to have believed in his declaration to the contrary. The conspirators, now exposed to her vengeance, and basely deserted and betrayed by the king, laid before Mary the bonds which had been entered into between them, and she became at once aware that the conspiracy had originated with her husband, and that it had been carried into effect under his immediate directions. His utter baseness was thus fully exposed, and, deeply stung with his ingratitude, she not only refused to admit him to her presence, but forbade her friends to hold any communication with him; and, according to a statement of Lethington's, in her grief, she spoke of leaving her kingdom and retiring to France. In calmer moments she talked of obtaining a divorce, and it was even said that she had sent a messenger to Rome on a mission with this object.

The insecurity of her position, and the prospect of a successor, appear to have turned her desires at this time towards a closer amity with Elizabeth. That princess was perhaps informed of the plot against Riccio's life before it was carried into effect; but in all appearance not, as Tytler supposes, time enough to have prevented it. By a comparison of dates, it is hardly probable indeed that the information could have reached her before the perpetration of the deed; and, although she and her ministers were no doubt alarmed at the in-

fluence this man had gained, and were glad that he had been put out of the way, she professed great indignation at the outrage, and much sympathy for the Scottish queen. On the second of April, at the moment of Mary's complete triumph over her enemies, she had written, as we have seen, a proud and angry letter to Elizabeth. It appears to have been immediately after this letter was dispatched, that she was shown the bond between Darnley and the conspirators, and at the same time Robert Melvil arrived on his return from his embassy to England, bringing a complimentary letter from Elizabeth, which appears to have been couched in more kindly terms than had been of late usual. In her disgust at the baseness of her husband, Mary seemed willing to throw herself into the arms of Elizabeth. She wrote back on the 4th of April, by a messenger who was charged to give her a detailed account of the recent events, and of her fortunate escape. She prayed the queen of England to give orders to her officers on the borders to hinder the conspirators from passing into England, and requested her specially to cause the earl of Morton, who, she was assured, had taken refuge there, to be arrested and sent back to Scotland. She assured her of her extreme desire to seek her favour, adding that she had had too much experience of the ingratitude of her own subjects and friends, to let her imitate them in the same vice; and she requested Elizabeth to seal their friendship by becoming godmother to the infant to which she hoped to give birth in the month of July. She promised further that, if God gave her a safe delivery, she would afterwards make a progress to the border to congratulate with Elizabeth in person; and in conclusion she wished Elizabeth to send her an ambassador, who would be more studious of their friendship than Randolph. In accordance, apparently, with this request, Randolph remained at Berwick, and Killigrew was sent to Edinburgh to announce Elizabeth's willingness to stand godmother to Mary's child. In the following month another occasion happened for an expression of Mary's friendship for Elizabeth. The English queen had been attacked with the small pox, and her recovery had been duly announced to the sister queen. In her letter of congratulation, Mary expressed her joy that the disease had been overcome without any diminution in the "perfection" of Eliza-



beth's "beautiful face." She took the opportunity of informing her of "the pacification of the troubles which have for a short time annoyed me, more from pity towards those whom God has so far abandoned than from fear of any danger from them, for the assurance I had of my subjects, who have shown themselves such as I could have wished them, and I hope they will be better for the evident anger of God which has fallen on the wicked."

At the end of May, Mary retired to Stirling, as it was understood, to remain there until after her delivery, and also, as it has been supposed, to place herself in security against some new plots. She was followed thither by her husband, on which she returned to Edinburgh, and took up her residence for safety in the castle. As the time of her confinement approached, her feeling towards Darnley seems to have softened, while she became haunted with the idea that Morton and his associates were coming home to break in upon her during her labour. She then imagined that she would not survive her confinement, and she became reconciled to her husband and made her will. Nevertheless, on the 19th of June she was delivered of a prince, who lived to inherit the two crowns, and she recovered with more ease than was expected. Sir James Melvil was immediately dispatched to England with the intelligence, which was announced by Cecil to his royal mistress as she was dancing in her palace at Greenwich. Elizabeth is said to have assumed on a sudden a serious countenance; then seating herself, and leaning her cheek pensively on her hand, she lamented to her ladies her own barrenness, and the happier fortune of the Scottish queen. Next morning she received Mary's ambassador, expressed to him her great joy, and, in answer to the urgent solicitation he had been directed to make to her on the subject, promised that there should be a speedy settlement of the question of the succession.

On the return of sir James Melvil, Mary wrote to his brother, her resident ambassador, a letter of instructions expressive of her satisfaction at the friendly tone which Elizabeth had assumed, and which certainly shows an anxiety to respond to it in the same manner. "We have received," she says to Robert Melvil, "great comfort and contentment of the declaration your brother has made unto us, touching the queen our good sister's continual affection and con-

stant love towards us, which she causes appear at all convenient times, as now by the great joy she hath taken at our happy delivery, and also by the gentle grant she has made to be gossip (*godmother*), desiring to send an honourable company both of men and women for accomplishing of the same, whereof ye shall give her in our name most hearty thanks, and say unto her that we would she should do nothing therein but at her best commodity and greatest ease, always pray her that he who shall come be such a one as we have known through long experience to have been tender and familiar with our said good sister, to the end we may the more freely open divers things unto him that we intended to have spoken by our own mouth unto herself, because the time hereafter will not serve so well unto the purpose." After some instructions relating to English fugitives in Scotland, Mary proceeds to the question of the succession, and Melvil is directed to "show her also how we desire to have no advancement in that country but by her own only means and help, not doubting that our behaviour shall be in all points such towards her as she shall have cause more and more to procure earnestly herself all things that may serve unto our weal and preferment in this country, that country, or any other part; upon the which esperance (*hope*) we mind to use all diligent care to follow such ways as may please her, and to flee and eschew such as will offend or displease her, with our most strait command unto you also to do the like at your power so long as ye remain there and wheresoever ye be; nevertheless, our will is as before, that ye entertain in most gentle and friendly manner with many thanks all those that profess in that country to bear us good will and are affectioned unto our title (i.e. the catholics and the party who opposed Elizabeth's policy with regard to Scotland), providing always that neither they nor ye offend or pretend to offend hereafter the queen our good sister in any sort; and if there comes any hasty or seditious person unto you, admonish them gently to cease; if they will not, show them ye will declare the matter unto the queen our good sister, and do it indeed or it fail; by which means it shall be well known that all such as go about to sow discord betwixt the queen our good sister and us, doth it rather upon particular respects and profit unto themselves, than unto the weal of her, or her affairs, or



for any love they bear unto their own country." At the same time the queen wrote a second letter to Melvil, in French, which was to be communicated to Cecil, who had privately sent her three recommendations for the preservation of the friendship between the two courts; the one was, that she should give surety for the preservation of the protestant religion as it was then established; the second, that there should be good discipline established on the frontiers, which had been recently in a very disturbed state; and the third, that, with regard to the succession, she should trust in the good intentions of Elizabeth, and not pursue her claims in public. With respect to the first, Melvil was directed to tell Cecil, "that, since our return from France, we have never constrained or persecuted any one on account of religion, and that we have no design of acting otherwise in future; that he need not doubt of the sincerity of this declaration, since he sees the protestants in possession of the most considerable places of trust in our kingdom, and that we employ them in all our most important affairs in preference to all others." With respect to the borders, Mary urged, and probably with justice, that the officers on both sides were to blame for the disorders which had occurred; and that the Scottish borderers had taken advantage of the recent troubles, "at a time," says Mary, "when we were not in a condition to apply a remedy with the same success as we hope to do now that the Lord has granted us a little repose. We pray Mr. Cecil to incline the queen his mistress to show on this occasion the same firmness on her side that I am resolved to show on mine, after which I am persuaded that there will be no further subject of complaint." With regard to the third recommendation, she referred Cecil to a letter she had then written to Elizabeth.

In the mean time the birth of a Scottish prince had been the means, through the indiscretion of a Scottish poet named Adamson, who had published in Paris a small book in Latin verse in praise of the child, at the head of which he gave him the title of "prince of Scotland, England, and Ireland," of giving deep offence to Elizabeth. She wrote a somewhat haughty letter to the earl of Bedford, directing him to "let the queen there our sister understand of this audacious rash attempt of a subject of hers, not doubting but she can of her wisdom consider how unmeet it is, whilst we two

remain in this good amity, to have such attempts published and suffered. And if ye find her not ready to judge evil of it, and to offer some reformation thereof with speed, you shall in our name require her that we may find in this matter an evident proof of her offers made of late time to us to continue our amity, without violation and without suffering any manner of thing to be done directly or indirectly to our prejudice, as we have on our part rendered good account of our sincerity towards her. And though you shall not need at the first to remember unto her any particular means how to deal herein, yet in the end, if you find her not ready to devise thereof, you shall desire her to give order to have the party being the author thereof to be apprehended and punished, and likewise that it be prohibited to have any of the same like books to remain undefaced, according as both the laws of amity and special covenants of treaty do require." This was written on the 19th of November, and on the return of Robert Melvil to Scotland at the beginning of December, Elizabeth wrote a letter to Mary on the same subject, and much in the same tone, telling her of her "great regret to see a book so scandalous for you, so insulting towards me, so foolish in itself, be so publicly divulged, enough to make all the world condemn you as ungrateful towards her who daily serves you as an advocate against all who speak ill of you, and tries by all good means to oblige you by my merits to be mine assured. In the second place, I hope that, as you desire the reparation of certain words which seem to touch you, which with very good heart I will not fail to make, so that by some open act you also will denounce to the whole world how you detest such a wrong and manifest insult. And the sooner you do it, the more will it be for your honour and the better for our service; for you know, madame, that there is nothing in the world which touches me so much in honour than that there should be another queen of England besides me; for, as Alexander said, Carthage could not endure two kings, neither I a companion in empire."

We do not know how Mary took this fiery appeal, but it is certain that in the course of the correspondence Mary shows far more gentleness than her "good sister." Elizabeth alludes to an attack on the queen of Scots which had been published in England, and she laments in the sequel of the



letter, that she had not yet been able to discover the authors of it. It was perhaps the same libel of which Mary thanks Cecil for his efforts to discover the authors in a letter written to that statesman on the 18th of November; and on the same day, she wrote a letter to the English privy-council on the subject of the succession, which shows her anxiety to preserve the friendship with England. "Whereas," she says, "we have understood by report of our familiar servitor, Robert Melvil, the good offers made to our behoof by the queen our good sister, your sovereign, we think ourself obliged to do to her whatsoever a good sister and tender cousin ought, where she finds so great thankfulness, and that we could not declare the affection we bear towards our said dearest sister better nor (*than*) by that which we did when we looked not to have broukit (*enjoyed*) this life twelve hours in our late sickness, at which time our meaning was that the special care of the protection of our son should rest upon our said good sister; we believe ye have always been good ministers to move your sovereign to show her own reasonable favour to our advancement in that which is right, and (we) firmly look ye will so continue. We take ourself, as we doubt not but ye know, to be the queen your sovereign's next cousin, and next herself and the lawful issue of her body, to have greatest interest of all others to that which has been (as is reported) lately motionated in the parliament-house; and albeit we be not of mind to press our good sister farther than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question, yet because in that case we will be judged by the laws of the realm of England, we do effectuously require you to have respect to justice with indifferency, whensoever it shall please the queen your sovereign to put the same matter in deliberation. And to us, we will no wise desist therein unto such time as it shall please herself to give us warning. We desire you in the mean time to have that opinion of us, that as we mean to continue all our life in good intelligence with the queen your sovereign and that realm, so if any prince in earth would offend the same, we would withstand him at our utter power, and that ye cannot advise our said dearest sister to extend her favour towards any that shall recognise it in a better sort."

The state of Scotland appeared now more

tranquil than it had been for some time, and Mary seemed anxious that it should continue so. She set herself to work earnestly to compose the differences among her turbulent nobles. She was now again taking Murray into her confidence, and at his desire she pardoned Lethington, and procured his reconciliation with Bothwell. The lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, Hatton, and Calder, also, no doubt through Murray's intermediation, obtained the same favour; and everything wore the face of returning peace.

But this tranquillity was soon disturbed by the conduct of her husband. Darnley knew that the conspirators against Riccio bore a deep hatred to him for his base desertion, and he is said to have been offended and alarmed at the lenient feeling which was now shown towards them. Since her correspondence with the queen of England had assumed so friendly a tone, Mary appears to have laid aside, or at least to have shown less openly, her favour towards the catholics, although one or two of her letters to the pope, who was sending a nuncio to Scotland, are preserved. Her husband, who seems at this time to have had only one aim, that of embarrassing her government, now intrigued with the catholics, and he even went so far as to write a letter to the pope, accusing Mary of lukewarmness in the cause of religion. His letter was intercepted, and his intrigues exposed, upon which he complained that he had been deprived of his just share of the government, and that he was neglected by the nobles, whom he accused of harbouring designs against his life. At length he embraced the strange project of proceeding to the continent, with the intention of complaining to foreign princes of the manner in which he was treated.

Towards the end of September, the queen went to Edinburgh, leaving Darnley at Stirling, where he chose to await her return. On her departure, the earl of Lennox, who was at his residence at Glasgow, proceeded to Stirling to visit his son, and on his return to Glasgow he wrote a letter to the queen, informing her of Darnley's intention to quit the kingdom, and of the fruitless attempt he had made to persuade him to change his purpose. The queen received this letter on the 29th of September, and she immediately communicated it to her privy-council. The same evening Darnley arrived in Edinburgh, and he sent a mes-



sage to the queen stating, that he would not go into her lodgings until she had sent away the nobles who were with her. This unreasonable request was not complied with, but the queen condescended so far as to go out and fetch him into her chamber, where he remained all night. She was unable, however, to obtain from him an avowal of his intentions. Early in the morning, the queen sent for the lords of the privy-council, and for M. du Croc, the French ambassador, and in their presence Darnley was informed of the statement made in the letter of the earl of Lennox, and was urged to declare if he really had any intention of leaving the kingdom, and what was the cause of his displeasure. But all was in vain, and they could get nothing from him but a sullen acknowledgment that he had no cause for dissatisfaction, after which he took leave of the queen without the usual salutation, telling her that it would be a long time before she saw him again.

The lords began to think they had been deceived by a false report of the earl of Lennox, until the queen received a letter from her husband, in which he threatened covertly that he would leave the country, and they were informed that he was secretly preparing a vessel for that purpose. Immediately after this occurrence the queen proceeded to Jedburgh, and after her departure Du Croc, who remained at Edinburgh, received a message requesting an interview with him at a place about two leagues from the capital. Du Croc soon found that he repented of what he had done, and that he would be glad if the queen would send for him to the court again. "I think, however," says the ambassador, "from what I can gather, that he wants to temporize till after the christening, in order not to be present at it. For I see but two things that are the cause of his despair; in my opinion, the first is the reconciliation of the lords with the queen, for he is jealous of their paying more court to her majesty than to him, and as he is high and proud, he would not have strangers to know it; the other is, that he feels sure that he or she who shall come as representative of the queen of England to the said christening will not show him respect, and he is afraid of being exposed to contempt."

We have seen that in one of her letters to England, Mary promised that she would act with energy against the turbulent clans on the border, and it was for this purpose

that she had now proceeded to Jedburgh to hold a court for trying the offenders. The earl of Bothwell, as the queen's lieutenant, had been sent forward to reduce a violent feud which had broke out between the Elliots and the Armstrongs. In a sanguinary skirmish with these turbulent marauders, Bothwell, attempting to secure one of the most notorious offenders, John Elliot of the Park, was so severely wounded, that at first he was supposed to be killed; but being carried to the castle of the Hermitage, his life was found to be out of danger. This occurred on the 7th of October, the day before the queen arrived at Jedburgh and opened the court for the trial of border offenders. On the 15th of the same month, Mary, accompanied with Murray and other lords, rode over to the Hermitage, to visit the wounded nobleman, and returned the same day to Jedburgh, and the day following she was seized with a fever of such a dangerous character, that for ten days her life was despaired of. Some ascribed her illness to the long ride to the Hermitage at nightfall; Lethington believed that it arose from chagrin at the unkind and ungrateful behaviour of her husband; and others have ascribed it to a different passion. On the 9th of November, as soon as she was sufficiently recovered, she proceeded to Kelso, and thence by Dunbar to Craigmillar.

Mary's criminal passion for this daring and profligate nobleman is generally traced to this period, and her tender regard for him is said to have been then a subject of general remark. She did not move from Jedburgh, it appears, until Bothwell was sufficiently recovered to be able to accompany her. Darnley had shown little sympathy for the queen during her illness, and it was not till danger was over that, on the 28th of October, he came to court, and then his reception was so cold, that he returned to Glasgow on the following day. Mary arrived at Craigmillar on the 20th of November.

Mary was now suffering from profound grief, caused by the treatment she had experienced from her husband, and the apparent hopelessness of obtaining any remedy for it. In a letter from Du Croc to the archbishop of Glasgow, written on the 2nd of December, that ambassador gives the following account of her condition:—"The queen," he says, "is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city (Edinburgh.) She is in the hands



of the physicians; and I do assure you she is not at all well, and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be dead.' You know very well that the injury she has received [from Darnley] is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it. The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen about five or six days ago; and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from hence, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends to go away to-morrow; but in any event, I am much assured, as I have always been, that he will not be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to disclose what I say in any place that may turn to my prejudice), I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God effectually put to his hand. I shall only name two; the first reason is, the king will never humble himself as he ought; the other is, the queen cannot perceive any one nobleman speaking with the king, but presently she suspects some contrivance among them."

According to some accounts, Mary's anxiety of mind arose partly from a desire to get rid of her ungrateful husband. It was the belief in this desire that led the lords to propose to her a divorce; and she at first grasped at the proposal, stipulating only that it should be strictly legal, and that nothing should be done to prejudice the rights of her child. It proceeded so far, that the place of Darnley's residence after the divorce was discussed; but on further consideration, anxious still for the interests of her son, she drew back from it, expressing a hope that her husband might still amend, and declaring that she was willing herself to pass over to France, and remain there until he acknowledged his fault. "Madame," said Lethington, in reply to this suggestion, "care not; there are those among us here that will undertake to make your majesty quit of him, without prejudice of your son; and, albeit, my lord of Murray, here present, be little less scrupulous

for a protestant than your grace is for a papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and behold our doings and say nothing thereto." Mary appears to have been shocked at the idea evidently intended to be conveyed by these words, that of murdering her husband; and she observed that it would be better to wait God's pleasure, than that, in the belief they were doing her a service, they should do that "which might possibly turn to her hurt or displeasure." Lethington replied, "Madame, leave us to guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good and approved by parliament."

Lethington's meaning would be very obscure, but it was explained by what followed. A bond or agreement for the murder was drawn up at Craigmillar and committed to writing, it is said, by James Balfour, one of Bothwell's daring and unscrupulous followers, and it is said to have been signed by this man, by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, and by Lethington. It was in this bond declared to be their intention to slay the king as a young fool and a tyrant, who was an enemy to the nobility, and who had conducted himself in an intolerable manner towards the queen, stipulating that after the deed was done the conspirators should all stand by each other, and defend it as a measure of state, which had been determined by the chief councillors of the realm, and was necessary for the preservation of their own lives. This document was delivered to the keeping of the earl of Bothwell.

This appears to have occurred at the beginning of December. It was about the same time that the earl of Bedford proceeded to the Scottish court, taking with him a golden font, or basin and ewer, which Elizabeth, who had appointed the countess of Argyle to be her representative at the baptism, sent as a present to the young prince. The baptism took place at Stirling on the 17th of December, and was performed with great magnificence by the Roman catholic archbishop of St. Andrews. The young prince received the name of Charles James. As we have intimated, Elizabeth, as godmother, was represented by the countess of Argyle, supported by the earl of Bedford; while the king of France, as godfather, was represented by the count de Brienne and the ambassador, M. du Croc. The ambassador of the duke of Savoy, M. de Morette, did not arrive till



after the ceremony; in his train came Joseph Riccio, the brother of David, whom Mary immediately took into her service. Darnley, who was at court, kept away from this ceremony, in which he of all others had reason to take an interest, and his conduct was altogether so strange, that the French ambassador found it necessary to discontinue all communication with him. Mary was evidently yielding more and more to the evidence of the earl of Murray, and at his desire she now pardoned Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and all the other conspirators against Riccio, except two, George Douglas and Ker of Faudonside, who were said to have pointed their weapons at her body. This pardon, which was granted on the 24th of December, completed Darnley's discontent, and he immediately retired to Glasgow, where a few days afterwards he was seized with a disease which was at first ascribed to poison, but which proved eventually to be the small-pox.

At the beginning of January the earl of Bedford returned to England, carrying with him a friendly letter to Elizabeth, in which Mary declared her intention in future to be guided in all matters between them by the desires of the English queen. "And whereas," she said, "ye require that by a reciprocal contract to pass betwixt you and us, it may be manifested to the world that we mean not to pretend any thing that may be derogatory either in honour or otherwise to yourself during your life, or yet after the same to the lawful issue of your body; and on the other part that ye will never do nor suffer anything to be done to the prejudice of our title and interest which we have as your next cousin, but at your uttermost will repress and subdue all manner of attempts that shall directly or indirectly tend to the overthrow or hindrance thereof. Our proceeding in this matter is of all others to yourself, dearest sister, best known; for always have we commended us and the equity of our cause to you, and have certainly looked for your friendship therein; whereon we have continually stayed (*propped*) ourself, and now we think us fully assured of the same, having thereof so large proof by knowledge of your good mind and entire affection declared by your said ambassador, as also by our servitor Robert Melvil. Not doubting but in time convenient ye will proceed to the perfecting and consummation of that ye have begun to utter, as well

to your own people as other nations, the opinion ye have of the equity of our cause, and your affection towards us, and namely, in the examining of the will supposed made by the king your father, which some would lay as a bar in our way; according to your own promise to us, as well contained in your letter sent by our servitor Robert Melvil, as made to him in direct terms, whereof he has made us report, that ye would proceed therein before your nobility (being at this present assembly) departed towards their own houses."

From these matters Mary was now continually diverted by the intrigues and ill-conduct of her husband, who was accused of conspiring to obtain possession of the young prince, and, by dethroning the queen, place the crown on his head and govern in his name as regent; while a contrary report was set abroad at the same time, to the effect that there was a design to seize Darnley and throw him into prison. "Lately," says Mary on the 20th of January, in a letter to her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, "a servant of yours named William Walear, came to our presence, being for the time at Stirling, and in his communication, amongst other things, declared to us, how it was not only openly bruited (*rumoured*), but also he had heard by report of persons whom he esteemed lovers of us, that the king, by the assistance of some of our nobility, should take the prince our son and crown him; and, being crowned, his father should take upon him the government; with sundry other attemptates and purposes tending to this fyne (*end*). At the hearing whereof, ye may think well we marvelled not a little; and seeing the matter of such importance, could not but insist to have further knowledge of the speakers and authors, to the effect that we might better understand the ground and fountain whereof it proceeded, with the which he being pressed, named William Hiegait in Glasgow, also your servant, for his chief author, who, he said, had communicated the matter to him, as appeared, of mind to gratify us, saying to Walear, 'If I had the means and credit with the queen's majesty that ye have, I would not omit to make her privy of such purposes and bruits (*rumours*) that pass in the country.' Hiegait said further, as Walear reported to us, that the king could not content nor bear with some of the noblemen that were attending in our court, but either



he or they behoved to leave the same. Whereupon we took occasion with diligence to send for Hiegait, who being inquired in our council of his communication had with Walcar in this behalf, he denied, as well apart as being confronted together, that ever he talked with the said Walcar upon any such purposes. Only thus far he confessed, that he heard of a bruit how the king should be put in ward; and for his author in that point named a servant of the earl of Eglinton's, named Cauldwell; who being also sent for and examined, expressly denied that ever he spake or entered in such terms with William Hiegait. This purpose of the bruit of the king's warding was shown by Hiegait to the laird of Minto, who again declared it to the earl of Lennox, and by him the king was made participant thereof; by whose desire and commandment Hiegait again (as he alleges) spake to Cauldwell. But in fine, amongst them all, we find no manner of concordance, every one disagreeing on the whole purposes spoken; which moved us to say to the two that we take for your servants, that we were assured they had in their proceeding and speaking, besides our offence, highly offended you their master, whom we were assured to be so far ours and affectionately

inclined to our service and advancement, that ye would be very evil content of their rash behaviour, and repress and disallow such groundless purposes, tending to our inquietation and disadvantage, and troubling of the tranquillity of the country, which our study is to maintain and retain in such integrity as possibly may be."

"And for the king our husband," Mary continues, "God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us in sembllement (*similarly*) well known to God and the world, specially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall aye be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honourably, howsoever he, his father, and their fautors speak; which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of execution of their pretences from them; for, as we believe, they shall find none or very few approvers of their councils and devises imagined to our displeasure or misliking."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### ASSASSINATION OF DARNLEY.

It is impossible to trace the course of the criminal passion which there can be little doubt Mary now cherished for Bothwell, but several circumstances which occurred during the month of January seem to point to dark plots that were secretly in progress. One of the most remarkable of these mysterious occurrences related to one of the queen's own servants, an Italian named Joseph Lutyne. On the 6th of January, 1567, Lutyne was sent to France with a passport signed by Mary and her secretary Joseph Riccio, in which it was stated that Lutyne was employed on a mission relating to the queen's affairs. After he was gone, and while he was still at Berwick, Mary sud-

denly addressed the following extraordinary letter, dated on the 17th of January, to sir William Drury, marshal of Berwick:—"Trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well. Forasmuch as an Italian named Joseph, our domestic servitor, has lately left his charge, and is departed forth of our realm, that way, as we are credibly advertised. He has fraudulently taken with him the goods and money of divers his friends and companions, who declare him an untrue man, whereof we have thought meet to give you warning, praying you effectuously that with the ordinary post ye send advertisement, and make him be stayed wherever he be apprehended, and put in sure company till we be



certified and may take order for prosecution of him, according to the laws, as he has deserved, wherein we can nothing doubt your good-will and diligence, since it is the proper office of all good ministers to further the punishment of such offenders. And as heretofore we have caused apprehend such Englishmen within our realm as had stolen their mistress's money or goods, at the commendation of such as ever charge them from time to time, so will we do the semblable in time to come, as experience shall declare, the cause occurring."

Mary seems to have expected that Drury would have delivered up the Italian without further question, but instead of doing so, he caused Lutyni, who had been detained at Berwick by sickness, to be closely examined, and to his astonishment there were found upon him the queen's passport, intimating distinctly that he was sent on her service, and a mysterious letter in Italian from Joseph Riccio, which he was desired to burn, and from which it would appear that, with the exception of a debt to a tailor, the charge of robbery was a mere cover for some matter of greater importance. "It giveth me to think," says Drury, in a letter to Cecil written on the 23rd of January, "by that I can gather, as well of the matter as of the gentleman, that it is not it (the money, &c.), that the queen seeketh so much as to recover his person. For as I have learned, the man had credit there; and now the queen mistrusteth lest he should offer his service here in England, and thereby might, with better occasion, utter something either prejudicial to her, or that she would be loath should be disclosed but to those she pleaseth." In another letter, written on the 7th of February, Drury adds that Lutyni "doubteth much danger; and so affirmeth unto me, that if he return, he utterly despaireth of any better speed than a prepared death." Under these circumstances Drury thought it advisable to write to his court for directions. Mary's letter to Drury had been followed by a pressing application from Lethington to the same purpose, and Lutyni was at length given up, on Mary's promise that, having satisfied the debt, he should be returned in safety, or restored to his liberty. On the 28th of February Drury told Cecil, "that the Italian here stayed, which the queen of Scots by her letters required, I did send him unto her by a lieutenant of this garrison. She saw him not, but caused the earl Both-

well to deal with him, who offered him fair speech to have him tarry, which he would not yield unto; he satisfied such debt as the tailor could demand of him, others demanding of him nothing. The queen willed to give him thirty crowns, and hath returned him again unto me, who minds to-morrow to take his journey towards London, very well contented, as he seemeth, to have left Scotland."

I think that Tytler has put a fair construction on this mysterious affair, when he states his conviction, that Lutyni had become acquainted through Riccio with some secret, the betrayal of which was a matter of life or death; that Mary suspected that he had stolen or read some of her private papers; that she had determined to examine him herself upon this point, and that everything depended upon his deceiving the queen on his return, by adhering to the tale which had been already told her by Riccio. Tytler further suggests that Riccio was in the secret of the conspiracy to murder Darnley, that he had revealed it incautiously to Lutyni, and that the queen, having received some intimation of this, was anxious to obtain possession of his person, and ascertain if this were the case or not, in order that she might prevent his disclosing it. We know that Joseph Riccio was afterwards accused by the earl of Lennox of being one of the murderers of his son.

From the confessions at a later period of some of the principals in the dark conspiracy now going on, and private letters, some of which have been (without ground, I believe,) considered as forgeries, we obtain a sufficiently detailed account of the events we have now to relate. The earl of Morton, having received permission to return to Scotland, arrived at Whittingham, the seat of his kinsman Archibald Douglas, early in January. He was there visited by Bothwell, who, in Archibald Douglas's presence, acquainted him with the design to murder the king, "requiring of me," says Morton, in his confession in 1581, "what would be my part therein, seeing it was the queen's mind that the king should be taken away, because, as he said, she blamed the king more of David's slaughter than me." Morton replied, that he was but newly come out of trouble, and not yet quite rid of that, and that he was unwilling to enter immediately into such trouble again. "After this answer," Morton tells us, "Mr. Archibald Douglas entered in conference



with me on that purpose, persuading me to agree to the earl of Bothwell's desire." In another interview with Bothwell, that nobleman pressed the matter still more urgently on Morton, using as an argument that "it was the queen's mind, and she would have it to be done." Morton then desired the earl of Bothwell to bring him the queen's handwriting as a warrant. It appears that Lethington had accompanied Bothwell on this occasion, and that Bothwell, Lethington, and Archibald Douglas proceeded to Edinburgh to obtain the written warrant demanded by Morton. All this showed a full consciousness on their part that Mary approved of the plot, but she was not so utterly devoid of all prudence as to give her written authority for the murder of her husband. Archibald Douglas, according to his own account, was thereupon sent back to inform Morton that the queen "would hear no speech of that matter appointed to him." Shortly afterwards, Morton paid a visit to the earl of Angus at St. Andrews, and there Archibald Douglas came to him again, "both with writ and credit of the earl Bothwell," to inform him that "the purpose of the king's murder was to be done, and near a point," and again urging him to join in the conspiracy. "My answer to him," says Morton, "was, that I had not got the queen's warrant in writing, which was promised, and therefore seeing the earl Bothwell never reported any warrant of the queen to me, I never meddled further with it."

Darnley still remained at Glasgow, nearly recovered from his sickness, but alarmed by some obscure intimations which had been conveyed to him of designs against his life. On the 22nd of January, Mary went suddenly to Glasgow to visit her husband. It was on the way thither, during a night which the Scottish queen passed at Callendar, that Paris, a servant of Mary's, whom she had given as a confidential agent to the earl, and who afterwards made a full confession, became first acquainted with her criminal intercourse with Bothwell. The latter seems to have quitted her at this place, and when she approached Glasgow, she was met by Crawford, one of the king's gentlemen, whom Darnley had sent with an excuse for his not meeting her in person, on the ground that he was still an invalid, and that otherwise he did not presume to come to her till he knew that she had laid aside her displeasure against him. Mary

merely observed that fear was a disease not easy to cure, and then continued on her way to Glasgow, where she proceeded almost immediately to Darnley's chamber. In the conversation which immediately took place, Darnley inquired into the recent appointments of her household, expressed a wish that Joseph Riccio should be sent away, and spoke of the intended marriage of Bastian, another of her foreign servants. Mary then proceeded to recriminations, upon which Darnley declared that he was repentant of all his faults towards her, and that he was so joyful to see her, that he was ready to die for gladness. The conversation was interrupted at this point by the queen's being called to supper, but she returned after her meal, and then Darnley renewed his professions of repentance, and repeatedly pleaded his youth as an excuse for his errors. The queen then reproached him with his intention of leaving the country, and interrogated him as to the plots which had been spoken of by Hiegait and Walcar. "I inquired of him," says Mary in her account of this interview, "of the inquisition of Hiegait. He denied the same, while (*until*) I showed him the very words were spoken; at which time he said that Minto had advertised him that it was said that some of the council had brought a letter to me to be subscribed to put him in prison, and to slay him if he made resistance. And he asked the same at Minto himself, who answered that he believed the same to be true. The morn (*to-morrow*) I will speak to him upon this point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessed it, but it was the morn after my coming here he did it." Darnley pressed Mary to come and lodge with her, but she refused, on the ground that he was not yet sufficiently recovered of his disease. He then told her that he had been informed she had brought a litter for him, but that he would rather go with her; and Mary expressed to Bothwell her belief that he was afraid she was going to send him away prisoner. Mary told him that it was her intention to carry him with her to Craigmillar, where he should be attended by her own physician; and Darnley expressed his willingness to accompany her, urging, as a condition, that she should consent to their living together again at bed and board. She gave him her hand, and promised that it should be so, but added that he must first be thoroughly cleansed of his sickness. Before leaving



him for the night, she requested him to tell no one of the promises she had made him, lest the suddenness of their reconciliation might offend some of the lords, to which he replied that he knew no reason why they should mislike it. When she was gone, Darnley called in Crawford, and related to him all that had passed between him and the queen, that he might repeat it to the earl of Lennox. The king asked Crawford what he thought of the queen's intention to take him to Craigmillar, to which Crawford replied that he thought she treated him too much like a prisoner; "for," said he, "why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?" Darnley remarked that he also had taken the same view of the matter, and that he was still not divested of his fears; nevertheless, having her promise to trust to, "I have," he said, "put myself into her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."

Mary retired to her lodging, and there occupied herself in writing a long letter to Bothwell, giving him a detailed account of her interview with her husband, and filled with passionate professions of attachment.\* "He prays me," says Mary, in concluding her account of the interview with Darnley, "to give trust to nothing against him; as to me he would rather give his life or (*before*) he did any displeasure to me. And after this he showed me of so many little flatteries, so coldly and so wisely, that ye will abash (*be astonished*) thereat. I had almost forgot that he said he could not doubt of me in this purpose of Hiegait's, for he would never believe that I, who was his own flesh, would do him any evil, as well it was shown that I refused to subscribe the same; but as to any others that would pursue him, at least he should sell his life dear enough; but he suspected nobody, nor yet would not, but would love all that I loved. He would not let me depart from him, but desired that I should wake (*sit up*) with him. I make it seem that I believe that all is true, and take heed thereto, and excused myself for this night that I could not wake (*that I was unable to keep awake*); he says that he sleeps not well. Ye saw him never better

nor speak more humbler. And if I had not a proof of his heart of wax, and that mine were not of a diamond (*adamant*) whereinto no shot can make breach but that which comes forth of your hand, I would have almost had pity of him. But fear not, the place shall hold unto the death. Remember, in recompense thereof, that ye suffer not yours to be won by that false race that will travel no less with you for the same. I believe they [*she perhaps means Bothwell's wife and her own husband*] have been at school together. He has ever the tear in his eye; he salutes everybody, yea, unto the least, and makes piteous caressing unto them, to make them have pity on him. This day his father bled at the mouth and nose; guess what presage that is; I have not yet seen him, he keeps his chamber. The king desires that I should give him meat with my own hands. But give no more trust where you are than I shall do here. This is my first journey (*day's work*); I shall end the same to-morrow. I write all things, howbeit they be of little weight, to the end that ye may take the best of all to judge upon. I am in doing of a work here that I hate greatly. Have ye not desire to laugh to see me lie so well, at the least to dissemble so well, and to tell him truth betwixt hands. He showed me almost all that is in the name (*on behalf*) of the bishop and Sutherland, and yet I have never touched a word of that ye showed me, but only by force (*much*) flattering, and to pray him to assure himself of me; and by plaining (*complaining*) on the bishop, I have drawn it all out of him. Ye have heard the rest. We are coupled with two false races, the devil sunder us, and God knit us together for ever, for the most faithful couple that ever be united. This is my faith, I will die in it. Excuse me if I write ill, ye may guess the half of it, but I cannot mend it, because I am not well at ease: and yet very glad to write unto you when the rest are sleeping, sith I cannot sleep as they do, and as I would desire, that is in your arms, my dear love, whom I pray God to preserve from all evil, and send you repose. I am ganging to seek mine till the morn, when I shall end

\* This is the first of the letters found in the celebrated casket, which will be mentioned further on in Mary's eventful history, the authenticity of which has been the subject of so much discussion. I confess that a careful perusal of the letter from which the extracts are given in the text, and a comparison with the account of Mary's interview with Darnley given by Crawford in his written deposi-

tion, and with Mary's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow on the 20th of January, relating to Hiegait and Walcar, carry to my mind a full conviction that it is genuine. It seems to me that things are alluded to which could only have been known to herself, but which subsequent discoveries of private documents then unknown to anybody who could forge such a letter, have proved to be true.



my bibill, but I am fashed (*vexed*) that it stops me to write news of myself unto you, because it is so long. Advrtise me what ye have deliberate to do in the matter ye know upon this point, to the end that we may understand each other's will, that nothing therethrough be spoilt. I am irked (*tired*), and ganging to sleep, and yet I cease not to scribble all this paper, inasmuch as rests thereof. Waried (*curled*) might this pockish man be, that causes me have so much pain; for without him I should have a far pleasanter subject to discourse upon. He is not overmuch deformed [*i.e.* with the small-pox], yet he has received very much. He has almost slain me with his breath; it is worse than your uncle's, and I came no nearer unto him but in a chair at the bed's foot, and he being at the other end thereof."

The remainder of the letter is written more ramblingly, and contains passages and allusions which, supposing it to be her writing, show us the fearful precipice over which she was throwing herself under the influence of her passion for Bothwell. "I am now passing," she says, "to my fashous (*grievous*) purpose. Ye gar (*make*) me dissembel so far that I have horror thereat; and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitress. Remember how, if it werc not to obey you, I would rather be dead ere I did it; my heart bleeds at it. In sum, he will not come with me, except upon condition that I will promise to him, that I shall be at bed and board with him as of before, and that I shall leave him no more. . . . For to make him trust me, it behoved me to feign in some things with him; therefore when he requested me to promise unto him, that when he was whole we should have both one bed, I said to him, feigningly, and making me to believe his promises, that if he changed not purposes betwixt this and that time, I would be content therewith, but in the mean time I bad him take heed that he let nobody wit (*know*) thereof. . . . In short," she goes on to say, "he will go upon my word to all places. Alas, I never deccived anybody; but I remit me altogether to your will. Send me advertisement what I shall do, and whatsoever thing shall come thereof, I shall obey you. Advise too with yourself if ye can find out any more secret invention by medicine; for he should take medicine and the bath at Craigmillar. He may not come forth of the house this long time. In sum, by all that I can learn, he is in great suspicion; and yet,

notwithstanding, he gives credit to my word; but yet not so far that he will show any thing to me. But, nevertheless, I shall draw it out of him, if ye will that I avow all unto him. But I will never rejoice to deceive anybody that trusts in me; yet, notwithstanding, ye may command me in all things. Have no evil opinion of me for that cause, by reason ye are the occasion of it yourself, because for my own particular revenge I would not do it to him. . . . Burn this letter, for it is over dangerous, and nothing well said in it; for I am thinking upon nothing but fasherie (*grief*). If you be in Edinburgh at the receipt of it, send me word soon. Be not offended, for I give not over great credit. Now secing to obey you, my dear love, I spare neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness whatsoever, take it, I pray you, in good part, and not after the interpretation of your false good brother Huntley, to whom, I pray you, give no credit, against the most faithful lover that ever ye had or ever shall have. See not her [Bothwell's wife,] whose feigned tears should not be so much praised nor esteemed as the true and faithful travail (*labors*) which I sustain for to merit her place; for obtaining of the which, against my natural (*nature*), I betray them that may impeach (*hinder*) me. God forgive me, and God give you, my only love, the hap and prosperity, which your humble and faithful love desires unto you, who hopes to be shortly another thing to you, for the reward of my irksome labours."

While the queen remained at Glasgow, Bothwell went to Edinburgh, and there prepared a lodging for the king, for it was now determined that he should be taken to the capital, and not to Craigmillar. Having arranged this to his satisfaction, he left Edinburgh on the night of the 24th to visit his estates in Liddesdale. On the 27th, the king being sufficiently recovered, Mary carried him with her from Glasgow to Callender, where they remained that night. Next day they continued their journey to Linlithgow, where they remained till the 30th, waiting for the return of Bothwell, with whom the queen was in frequent communication. On the day last mentioned, Mary, still taking Darnley with her, left Linlithgow for Edinburgh; Bothwell met them on the way, and they all proceeded to a remote suburb called the Kirk of Field, which was occupied by scattered houses and gardens, among which the principal



was the house of the duke of Châtelherault. The royal attendants supposed, naturally enough, that they were taking the king to the duke's lodgings, but when they halted there, the queen informed them that a small inconvenient house, adjoining the town wall, not far from the duke's, and near a ruinous monastery, called the Black Friars, was to be the king's lodging. This house belonged to a dependent of Bothwell's, named Robert Balfour, brother of the sir James Balfour, who drew up the bond for the murder of Darnley at Craigmillar; and this circumstance, with the lonely position of the house, and the events which followed, show that the king's lodging was chosen with a view to the horrible catastrophe which followed.

Mary appeared now to be reconciled to her husband; she visited him every day, passing much of her time with him, and paying great attention to his wants and comforts; and she ordered a bed to be made for herself in a room in the house immediately under Darnley's chamber. This room was selected for carrying the plot against Darnley's life into execution. The queen's confidential servant at this time, was the same Paris whom we have before seen employed in her secret service, and who, at the time of the conference at York, was arrested, and made a written confession, from which we learn some interesting particulars relating to the events we are now describing. This man said, that when he was ordered to make the queen's bed in the room in question, Bothwell, who had already spoken with him of the plot against the king, told him not to place the bed immediately under the king's bed, as that was the spot under which they intended to place the powder to blow up the house. Paris disobeyed this injunction, and when the queen came to her chamber, and saw where Paris had placed her bed, immediately under that of the king, she said to him angrily, "Fool that you are, I will not have my bed in that place!" and made him remove it. Paris kept the key of the queen's chamber, and, believing by her observation with regard to the bed, that Mary was acquainted with the designs of the conspirators, he proceeded to inform her that Bothwell had ordered him to bring him the key, and intimated that he knew for what purpose. The queen replied somewhat impatiently, "Don't talk to me of that now; they must do as they will." Mary slept there the same night, and instead of

going to bed after she left her husband, she wrote a letter to the earl of Bothwell, and sent Paris with it, who returned with the verbal answer, that the earl would not sleep till he had finished his enterprise. Mary slept again in her room in the king's lodging on Friday, and, according to Paris's statement, wrote again to Bothwell. When she left on Saturday morning, her confidential maid, Margaret Carwood, directed Paris to bring away the coverlet of the queen's bed, which appears to have been an article of value, from the house at Kirk of Field, and carry it to Holyrood House; and Mary seems to have been so anxious about this, that on Sunday evening, when she supped with the bishop of Argyle, as Paris served her at table, she asked him anxiously if he had taken her coverlet from Kirk of Field.

According to the account of Paris, it was on the Thursday when the queen's bed was made in the house at Kirk of Field, that Bothwell first spoke to him of the design to murder the king, by blowing up the house with gunpowder, and he then told him that the plot had originated with Lethington, and that he, with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, were all embarked in it. Morton, as we have seen, confessed afterwards that he had been asked to join in the conspiracy, but that he had refused to do so until he had seen the queen's written commands. Bothwell told Paris that the earl of Murray had refused to conspire with them, but that he expected no opposition from him; and it is highly probable that the earl of Murray had some intimation of what was likely to occur, as he had obtained leave on the Sunday morning to absent himself from the court, in order to visit his wife at St. Andrews. There is no proof that any of the noblemen mentioned by Bothwell to Paris were directly concerned in the murder, and it is not improbable that he was merely referring to them as having signed the bond at Craigmillar. On the present occasion Bothwell appears as the only nobleman conducting the plot, his associates being merely inferior agents, his own dependents or servants, such as Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and some of the Ormiston.

To return to the proceedings at court, it appears that Margaret Carwood, one of Mary's favourite women, had proved with child by Bastian, a foreigner belonging to the queen's household, and Mary had pro-



moted a marriage between them, and promised to honour it with a masque. The marriage was fixed for Sunday, the 9th of February. The queen passed part of that day with her husband, treated him in the most affectionate manner, and, it is said, promised to remain that night with him, although she had caused the rich covering of her bed to be taken away. The queen dined in her own chamber at Holyrood, at the wedding-feast of Bastian, and went the same evening to a supper given at the house of John Balfour by the bishop of Argyle. Bothwell was one of the guests, and it was here, as stated above, that the queen spoke to her servant Paris about the taking away of the coverlet from her bed. After supper she returned to Kirk of Field with Argyle and Huntley, and remained in familiar conversation with the king till about eleven o'clock, when she suddenly remembered the masque which was to be given in commemoration of the wedding, and, after embracing the king, proceeded with Bothwell, Argyle, and Huntley, to Holyrood House.

We gather the account of what followed from a comparison of the confessions of such of the actors in it as were subsequently convicted of the murder and executed. After leaving the supper of the bishop of Argyle, and apparently accompanying the queen to Kirk of Field, Bothwell returned with Hay of Tallo, Hepburn, and James Ormiston, to the lodging of the laird of Ormiston, where they found the laird and his uncle Hob Ormiston. These, with some of Bothwell's servants, carried a quantity of gunpowder, which had been secretly brought from Dunbar, to Kirk of Field, and conveyed it into the garden or field through the old gate of the Black Friars, whence they obtained admittance into the queen's chamber, by the connivance and with the assistance of Paris and the person who kept the key of the outer door. They had put the bulk of the powder in a large barrel, but finding this too bulky to pass through the door, they were obliged to carry it back into the field, and bring it in in bags. During this proceeding Bothwell came out from the king's chamber to inquire the cause of their delay, telling them that if they had not finished before the queen's departure, their opportunity for working unobserved would be lost. At length all the gunpowder was safely conveyed into the queen's chamber, and laid on the floor under the king's bed, and just in the spot where Paris had first made that

of the queen. According to one statement, Bothwell, informed that all was ready, gave a signal to the queen, and she departed as before related. The laird of Ormiston, Hob Ormiston, and Paris, also went away, leaving Hepburn and Hay in the queen's chamber in charge of the gunpowder.

Soon after Mary's departure, Darnley prepared for bed; he had become of late religious, and it is said that before retiring to rest he repeated the fifty-fifth psalm. His favourite page, William Taylor, slept in the same room with him. About midnight Bothwell left the marriage banquet, and proceeded to his own chamber in the palace. He was at this time dressed in "a pair of hose stocked with black velvet, and pased (laced) with silver, and a doublet of black satin of the same manner," which he exchanged for a pair of ordinary black hose and a white canvas doublet, and "took his side riding-cloak about him, of sad English cloth, called the new colour." Thus equipped, and accompanied by Paris and three others of his servants, they proceeded together by the most unfrequented lanes to Kirk of Field, where Bothwell and Paris entered into the garden or field by climbing over the wall. Their arrival was the signal to Hay and Hepburn to put the final hand to the work, which they did by lighting a lunt, or slow-match, which was attached to a train of gunpowder. According to a statement sent home by the Italian ambassador, M. de Morette, the king was awakened by the noise of the keys in the doors, as the assassins were leaving the house, and, always apprehensive of designs against him, he rushed down in his shirt and pelisse, and endeavoured to make his escape. But he was intercepted and strangled, after a desperate resistance, and his page, who followed him, underwent the same fate, and as the train was now on fire, and the house was expected to blow up every instant, the conspirators left the bodies in the field, and prepared to make their escape. The train, however, burnt more slowly than was expected, and Bothwell and his three companions, fearful that it had not taken effect, were on the point of returning to reconnoitre through one of the windows, when a light was seen in the building, and in an instant a report like thunder announced the destruction of the house which had been so recently tenanted by Darnley and Mary. The following quaint description of the retreat of the murderers from this scene of



horror is given in the deposition of George Dalgleish, one of the three servants of the earl of Bothwell, who were waiting for him outside of the wall of the Friars:—"This deponent," he says, "and the other two tarried there half an hour or thereby, and in the meantime heard no din of anything, while at last my lord, accompanied with John Hay, younger, of Tallo, and John Hepburn of Bolton, came to the deponent and his company, they heard the crack, and passed all away together out of the Friars'-gate, and separated in the Cowgate. My lord, John Hepburn, and Pat Wilson, William Powrie, and the deponent, went at a "wind" by-east the Friar-wind, and crossed the Highgait at the Nether Bow, to have lopen (*leaped*) the wall at the Leith wind, but they thought the wall over high, and came again to the Port, and my lord caused cry upon John Galloway, and said they were servants of my lord Bothwell, and then he rose and opened the wicket, who it was that rose, *ignorat* (he knows not); and after they passed down St. Mary-wind, and down the back of the Cannygait, and to the said earl's lodging, and entered by the same turnpike that they came forth at. And as they passed by the queen's gardens, one of the sentinels speirit (*asked*) who they were, and they answered they were friends of my lord Bothwell. And so soon as my lord came in his lodging he cried for a drink, and incontinent (*immediately*) thereafter took off his clothes and went to bed."

Meanwhile the explosion at Kirk of Field

had roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh from their slumbers, and numbers hastened to the spot to ascertain the cause. The murder took place about two o'clock in the morning, and Bothwell had not been in bed more than half-an-hour, when one of his followers, named George Hacket, rushed into his chamber in a state of the utmost perturbation. The earl rose and inquired, with well feigned surprise, "What is the matter, man?" To which he replied that he had heard a sound like that of the shot of a cannon from Kirk of Field, and that it was reported that the king's house was blown up, and the king slain. Bothwell immediately left his bed, put on very hastily the clothes which he had worn at Bastian's marriage (no doubt to make it appear that he had gone to bed on quitting the festivities of the previous night), and assuming a look of amazement, uttered the cry of "treason! treason!" and hurried out of his chamber. He had scarcely left it when he met with the earl of Huntley, and they proceeded together to the queen's apartments to inform her of the murder of her husband. She appeared horror-struck, and shut herself up in her chamber to conceal her grief. Bothwell then took a guard, and proceeding to the scene of the murder, caused the bodies to be taken and carried to a neighbouring house. A great crowd had already collected on the spot, and it had not escaped observation that neither of the bodies were injured by fire or powder, and that there were no traces of blood-wounds on them.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CONDUCT OF MARY AFTER THE MURDER; TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF BOTHWELL.

As the report of this tragedy spread abroad, all eyes were turned upon the queen, and her conduct was anxiously watched. For a few days she made at least a semblance of grief, and shut herself up from public view. On the Tuesday after the murder, the 11th of February, she wrote to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, who, it appears, had sent her warning of some obscure danger to which he believed her

exposed. The following is Mary's account of the murder of her husband. "We have received this morning," she writes to the archbishop, "your letters of the 27th of January, containing in one part such advertisement as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their mind, and had put it in execution, if God in his mercy had



not preserved us, and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which, ere it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible, and so strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remained, no, not a stone above another, but all either carried away, or dung (*dashed*) into dross, to the very ground-stone. It must be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but according to the diligence our council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be known shortly; and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always whoever have taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourself it was dressed as well for us as for the king; for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night, by reason of some masque in the Abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head."

The day after this letter was written, a proclamation was issued, offering two thousand pounds reward to any one who would come forward to give information relating to the murder; but at the same time a rumour was set afloat that its authors were Murray and Morton, apparently for the purpose of turning people's attention from the right track. This was all the diligence shown in the matter by the queen and her council. Not so with the populace, who began to talk openly of the guilt of Bothwell and his accomplices, and even pointed directly to Mary herself. On the night after the proclamation, a paper was fixed on the door of the Tolbooth, denouncing the earl of Bothwell, James Balfour, and David Chambers, as the assassins; and people called their names out at midnight in the streets. No notice, however, was taken of this; and a few days afterwards, having

buried her husband in the chapel of Holyrood house privately, the queen left Edinburgh, and went with her court to Seton, announcing her intention of calling a parliament. She was accompanied thither by the earls of Bothwell, Argyle, and Huntley, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lethington. After the court had left the capital, the placards denouncing the earl of Bothwell as the murderer of the king became more numerous. Urged on by these demonstrations of popular feeling, the earl of Lennox wrote to the queen on the 20th of February, urging her to lose no time in taking vigorous steps to bring to justice the murderers of her husband; to which she merely replied that she had summoned a parliament, and that when they met, the matter would be fully inquired into. Lennox was not satisfied with this evasion, but wrote again, imploring that at least Mary would place under arrest the persons publicly accused in the placards. On the 1st of March Mary wrote to him in the following terms:—"We have received your letters, and by the same perceive that ye have partly mistaken our late letter sent you with your servant upon the 23rd of February, in that point that we should remit the trial of the odious act committed to the time of a parliament. We meant not that, but rather would wish to God that it might be suddenly and without delay tried; for ay the sooner the better, and the greater comfort for us; yet because your advice was that we should convene our whole nobility for that purpose, we answered you that we had already proclaimed a parliament, at the which they would convene, and before the which we judged it should not be able to get them together, since they would think double convening heavy to them; and so in mention making of a parliament we meant not that this trial was a parliament matter, nor that it was requisite till then to defer it, but that the nobility would then be best convened. And where ye desire that we should cause the names contained in some tickets affixed on the Tolbooth door of Edinburgh to be apprehended and put in sure keeping, there is so many of the said tickets, and therewithal so different and contrarious to others in counting of the names, that we wot not upon what ticket to proceed. But if there be any names mentioned in them, that ye think worthy to suffer a trial, upon your advertisement we shall so proceed to the cognition taking, as may stand with the laws of this realm; and being found culp-



able, shall see the punishment as rigorously executed as the weight of the crime deserves." It can hardly escape notice, that in this letter Mary writes as though it were a matter which concerned the earl of Lennox much more than herself. Lennox seems to have thought so, and he replied to this letter by sending a list of the persons accused, and insisted, in the most pressing manner, that they should be arrested. The names most confidently put forward, he said, were the earl of Bothwell, sir James Balfour, Mr. David Chambers, and black Mr. John Spens; and a second paper denounced four of her foreign servants, signor Francis, Bastian, John de Bordeaux, and Joseph Riccio. The queen wrote again evasively. She told him that the parliament was to be held at the end of March, and invited him to come himself to see justice done, promising him that all the persons he named should be there ready to stand their trial.

This latter statement was not true. Bothwell and his accomplices were not only at large, but were seen evidently to enjoy the royal favour, while many of the minor agents, or at least who were publicly accused of being privy to the murder, were sent out of the kingdom. Sir William Drury, in a letter written on the 19th of February, informed Cecil that a number of the foreigners of the queen's household, including Bastian, who was publicly accused of being an accomplice in the murder, had arrived at Berwick, on their way to France; and that Francis, the queen's Italian steward, who had also been accused, was expected in a few days; and he stated that others had left Scotland by sea. The rumours in the capital, meanwhile, became every day more disagreeable and embarrassing to Mary's court. A bill fastened on the tron, or weighing-post, in the market, stated that the smith who made the false keys to the king's apartments used by the assassins, was ready to come forward and state for whom he had made them, if he were assured against receiving any personal injury. Irritated by these proceedings, Bothwell rode one day in the latter part of February from Seton to the capital with a body of fifty guards, and passing through the streets, he threatened, with furious gestures and violent oaths, that if he knew who were the authors of these placards, he would wash his hands in their blood. His followers kept a strict watch as they rode along, as if they expected to be attacked, and he

himself spoke to none, of whom he was not well assured, without placing his hand on the hilt of his dagger. The same evening two placards were hung up in the streets; on one were the letters M.R., with a drawing of a hand holding a sword; on the other L. B. (lord Bothwell), with a mallet painted above, the instrument said, popularly, to have been used in murdering the king. People indeed now talked more and more of his familiarity with the queen; the guards about her person were commanded by captain Cullen, one of Bothwell's profligate followers, and active steps were taken to discover the authors of placards denouncing the earl, while no efforts whatever were made to discover the murderers of the king.

The general discontent was increased by reports of the gay amusements in which the court at Seton indulged under such circumstances. In these amusements Mary and Bothwell were always companions, and their favourite recreation was shooting at the butts against the earl of Huntley and lord Seton. On one occasion Huntley and Seton having lost, were compelled to pay for a dinner at Tranent.

To the outcries of Mary's own subjects, were now added the remonstrances of foreign princes. Queen Elizabeth wrote a very strong letter to her on the 24th of February, urging her to make a rigorous investigation into the circumstances of the murder, as the only means of establishing her own honour. "Madame," wrote Elizabeth, "my ears have been so stunned, my understanding so grieved, and my heart so shocked, to hear the horrible sound of the abominable murder of your late husband and my slain cousin, that I have hardly yet as it were the courage to write; and how much soever my nature compels me to condole his death, still, to tell you boldly what I think, I cannot conceal that I am more grieved for you than for him. Oh madame, I should not do the duty of a faithful cousin or an affectionate friend, if I studied more to please your ears than to preserve your honour; nor will I conceal from you what most people say—that you will look through your fingers at the revenge of this deed, and that you have no care to touch those who have done you so great a pleasure, as if the thing had not been committed without the murderers having known their assurance. For me, think, I pray you, that I would not that such a thought resided in my heart for all the gold in the world. I would never have so



bad a host to lodge in my heart as to have so ill an opinion of any prince whatever, much less of her to whom I wish as much good as my heart can imagine or as yourself could desire. Nevertheless I exhort you, I counsel you, and I implore you to take this thing so to heart, that you hesitate not to touch even the nearest relation you have if it concern him, and that you let no persuasion hinder you from showing an example to the world that you are both a noble princess and a loyal woman."

The archbishop of Glasgow, in France, wrote to his royal mistress with honest indignation. "Of this deed," said he, "if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongly calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command, I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself, that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all." "Here," the archbishop goes on to say, "it is needful that you show forth now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy which God has granted you; by whose grace I hope you shall overcome this most heavy envy and displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve that reputation in all godliness which you have acquired long since; which can appear no ways more clearly than that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason that have committed, without fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murder." The queen-mother of France, and the cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's uncle, addressed her in still stronger language, and threatened that, if she neglected to punish the offenders, they would cast her off and become her enemies.

But Mary was now so infatuated in the course she had taken, that all these exhortations were without effect. She did, indeed, assume an appearance of great grief and sorrow when Killigrew arrived with the letter of the queen of England, and she promised that justice should be done on her husband's murderers. All voices now proclaimed so loudly the guilt of Bothwell,

that it was impossible to avoid bringing him to a trial, but the queen took care that there should be no chance of its going against him, and every day he received some new accession of power or some additional mark of royal favour. In the month of March, the custody of Edinburgh castle was taken from the earl of Mar. She also gave him the castle of Blackness, the Inch, and the superiority of Leith. Efforts were made to gain over the nobility so as to make a strong party in his favour. The support of Morton was purchased by the restoration of Tantallon castle and other lands which had been seized by the crown when he went into exile. Murray alone seemed to threaten any serious opposition.

The earl of Lennox was now summoned to make good his charges against Bothwell on the 12th of April, the day fixed for the trial. He refused to venture singly into the capital, against the powerful favourite who held both castle and town at his disposal, and he earnestly requested to be allowed time to assemble his friends. He represented with truth, that as long as the chief offender was at liberty with a powerful band of followers, countenanced and favoured by the queen herself, there could be no fair trial. Finding that this appeal made no impression, Lennox addressed himself to Elizabeth, who immediately dispatched a letter to the Scottish queen, urging her, as she valued her own reputation, to accede to Lennox's request. Elizabeth's messenger, the provost-marshal of Berwick, reached Edinburgh very early on the morning of the day of the 12th of April, and presented himself at the palace at six o'clock. There, to use the words of Drury's quaint description, he "used his diligence immediately to deliver his letter, which he had in charge, to the queen, attending some good space in court, procuring all that he might by the means of such as were near her person, who told him it was early, and that her majesty was asleep, and therefore advised him to tarry sometime thereabouts, till she rose; which he did, going out of the court into the town, and shortly after returned, she being not yet risen, and therefore walked about till nine or almost ten o'clock, when all the lords and gentlemen were assembled taking their horse; and then thinking his opportunity aptest, going into the court as a little before he did (the contents of the letters he brought being conjectured and bruited (*rumoured*), to be for stay of the



assize), was denied passage into the court in very uncourteous manner, not without some violence offered; which seeing he could not be permitted to have recourse as all other persons, whatsoever they were, he requested that some gentleman of credit would undertake faithfully to deliver his letter, from the queen's majesty of England to the queen their sovereign, which none would seem to undertake. Upon this came unto him the parson of Oldhamstock surnamed Hepburn, who told him that the earl of Bothwell had sent him with the message, that the earl, understanding he had letters from the queen, would advise him to retire him to his ease, or about some other his business, for the queen was so molested and disquieted with the business of that day, that he saw no likelihood of any meet time to serve his turn, till after the assize. Then came the lord of Stirling, who asked him if his letter were either from the council or the queen's majesty; he told him from the queen's majesty only. 'Then,' said he, 'ye shall be soon discharged;' and so returning into the court, desired the said person to keep him company at the gate, which he did; and therewith espying a Scottish man whom he had for his guide, took occasion to reprehend and threaten him of hanging, for bringing English villains as sought to and procured the stay of the assize, with words of more reproach. In this instant Lethington was coming out, and Bothwell with him, at the which all the lords and gentlemen mounted on horseback, till that Lethington came to him demanding of him the letter, which he delivered. Then Bothwell and he returned to the queen, and stayed there within half an hour, the whole troop of lords and gentlemen still on horseback, attending for his coming. Lethington seemed willing to have passed by the provost without any speech; but he pressed towards him, and asked him if the queen's majesty had perused the letter, and what service it would please her majesty to command him back again. He answered that as yet the queen was sleeping, and therefore he had not delivered the letters, and thought that there would not be any meet time for it till after the assize, wherefore he willed him to attend (*wait*); so giving place to the throng of people that passed, which was great, and by the estimation of men of good judgment about four thousand gentlemen, besides others. The earl of Bothwell passed

with a merry and lusty cheer, attended on with all the soldiers, being two hundred, all arquebusiers, to the Tolbooth, and there kept the door, that none might enter but such as were more for the behoof of the one side than the other." It was further remarked, as we are told by the same informant, that "Bothwell rode upon the courser that was the king's when he rode to the assize. The nobility long tarried his coming a horseback, to accompany him. There was that followed him about four thousand, whereof the greatest part were gentlemen, besides they that were in the streets, which were more in number. The streets were full from the Canongate to the castle. Lethington and others told the under-marshal that the queen was asleep, when he himself saw her looking out at a window, shown him by one of Du Croc's servants, a Frenchman, and Lethington's wife with her; and Bothwell, after he was a horseback, looked up, and she gave him a friendly nod for a farewell; for till it was known the under-marshal's errand and the contents of the letter, he had liberty in court; but not after, when he was once out, suffered to go in again."

Such was the spirit in which the preparations for the trial of Bothwell were conducted. The trial itself was a mere farce, which had been arranged at a meeting of the council under Bothwell's own presidency. The jury was composed of his own partisans, and the law officers of the crown were compelled to be his advocates; and the queen is said to have given a public testimony of the interest she took in his cause, by sending him a token and message during the proceedings. The earls of Argyll and Huntley sat as chief judges. Lennox, the accuser, was on his way to the capital, supported by a large body of his friends, when he received an order not to enter Edinburgh with more than six persons in his company. Under such circumstances, Lennox, of course, declined to present himself, and when he was called upon in court to make good his charges against Bothwell, two of his friends, Crawford and Cunningham, stood up for him, and the latter stated that he was sent by his master to repeat the charge of murder against the accused nobleman, and to demand a delay until he might present himself as became such a solemn occasion. This was refused, and Cunningham, entering a protest against Bothwell's acquittal, left the court. The



jury was then chosen; the earl pleaded not guilty; no witnesses were called; but a unanimous verdict of acquittal was given. Bothwell then proudly proclaimed his intention to fight any gentleman who dared to charge him with the murder of the late king; and so the court broke up.

Thus ended this unblushing evasion of justice, for no one looked upon the trial of Bothwell as anything but a farce. His threat of defiance at the conclusion was regarded with contempt and indignation, and this feeling spread so widely, that sir William Drury, the English marshal of Berwick, made application to his royal mistress for permission to accept the challenge, but it appears not to have been granted. A paper was, however, set up in Edinburgh stating that if a day were fixed, a gentleman would come forward to make good the charge of murder against Bothwell in single combat, but no name was given, and it was treated with contempt as a mere bravado. Nevertheless, placards still continued from time to time to appear, and rumours were

spread abroad, which greatly provoked both Bothwell and the queen. It is said that when Mary rode along the streets, the market-women were heard to exclaim, "God preserve your grace, if you are innocent of the king's death!" and Mary became so alarmed at the disaffection of her subjects, that when parliament was opened immediately after the trial, she went to the place of meeting with a guard of hagbutteers, instead of trusting herself, as she had been previously accustomed to do, to the protection of the city trained bands. This parliament confirmed the acquittal of Bothwell, approved of the proceedings of the jury, and ordered a rigid inquiry to be made for the discovery of all persons concerned in the bills or placards in which the earl had been accused. Huntley and his friends were restored in this parliament to their estates; and an attempt was made to conciliate some popularity by measures in favour of the protestants; although Mary strongly resented a recommendation of their assembly to pursue the king's murderers.

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## CHAPTER X.

### MARRIAGE OF MARY WITH BOTHWELL.

MARY had shown her favour to Bothwell openly by appointing him to carry the crown and sceptre before her when she rode in state to the parliament. In addition to this mark of favour, she gave him the lordship and castle of Dunbar, and enlarged his commission as high admiral. His power was held up not only by the favour of his queen, but by the support of some of her most powerful nobles, including Morton, Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington. The earl of Murray had held aloof, and, shortly before the trial, he obtained permission to go into France.

The queen seemed at this moment to be labouring under an infatuated passion which was driving her headlong to ruin. The belief that Mary had been privy to the murder of her husband prevailed generally, and other rumours, if anything more dis-

graceful, now began to find their way abroad. It was said that Bothwell was to be divorced from his countess, a sister of the earl of Huntley, to whom he had not long been married, and it was suspected this was to be a step towards his marriage with the queen. Unfortunately these rumours and suspicions were not without foundation. On the 5th of April, eight months only after the murder of Darnley, and seven days before Bothwell's trial and acquittal of that murder, the court being as it would appear at Seton, a private contract of marriage was entered into between him and Mary, of which a copy in French, perhaps a translation, is preserved in the national library at Paris. According to that copy, from which it has been printed in M. Teulet's collection, this extraordinary document ran as follows:—"The very excel-



lent, very high, and very puissant princess, Mary by the grace of God queen of Scotland, considering the place and state to which God Almighty has appointed her highness, and how, by the death of the king her husband, her majesty is now deprived of one, and lives solitarily in the state of widowhood, in which her majesty would willingly continue if the good of her realm and of her subjects permitted it; but, on the other hand, considering the inconveniences which might follow, especially in the present necessity of the kingdom, especially if her said majesty should not associate herself with a husband, her highness has determined to marry; and knowing what inconvenience might happen to the kingdom if she should thus ally herself with a foreign prince, she has determined to take one of her subjects. Now, among them, her said majesty has not found any one more endowed with all good qualities than the very noble and her cousin James earl of Bothwell, of whose services her majesty has always found hitherto good proof and infallible experience, and sees that he perseveres constantly in his heart in this affection towards her majesty; wherefore her majesty has, among all others, made this choice of him, and in the presence of God eternal, faithfully and on the word of a princess, by these presents she takes the said earl of Bothwell for her spouse and legitimate husband; and her highness promises that immediately after the process of divorce instituted between the said James earl of Bothwell and lady Jane Gordon, at present his pretended spouse, shall be finished by order of justice, her said majesty, through God's grace, will immediately marry and promises to take the said James earl of Bothwell for husband, and will accomplish the bond of marriage before the face of the church, and will never have another during his life. And inasmuch as her majesty, of good-will, her own motion, without the said earl of Bothwell having anywise deserved it, is entirely resolved on this, and to use such favour and affection towards him, in like manner the said James earl of Bothwell, in all humility and reverence, acknowledges this according to his duty, he being thus free and at liberty to make promise of marriage, notwithstanding the process of divorce instituted for several and divers causes, and to which his said pretended spouse is a consenting party, takes now her majesty

for his legitimate spouse, in the presence of God, and promises, as he may answer before him, and on the faith which a gentleman of honour ought to have, that he will pursue and press forward the said process of divorce already commenced and instituted between him and the said lady Jane Gordon, his pretended spouse, to a final end, and to obtain a definitive sentence; and, immediately after, at the good pleasure and will of her majesty, and at the time when her highness shall judge fit, he will accomplish and solemnize in face of the church the bond of marriage with her said majesty, and will love, honour, and serve her highness according to the place and honour into which it has pleased her said majesty to receive him, and will never have other wife but her during her life. In testimony of which her said majesty and the said James earl of Bothwell have subscribed the present act and contract and faithful promise with their own hand. Done at Heton (Seton?) the 5th day of April, 1567; present, George earl of Huntley and Thomas Hepburn, curate of 'Hauldhantor' (Oldhamstock.)"

The original copy of this document, in which there is nothing to lead us to doubt its authority, was probably sent over to France by Du Croc, or some other of the French agents in Scotland. The earl's acquittal was soon followed by other steps indicating the intention of carrying its object into speedy execution. The parliament rose on the 19th of April, and the same evening Bothwell invited the principal nobility to supper in a tavern kept by a man named Ansley. While they sat drinking, the earl caused the house to be surrounded by a force of two hundred hagbutteers, and having thus the power of overawing his guests, he stood up and proposed to them his marriage with the queen, declaring that he had her written consent to it, which he is said to have shown them, but whether this were the document given above, or not, we have now no means of ascertaining. Many of the party were Bothwell's sworn friends, and they probably were well aware what was to take place; others hesitated, but they were gradually gained over by persuasion, or awed into compliance. One only, the earl of Eglinton, succeeded in the confusion of the moment in making his escape. A written bond was then signed by the whole company, who thereby declared their conviction that the earl of Bothwell was



entirely innocent of the death of the late king, stated their opinion that the queen's continuance in the state of widowhood was contrary to the interests of the country, and recommended as a suitable husband this noble and mighty lord. The whole document bears somewhat the appearance of being a supplement to the above bond between Bothwell and the queen. Among the signatures to it were those of the earls of Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Cassillis, Sutherland, Glencairn, Rothes, and Caithness, and of the lords Herries, Hume, Boyd, Seton, and Sinclair.

The violent and reckless character of this act was calculated to provoke opposition, and, though the queen had made her favourite now so powerful that nobody dared to set themselves against him openly, we find that from this time a number of the lords, the chief of whom were the earls of Argyle, Athol, and Morton, and the stanch protestant leader Sir William Kirkaldy, laird of Grange, began secretly to league themselves together against him. The course of this conspiracy has been traced out by Tytler from the original documents which he examined in the state paper office, and we must take him for our guide in our account of it.

Tytler has also collected from the original correspondence in the state paper office, some very curious intimations of what was now going on, which we must repeat from his History. On the 20th of April, the day after Ansley's supper, Kirkaldy of Grange wrote to the earl of Bedford, stating that the indignation against the conduct of Bothwell and Mary had risen to such a height, that it only wanted the countenance of Elizabeth to show itself in a more effectual remonstrance. He urged that the young prince was in danger of experiencing the fate of his father, said that a marriage between Mary and Bothwell was looked forward to, and stated that Mary's infatuation for her favourite had become so great, that she had been heard to say, "she cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, before she leave him." "Whatever is dishonest," says the laird of Grange, in concluding his letter, "reigns presently in our court; God deliver them from their evil!" A still more remarkable letter, written on the 24th of April, shows that the secrets of the court were betrayed

to Bothwell's enemies. This letter, supposed to be addressed to Cecil, runs as follows:—"This is to advertise you, that the earl Bothwell's wife is going to part with her husband; and a great part of our lords have subscribed the marriage between the queen and him. The queen rode to Stirling this last Monday, and returns this Thursday. I doubt not but you have heard how the earl of Bothwell has gathered many of his friends, and, as some say, to ride in Liddesdale; but I believe it is not, for he is minded to meet the queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar. Judge you if it be with her will or no; but you will hear at more length on Friday or Saturday, if you will find it good that I continue in writing as occasion serves. I would ye reif (*tear*) this after the reading; this bearer knows nothing of this matter. There is no other thing presently to write of; but after all, you will please receive my hearty commendations by him that is yours, that took you by the hand. At midnight."

When this letter was written, the events it speaks of as impending, had actually occurred. It appears that Mary, alarmed at the threatening form assumed by public opinion, wished to seem to be acting under compulsion, which she would afterwards be able to pardon. On the 21st of April, as stated in the letter last quoted, the queen rode to Stirling to visit her son. It seems to have been suspected that Mary wished to carry the prince away and deliver him up to Bothwell; and his governor, the earl of Mar, refused to admit the queen to his apartments with any more attendance than two of her ladies. Mary was highly offended at the restraint thus put upon her, and left the place on Thursday, the 24th, much displeased. At Almond Bridge, six miles from Edinburgh, the royal escort was suddenly surrounded by the earl of Bothwell and a numerous party of his friends, said to have been not less than eight hundred spears, and the earl led her with apparent violence to his castle of Dunbar. The earls of Huntley, Lethington, sir James Melvil, and a few others, were carried prisoners to Stirling, but the rest of the cortège were allowed to escape. Melville remonstrated against this violence, upon which he was informed by one of Bothwell's confidential agents, captain Blacater, that it was all done with the queen's own consent.



The shock which was given to public opinion by this shameless proceeding soon produced alarming effects. The abler of the Scottish statesmen were now convinced of the danger to which their country was exposed from Bothwell's unprincipled ambition, and they began to lay the foundation of that confederacy which ended in the deposition of their queen. Among these the boldest and most resolute was Kirkaldy of Grange, who wrote to the earl of Bedford as early as the 26th of April, only two days after the queen had been forcibly carried off by Bothwell, to tell him of the resolution of the Scottish lords to revenge the death of Darnley, and rescue their country from Bothwell, and ask whether they might count upon the assistance of Elizabeth. He stated that it was the general belief that the rape had been concerted between the queen and her favourite as a precursor to their marriage, and that if Elizabeth refused to countenance them in their plans of revenge, they would be compelled to throw themselves into the arms of the king of France. It is said that a meeting of the protestant nobles was held about the same time at Stirling, and that a message was sent thence to the queen, to inquire if she were held at Dunbar by constraint, as in that case they were prepared to raise an army to liberate her. According to Buchanan, she received the messenger with smiles, and told him it was true that she had been brought thither unwillingly, but she said that she had been treated so kindly since that she could not greatly complain of the previous injury.

Mary and Bothwell, indeed, now followed their course heedless of everything but their own infatuated passion. The consistorial rights had been restored to the archbishop of St. Andrews, it was said for this purpose, and the divorce between Bothwell and his countess was hurried through that court in two days. As soon as this was effected, on the 3rd of May the queen and Bothwell left Dunbar, and rode to the capital, escorted by a strong body of the earl's own retainers. The latter, when they entered the capital, threw away their spears, to save themselves, as it was said, from the charge of treason, to which they might have been exposed by carrying the queen to Edinburgh castle in military array. The earl himself dismounted, and taking hold of her bridle, led her into the castle with apparent humility. Immediately afterwards Mary caused it to be

announced publicly that she was free and under no constraint.

Meanwhile some of the lords who had hitherto sided with the queen, began to desert to the confederacy which was forming against Bothwell, and they persisted in regarding the queen as a captive in his hands. Among them was sir Robert Melvil, who now began to show himself an active member of this confederacy. On the 7th of May, Melvil wrote to Cecil, informing him of their fears and designs, and warning him that if they met with discouragement from England, they would be obliged to accept assistance from France. "I understand," he said, "that the nobility are of mind to seek assistance of the queen your mistress, in consideration that the king, who is with God, as well as the queen our sovereign, and the prince her son, are so near of blood to her highness. I believe easy help shall obtain the queen's liberty, and, in like manner, have the murderers of the king punished. Thus far I will make your honour privy of, that France has offered to enter in band with the nobility of the realm, and to enlist the company of men-at-arms, and to give divers pensions to noblemen and gentlemen of their realm, which some did like well; but the honest sort have concluded, and brought the rest to the same effect, that they will do nothing which may offend your sovereign, without the fault be in her majesty; and it appears both papist and protestant join together with an earnest affection for the weal of their country." Kirkaldy, in a letter to the earl of Bedford, written a day later, which, like the one just quoted, has been brought from the obscurity of the state paper office by Tytler, speaks still more openly and strongly. At the last parliament, he says, "the most part of the nobility, for fear of their lives, did grant to sundry things both against their honours and consciences [he alludes to the supper at which they gave their consent to the queen's marriage with Bothwell], who since have convened themselves at Stirling, where they have made a band to defend each other in all things that shall concern the glory of God and common weal of their country. The heads that presently they agreed upon are, first, to seek the liberty of the queen, who is ravished and detained by the earl of Bothwell, who was the ravisher, and hath the strengths, munitions, and men-of-war at his commandment. The next head is, the



preservation and keeping of the prince. The third is, to pursue them that murdered the king. For the pursuit of these three heads, they have promised to bestow life, lands, and goods. And to that effect their lordships have desired me to write unto your lordship, to the end they might have your sovereign's aid and support for suppressing of the cruel murderer Bothwell, who, at the queen's last being in Stirling, suborned certain to have poisoned the prince; for that barbarous tyrant is not contented to have murdered the father, but he would also cut off the son, for fear that he hath to be punished hereafter." We have no reason for supposing that any design was at this time harboured against the life of the infant prince, but there was a general apprehension among the protestant party that his life was in danger, and that at all events an attempt would be made to take him away from the watchful custody of the earl of Mar.

Kirkaldy urged the earl of Bedford to ascertain for them, as quickly as possible, the intentions of the queen of England, and he declared that, if she did not aid them, they should be driven to have recourse to the assistance of the king of France, who had offered it them through his ambassador, M. du Croc. "Also," says Kirkaldy, "he hath admonished her to desist from the earl of Bothwell, and not to marry him; for if she do, he hath assured her that she shall neither have friendship nor favour out of France, if she shall have to do; but the saying is, she will give no ear." "In this mean time," he adds, "the queen is come to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed by the earl of Bothwell, where she intendeth to remain until she have levied some forces of footmen and horsemen, that is, she minds to levy five hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen. The money that she hath presently (*at present*) to do this, which is five thousand crowns, came from the font your lordship brought unto the baptism; the rest is to be reft and borrowed of Edinburgh, or the men of Lothian."

Kirkaldy informed the earl in this letter, that the lords who met at Stirling were the earls of Argyle, Morton, Athol, and Mar. They had been subsequently joined by the earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Caithness, the lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glamis, Innermeith, Lindsay, Hume, and Herries, "with all the whole west, Merse and Teviotdale, the most part of Fife, Angus, and

Mearns." The earls of Argyle, Athol, and Morton, had repaired to the respective districts in which their influence lay, to prepare for the coming struggle; and it was agreed that the earl of Mar should continue to watch vigilantly over the safety of the prince, and that on the first intimation of any attempt on the part of the queen to take him away by force, all the lords would immediately hasten to his assistance. They seem already to have turned their eyes upon the earl of Murray, who had retired to France, as their leader; and Kirkaldy urges Bedford—"If it will please your lordship to haste these other letters to my lord of Murray, and write unto him to come back again into Normandy, that he may be in readiness against my lords write unto him."

Elizabeth's ministers watched with anxiety the extraordinary proceedings in Scotland, and there can be no doubt that they sympathized fully with the lords who had confederated against Bothwell; but Elizabeth was full of scruples and difficulties. She expressed in strong language her disapproval of the course which Mary was pursuing, and her detestation of Bothwell, and she was alarmed even at the mention of a renewal of the old alliance between Scotland and France; but she could not be brought to allow of subjects taking upon themselves to judge their princes, and still less so to countenance what she looked upon as mere rebellion for the purpose of carrying that judgment into execution. The English princess seems to have been particularly offended at some expressions in the letter written by Kirkaldy of Grange to the earl of Bedford; for Randolph, describing a conversation he had had with Elizabeth on this subject, says, "Her majesty also told me that she had seen a writing sent from Grange to my lord of Bedford, despitefully written against that queen, in such vile terms as she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the prince, or whatsoever her life and behaviour is, should discover that unto the world; and therefore so utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing, that she condemns him for one of the worst in that realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking. In this manner of talk, it pleased her majesty to retain me almost an hour."



Unmindful of all these threatening symptoms, Mary continued her preparations for the marriage. But she now encountered a new difficulty, for Craig, the minister who occupied the place of Knox (who still remained concealed), refused to publish the bans, and when pressed to do it, alleged that he had received no directions in writing, and that the public reports relating to the conduct of the queen and the earl of Bothwell were sufficient to justify his refusal. The queen then sent him, by the justice clerk, a letter with her own signature, denying that she had been subjected to any violence by Bothwell, and requiring him to publish the bans. But he still refused, and, having been carried before the privy council, he there boldly charged Bothwell to his face of the crimes of murder, rape, and adultery. After having thus satisfied his own conscience, Craig made no further resistance, but proceeded without more ado to publish the bans; but in doing so he declared from the pulpit his abhorrence of the match. "I take heaven and earth to witness," he said, "that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly, that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

On the 12th of May, the queen appeared before the high court at Edinburgh, and there publicly declared that, although she had at first been highly offended at the restraint placed on her person by Bothwell, she had since seen cause to forgive him, and that it was her intention to raise him to still higher honours. On the same day she created him duke of Orkney and Shetland, placing the coronet on his head with her own hand. On the 14th, the contract of marriage between Mary and Bothwell was drawn up and signed. In this document she threw all the responsibility of her marriage upon the nobility, who, she said, had petitioned her to contract a new marriage. "Which petition her grace weighing, and taking in good part, but chiefly regarding the preservation and continuance of her posterity, has condescended thereto; and mature deliberation being had toward the personage of him with whom her highness should join in marriage, the most part of her nobility, by way of advice, has humbly prayed her majesty, and thought better that she should so far humble herself, as to

accept one of her own horn subjects in that state and place, that were accustomed with the manners, laws, and consuetude of this country, rather nor any foreign prince. And her majesty, preferring their advice and prayers, with the welfare of her realm, to the advancement and promotion which her highness in particular might have by foreign marriage, has in that point likewise inclined to the suit of her said nobility. And they naming the said noble prince, now duke of Orkney, for the special personage, her majesty, well advised, has allowed their motion and nomination, and graciously accorded thereunto, having recent memory of the notable and worthy acts and good service done and performed by him to her majesty, as well since her returning and arrival in this realm, as of before in her highness's minority, and during the time of government of umquhile her dearest mother of good memory, in the forthsetting of her majesty's authority against all impugnors and gainstanders thereof; whose magnanimity, courage, and constant truth, her majesty, in preservation of her own person from many evident and great dangers, and in conducting of high and profitable purposes tending to her highness's advancement, and establishing of this country to her perfect and universal obedience, has so far moved her and procured her favour and affection, that above the common and accustomate good grace and benevolence which princes use to bestow on noblemen their subjects well deserving, her majesty will be content to receive and take to her husband the said noble prince, for satisfaction of the hearts of her nobility and people." The witnesses to this contract were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Huntley, the lord chancellor Gordon, the earls of Crawford and Rothes; the lords Lindsay, Lesley, Fleming, and Herries; the bishops of Galloway and Ross; Maitland of Lethington, sir John Bellenden (the justice clerk), and Mr. Robert Crichton, the queen's advocate.

Next day, the 15th of May, the marriage was solemnized in the presence-chamber at Holyrood, at four o'clock in the morning, the ceremony being performed according to the protestant ritual, by the bishop of Orkney. Few of the Scottish nobles attended, and even the foreign ambassadors absented themselves, while the persons principally concerned in it did not venture to brave public opinion so far as to celebrate it with the usual pageants and rejoicings.



## CHAPTER XI.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS; INSURRECTION OF THE NOBLES; FLIGHT OF BOTHWELL, AND SURRENDER OF MARY AT CARBERRY HILL.

MARY's position was now in the highest degree critical; yet, the more the course she had chosen was beset with difficulties and dangers, the more she seemed resolved to pursue it. She could not conceal from herself, that the hearts of her subjects were alienated, and she had every reason to expect that her conduct would be disapproved in France and in England. Indeed, the French ambassador, Du Croc, had not only protested against the marriage, but he had refused to be present at the ceremony. The same day, however, Du Croc waited upon the queen, and then, even on the day of her nuptials, he found her sad and sorrowful, and she told him that she wished for death. Two days after this, Du Croc informed Catherine de Medicis, when Mary was shut up in a cabinet with her husband, she was heard to cry out for a knife to kill herself. At this time the court was entirely deserted, the earl of Crawford being the only nobleman of any account who remained at it. The rest refused to obey her summons to attend upon her, and she was reduced to ask the French ambassador to visit them, and endeavour to persuade them to obedience. We learn these facts from a dispatch of Du Croc, written on the 18th of May, only three days after the marriage.

One of her first steps was to dispatch ambassadors, to excuse her conduct to the king of France and to the queen of England.\* The person chosen for the first of these missions was the bishop of Dunblane, whose instructions were artfully drawn up. He was to make an excuse for Mary's neglect in not acquainting the French court of her intended marriage until after it had taken place. He was to represent the great services which Bothwell had rendered to the crown of Scotland, beginning with his devoted adherence to her mother during the regency. "After our returning into Scotland," says Mary in these instructions, "he gave his whole study to the forthsetting of

our authority, and to employ his person to suppress the insolence of the rebellious subjects inhabiting the countries lying west the marches of England; and within short time brought them to a perfect quietness, with intention to pass forward in the like service in all other parts of the realm. But as envy ever follows virtue [Bothwell was notorious for his open and reckless profligacy], and this country is of itself somewhat subject to factions, others began to dislike his proceedings, and so far, by reports and misconstruing his doings, went about to put him out of our good grace, that at length, upon colours invented by his evil-willers, for satisfying of them that might not abide his advancement, and avoiding of further contention, which might have brought the whole realm into trouble, we were compelled to put him ward. Out of the which escaping, to give place to their malice, he passed out of the realm towards France, and there remained." Mary goes on to relate, in her own way, his return, and the assistance he gave her in escaping from the murderers of Riccio. "Indeed," says she, "we mon confess that service done at that time to have been so acceptable to us, that we could never to this hour forget it, which he has ever since prosecuted with the like diligence in all might content us, so that we could not wish more fidelity nor good behaviour than we have always found in him, till of late, since the decease of the king our husband, that his pretensions began to be higher, so found we his proceedings somewhat strange; albeit now, since we are so far proceeded with him, we mon interpret all things to the best; yet have we been highly offended, first with presumption that thought we could not sufficiently reward him unless we should give ourself to him for the recompense of his service, next for his practices and secret means, and at length the plain attempting of force to have us in his puissance, for fear to be disappointed of his

the bishop of Dunblane as being already dispatched, so that his instructions were no doubt delivered to him immediately after the marriage, though his departure seems to have been delayed.

\* Tytler says, that this was not done till a fortnight after the marriage, but he is evidently wrong. The instructions, as preserved, are not dated, but Du Croc's dispatch of the 18th of May speaks of



purpose. His deportments in this behalf may serve for an example, how cunningly men can cover their designs, when they have any great enterprise in head, till they have brought their purpose to pass. We thought his continuance in the awaiting upon us, and readiness to fulfil all our commandments, had proceeded only upon the acknowledging of his duty, being our born subject, without further hid respect; which moved us to make him the better visage, thinking nothing less than that the same, being but an ordinary countenance to such noblemen as we found affectionate to our service, should encourage him or give him boldness to look for any extraordinary favour at our hands. But he, as well has appeared since, making his profit of everything might serve his turn, not discovering to ourself his intent, or that he had any such purpose in head, was content to entertain our favour by his good outward behaviour and all means possible; and in the meantime went about by practising with the noblemen secretly to make them his friends, and to procure their consent to the furtherance of his intents; and so far proceeded by means with them, before that ever the same came to our knowledge, that our whole estates being here assembled in parliament, he obtained a writing subscribed with all their hands, wherein they not only granted their consents to our marriage with him, but also obliged themselves to set him forward thereto with their lives and goods, and to be enemies to all who would disturb or impede the same; which letter he purchased (*procured*,) giving them to understand that we were content therewith. And the same being once obtained, he began after to discover his intention to us, and to essay if he might by humble suit purchase our good will; but finding our answer nothing corresponding to his desire, and casting before his eyes all doubts that customably men use to resolve with themselves in semblable enterprises, the outwardness of our own mind, the persuasions which our friends or his unfriends might cast out for his hindrance, the change of their minds whose consent he had already obtained, with many other incidents which might occur to frustrate him of his expectation, he resolved with himself to follow forth his good fortune, and all respects laid apart, either to tyne (*lose*) all in one hour, or to bring to pass that thing he had taken in hand; and so resolved quickly to prosecute his deliberation, he suffered not the matter

long to sleep, but within four days thereafter, finding opportunity by reason we were past secretly towards Stirling, to visit the prince our dearest son, in our return he awaited us by the way, accompanied with a great force, and led us with all diligence to Dunbar. In what part we took that manner of dealing, but specially how strange we found it of him, of whom we doubted less than of any subject we had, is easy to be imagined. Being there, we reproached him the honour he had to be so esteemed of us, the favour we had always shown him, his ingratitude, with all other remonstrances which might serve to rid us out of his hands. Albeit we found his doings rude, yet were his answer and words but gentle, that he would honour and serve us, and nowise offend us; asked pardon of the boldness he had taken to convey us to one of our own houses, whereunto he was driven by force, as well as constrained by love, the vehemency whereof had made him to set apart the reverence which naturally as our subject he bore to us, as also for safety of his own life. And there began to make us a discourse of his whole life, how unfortunate he had been to find men his unfriends whom he had never offended; how their malice never ceased to assault him at all occasions, albeit unjustly; what calumnies had they spread upon him touching the odious violence perpetrated in the person of the king our late husband; how unable he was to save himself from the conspiracies of his enemies, whom he might not know, by reason every man professed himself outwardly to be his friend; and yet he had such malice, that he could not find himself in surety, without he were assured of our favour to endure without alteration; and other assurance thereof could he not lippen (*trust*) in, without it would please us to do him that honour to take him to husband; protesting always that he would seek no other sovereignty but as of before, to serve and obey us all the days of our life, joining thereunto all the honest language that could be used in such a case. And when he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers, in the end he showed us how far he was proceeded with our whole nobility, and principals of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwritings. If we had cause then to be astonished, we remit us to the judgment of the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends. Seeing ourselves in his puissance, sequester from the company of all



our servants and others whom of we might ask counsel; yea, seeing them upon whose counsel and fidelity we had before depended, whose force ought and might maintain our authority, without whom in a manner we are nothing (for what is a prince without a people?)—beforehand already yielded to his appetite, and so we left alone, as it were, a prey to him; many things we resolved with ourself, but never could find any outgate. And yet gave he us little space to meditate with ourself, ever pressing us with continual and importunate suit. In the end, when we saw no esperance (*hope*) to be rid of him, never man in Scotland once making any mind to procure our deliverance, for that it might appear by their handwriting and silence at that time that he had won them all, we were compelled to mitigate our displeasure, and began to think upon that he propounded; and then were content to lay before our eyes the service he had done in times past, the offer of his continuance hereafter; how unwilling our people are to receive a stranger, unacquainted with their laws and customs, that they would not suffer us to remain unmarried, that this realm being divided in factions as it is, cannot be contained in order, unless our authority be assisted and forthset by the fortification of a man who may take pains upon his person in the execution of justice, and suppressing of their insolence that would rebel, the travail whereof we may no longer sustain in our own person, being already wearied and almost broken with the frequent uproars and rebellions raised against us since we came into Scotland; how we have been compelled to make four or five lieutenants at once in divers parts of the realm, of whom the most part, abusing our authority, have, under colour of our commission, raised our subjects within their charge against ourself; and seeing force would compel us in the end, for preservation of our own estate, to incline to some marriage, and that the humour of our people would not well digest a foreign husband, and that of our own subjects there was none, either for the reputation of his house, or for the worthiness of himself, as well in wisdom and valiantness, as in all other good qualities, to be preferred or yet compared to him whom we have taken; we were content to accommodate to ourself, with the consent of our whole estates, who, as is beforesaid, had already declared their contentations. After he had, by this means and many

others, brought us agaitward to his intent, he partly extorted and partly obtained our promise to take him to our husband; and yet not content therewith, fearing ever some alterations, he would not be satisfied with all the just reasons we could allege, to have the consummation of the marriage delayed, as had been most reasonable, until we might communicate the same to the king, the queen, our uncle, and others our friends; but as by a bravado in the beginning he had won the first point, so ceased he never till by persuasions and importunate suit, accompanied not the less with force, he has finally driven us to end the work begun at such time, and in such form as he thought might best serve his turn, wherein we cannot dissemble that he has used us otherways than we would have wished, or yet have deserved at his hand, having more respect to content them by whose consent granted to him beforehand, he thinks he has obtained his purpose, although therein he hath both frustrate us and them, than regarding our contentation, or yet weighing what was convenient for us, that has been nourished in our own religion, and never intends to leave the same for him or any man upon earth. Indeed with this point [i.e., the marriage by the protestant rite,] we find fault in our mind, albeit we are content (*glad*) that neither the king, the queen our mother, nor any other, lay it to his charge; for now since it is past, and cannot be brought back again, we will make the best of it, and it must be thought, as it is in effect, that he is our husband, whom we will both love and honour, so that all who profess themselves to be our friends, must profess the like friendship towards him who is inseparably joined with us. And albeit he has in some points or ceremonies raklest (*improperly demeaned*) himself, which we are content to impute to his affection towards us, we will desire the king, the queen our mother, our uncle, and others our friends, to bear him no less good will than if all had proceeded to this hour with the advice of all our friends, and in the best order that he could have devised, assuring them that they will find him ready to do them all the honour and service they can require."

Such is the laboured but very unsatisfactory defence of her conduct which Mary thought proper to make to the court of France. Her envoy was further instructed, in case the king of France should object to



the legality of the marriage, on account of Bothwell's previous marriage, that his divorce from his countess had been fully effected according to the law in Scotland; and he was to explain to the cardinal of Lorraine, that accident alone had retarded the papal nuncio, and that she was as firmly attached to the interests of the Romish church as ever.

Robert Melvil was sent to England on an errand similar to that of the bishop of Dunblane in France, but in several respects there was a considerable difference in his instructions. In excusing to Elizabeth the hastiness of the marriage, Mary made no allusion whatever to any violence or constraint which had been put upon her. "Ye shall ground you," she says to her ambassador, "upon the condition and state of us and our realm, declaring how we were destitute of a husband, our realm not thoroughly purged of the factions and conspiracies that of long time have continued therein, which occurring so frequently, had already, in a manner, so wearied and broken us, that by ourself we were not able of any long continuance to sustain the pains and travail in our own person, which were requisite for repressing of the insolence and sedition of our rebellious subjects, being, as is known, a people as factious among themselves, and as fashious (*grievous*) for the governor, as any other nation in Europe; and that for their satisfaction, which could not suffer us long to continue in the state of widowhood, moved by their prayers and request, it behoved us to yield unto one marriage or other. Seeing no appearance of any great commodity to follow by protracting of time, but as on the one part they were very well content, yea and earnestly urged us that we should without delay proceed to our marriage, even so on the other side, by their meaning, we perceived how unwilling they were that we should choose any foreign husband, but rather so far humble us to be content with some born subject of our own for that place that were acquainted with their manners and the laws and customs of our realm; for indeed we ourselves have had some proof and experience of their stirring, when as by occasion of our foreign marriage they have suspected to be hardly handled of strangers. When, therefore, in the eyes and opinion of our people, one of our own subjects was judged most meet both for us and them, our whole nobility being lately assembled at our parliament, were

best content that the duke of Orkney, then earl of Bothwell, should be promoted to that place, if so were our pleasure, and to that effect subscribed a letter with all their hands before, ere ever we agreed to take him to our husband, or that he opened his mind to us in that belief; whereby we were moved to make our choice of him, as one whose wisdom, valiantness, and other good qualities, might be well compared, or rather preferred, to any other nobleman in our realm, and his house honourable and ancient. But indeed his faithful and upright service, ever since he came to man's estate, spent and bestowed for us and in our quarrel, for forthsetting of our authority, whoever gainstood it, was no small motive in our conceit in making of our choice, the rather because none or very few of all the noblemen are able in that point to debate with him, seeing that some time or other the most part of them had left us, he excepted. These things being considered maturely, and having respect to the relief which he should make us in management of the public affairs of our realm and administration of justice, with the which, through frequent uproars and seditions, as we have said, we were fully wearied, we resolved to marry him how soon we might conveniently; and for our sudden proceeding in that behalf, not making our said dearest sister privy of our intention, nor asking her advice and counsel therein, which we confess we ought to have done, the chief occasions were, as ye may boldly affirm, the difficulty of the time, divers advertisements and bruits that came to us, as well from France as otherways, and such other things as in the meantime intervened, and yet very weighty and sufficient causes tending to our great weal and surety, which are well known to ourself, constrained us to make such haste as we have done, and not to delay the matter till our said dearest sister had been advertised of our intention and purpose, and her advice and counsel had been known and reported to us, where-ament ye shall pray and desire her heartily to excuse us; for as we never meant to join in marriage with any that we believed she was not contented with, so for this which is present, we trust she will not only continue her accustomed favour and mutual intelligence with us, but also, for our respect, will extend her friendship to our husband, with whom we are inseparably joined, and to bear him and us no less good will, than if all had proceeded to this hour



with the knowledge and advice of our said dearest sister, whom ye shall assure to find him ready to do her all the honours and service that she may require of him."

Elizabeth had expressed herself strongly with regard to the manner in which the murder of Darnley had passed over, and Mary was apprehensive that she would allege against her marriage the suspicions under which Bothwell still laboured of being the assassin. "In case the queen our good sister," she says in the instructions to Melvil, "shall make her to think strange of our marriage with the duke of Orkney, by reason he was suspected and calumniated of the odious violence committed in the person of the king our late husband, and that she had written to ourself somewhat in that behalf of before; it is true that she wrote to us, and we sent her answer again, the copy whereof we have delivered you herewith, which will instruct you sufficiently what ye shall answer to this objection, in case ye be burthened with it; in effect it is this, that seeing he was acquitted by our laws, and by the sentence of parliament, and had further offered him ready to do all thing for trial of his innocence that any nobleman in honour ought, we thought the former to be calumny and accusation, and that we might well enough take him to husband." Melvil was to make the same explanation with regard to the divorce as that given in the instructions to the bishop of Dunblane.

There is a similarity in certain expressions in these two sets of instructions, which shows that they were drawn up at the same time, and each of them seems to have made equally little impression on the persons for whom they were intended. Mary instructed her resident ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, to support with all his zeal the representations of the bishop of Dunblane; but the French court was too well instructed in the true state of things by Du Croc, to be easily deceived. "Your majesties," this ambassador writes to Catherine de Medicis and the king of France, in his dispatch of the 18th of May, "cannot do better than give him an evil reception, and condemn the marriage;" and they seem to have acted on this advice. With regard to Elizabeth, the choice of the envoy was unlucky, for Melvil was now entirely in the interests of the confederate nobles, and he was more their ambassador than Mary's. Nevertheless, Elizabeth showed a strong inclination to support the Scottish

queen against her subjects—at least, she showed great reluctance to give any encouragement to subjects against their prince, and she was indignant when informed that they proposed to crown the young prince during the life of his mother. To the plea of the confederate Scottish nobles, that their queen was under restraint, and not a free agent, she opposed Mary's own declarations; and in answer to their apprehensions for the safety of the prince, Elizabeth offered to receive him into England, and to take him under her protection.

For a short period after their marriage, Mary and Bothwell showed a strange inattention to the storm which was gathering round them. It is said that when the queen, already irritated at their refusal to come to court, was told that her nobles held secret meetings among themselves, she treated the information with contempt, and spoke of the popular leaders as men totally destitute of power. The court was now filled with gaiety; fêtes and pageants were got up almost daily to amuse the people; yet, although Bothwell treated her outwardly with great respect, such was said not to be always the case in private, and, at all events, it was evident that she was not happy.

But the plot against her and her husband was now about to develop itself with a rapidity which outran all expectations. Melvil appears not to have proceeded on his mission to England till the 5th of June. At this time Mary seems to have resolved to put the loyalty of her nobles to a trial, by summoning them to attend the royal banner, and proceed against the turbulent borderers of Liddesdale. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, Bothwell proceeded to Melrose, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous; but when he found that nobody had obeyed the summons, he returned to Borthwick, a castle belonging to the laird of Crookston, about ten miles from Edinburgh, to which the queen had retired, alarmed at the symptoms of disaffection which began to show themselves in the capital. Instead of attending at Melrose, the earls of Morton, Mar, and Lindsay, with the laird of Grange, and others of the confederates, joined with the lord Hume and some of the border chiefs, and raising a strong body of their followers on the very day that Bothwell returned from Melrose to Borthwick, they made a rapid march by night, to lay siege to the castle next morn-



ing. Just as the queen and Bothwell were going to bed, intelligence was privately conveyed to them of the designs of the confederates, and Bothwell himself escaped secretly by a postern in a back wall, and fled to Haddington, while messengers were dispatched to warn the earl of Huntley and others of the queen's friends of her danger, and to urge them to bring all the force they could to her rescue. Huntley and the others, though professing devotion to the queen, were in correspondence with the other nobles, and it appears that they were with them at this time, and, if willing, they were unable to raise any force to relieve the castle of Borthwick. But they hurried to Edinburgh, and raised the citizens that they might go to rescue their queen. When, however, the citizens assembled in council, it was resolved that it was not lawful for them to leave the city undefended, and Borthwick castle was left to defend itself. The spirit of disaffection had spread so widely, that when the captain of Inchkeith, who has left a very interesting narrative of these events (printed in M. Teulet's collection of French documents), on receiving information of the queen's danger, caused the drum to be beaten to call to arms, he tells us that nobody obeyed the summons.

When Morton, Hume, and the other lords, had approached within half a league of Borthwick, they received certain information of Bothwell's escape, and, as they professed to have taken arms only against him, they immediately directed their march to Edinburgh. The provost at once raised and armed the citizens for the defence of the town, and they were joined by the earl of Huntley, the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Ross, and the abbot of Kilwinning, with their followers. It was four o'clock in the morning when the confederates reached the capital, and it is probable that the citizens had no intention of opposing them, for while they were all watching at one gate of the capital, the earl of Mar came to another, which he forced open, and marched into the heart of the city. When this was known, the provost quietly retired to his own house, and the lords of the queen's party withdrew into the castle, and made no further demonstration against the insurgents, who, an hour after they had entered Edinburgh, issued a proclamation, declaring that they had taken arms to deliver the queen from captivity, to protect and maintain the prince, and to punish the

abominable murder of the king. The citizens of Edinburgh, satisfied with this declaration, no longer hesitated in receiving them as friends.

Morton and Hume had been left with a part of their forces to watch the castle of Borthwick, for the queen remained in it during the following day; but at night, disguising herself in man's clothing, with boots and spurs, she mounted a horse with a man's saddle, and rode off by stealth with a few of her most faithful attendants. She was met by Bothwell, who had remained concealed in Haddington during the day, and, Mary still riding as a man, they never drew bridle till they had placed the strong walls of Dunbar between them and their enemies. Here they had leisure for consultation, and taking courage, they issued summonses to all their friends to assemble in arms at Haddington, to which place they returned on the 14th, two days after their arrival in Dunbar, escorted by two hundred haghbutteers and about sixty horse. Before the queen reached Haddington her cavalry had increased to about six hundred, and when the same night she reached Seaton, her forces amounted to two thousand foot and six hundred horse. With these, next morning, the 15th of June, Mary and Bothwell marched against their enemies.

Meanwhile the confederates were not inactive in Edinburgh. On the morning after their arrival, Du Croc, the French ambassador, who happened to be there, communicated both with the lords in the city and with those in the castle, and after that with the queen, in the hope of effecting an accommodation, but Mary refused to listen to any terms unless she received assurance that no proceedings should be taken against her husband. When this was known, the popular feeling went still more strongly with the lords, who caused a white banner to be made, on which was painted the body of the murdered king, lying under a tree, and the young prince kneeling beside it, and underneath the inscription, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" This, and the promise of high wages to volunteers, produced an immediate effect; the provost and citizens of Edinburgh joined heartily in the cause; and at the same time the lords were joined by the earl of Athol and the laird of Lethington, who had deserted the queen, and they were assured that sir James Balfour, who had the command of Edinburgh castle, was ready to make common cause with them.



Thus encouraged, as soon as they heard of the movements of their opponents, the lords assembled their forces, and marching out of Edinburgh on the morning of the 15th of June, which was a Sunday, they proceeded by way of Musselburgh to meet them.

In the morning of the 15th of June, before leaving Seaton, Mary caused a proclamation to be read at the head of her army. She branded the confederated lords as traitors who had taken up arms to overturn her government, without reason or provocation, but merely for their own personal aggrandizement. Their pleas that her husband had murdered the late king, that she was a captive, and that the life of the prince was in danger, were, she said, but empty pretences; the duke had been acquitted of all concern in the murder, she declared that she was herself free, and as to the prince, he, she alleged, was in their own possession. She concluded with declaring her intention to give battle to her rebels. The queen's army then marched to Preston, and there hearing that the lords had marched with their army from Edinburgh towards Dalkeith, the royalists marched onwards, and established themselves on Carberry Hill, in some old intrenchments said to have been thrown up by the English before the battle of Pinkie. The lords had, in the mean time, turned off to Musselburgh, where the two armies were in sight of each other. Mary's consisted, according to Du Croc's account, of four thousand men, and that of her opponents of three thousand five hundred, or rather more. The queen had four pieces of artillery, but her opponents had none. They were about half a league distant from each other, with a valley and a small stream between them.

It has been already stated that Du Croc, the French ambassador, was at Edinburgh, and he appears to have left the town with a retinue of ten horsemen, soon after the army of the confederates marched. He joined their army when they halted in sight of the queen's troops, and he immediately presented himself before the chiefs and offered his mediation to procure a reconciliation and avert bloodshed. They received him well, and showed him every consideration, but they assured him there were only two ways of settling their quarrel; either that the queen should separate herself from the wretch who held her in his power, in which case they were ready to fall on their knees before her and pro-

mise her all the obedience of humble and true subjects; or that Bothwell should descend into the valley between the two armies, where he would find one on their part ready to charge him with the murder of the king, and sustain the charge with his sword. It was added that, if the duke preferred it, the combat might be two to two, four to four, or even twelve to twelve. Du Croc said that he did not believe either of these proposals would be acceptable to the queen, and that he would not venture to be the bearer of them, but he requested permission to pass to the queen's army and ascertain in a personal interview what terms she would be willing to listen to. This permission was at first refused, but after some consultation, Lethington, as spokesman for the rest, told Du Croc that he might go to the queen, and gave him a guard of fifty horsemen to conduct him to her outposts.

Du Croc was received by the queen with the same favour as by the lords. He told her that he had been with the confederates, and that they had earnestly professed their affection and obedience to her person, and he begged her to consider that they were her subjects. Mary replied that they had given her but a bad sample of their conduct, in contradicting what they had themselves signed, for she declared again that it was they who had brought about the marriage, and that they had justified Bothwell from the fact with which they now charged him; nevertheless, she said, if they would at once acknowledge their fault and require her pardon, she was ready to receive them into her favour. At this moment the duke (Bothwell), who had been busy with the arrangements of the army, came up, and Du Croc saluted him coldly. The duke, who knew that the ambassador had come from the lords, demanded proudly and with a loud voice, that the conversation might be heard by his soldiers, if their design was against him. The ambassador, rather artfully, replied aloud that the nobles from whom he had come professed themselves to be the very humble subjects and servants of the queen, and then he added in a low voice, for Bothwell's ear alone, that they were the mortal enemies of her husband. Bothwell again spoke loud, and said that he had never intended to displease any of them, but, on the contrary, to please them all, and that their enmity to him must arise only from jealousy at his great-



ness; fortune, he said, was free to every one, and there was not one of them all who would not willingly have been in his place. He concluded by begging that Du Croc would be the bearer of his challenge to the lords, offering to go out between the two armies and decide the question by personal combat with any man of quality who would stand forward to accuse him of the murder of the king. The ambassador, as he had declined to be the bearer of the challenge of the lords, now refused to carry that of Bothwell, and the queen herself interfered, and declared that she espoused the quarrel herself, and would hear of no fighting except between the two armies. Bothwell said that it must come to that, and, as he saw the lords approaching nearer to the stream, he imagined they intended to commence the attack, and recommended Du Croc to ride to a position at a distance, whence he might witness the fight. The ambassador tells us that Bothwell spoke with an assurance, and drew up and ordered the army with so much skill and courage, that he believed the confederates would have been beaten, had it come to an engagement.

The French ambassador determined to make another effort for peace before he left, and when he quitted the queen's army, he proceeded again to that of the lords. He told them that he had found the queen in an indulgent disposition, and that she was ready to forgive them all on their submission. Their only answer was that they would listen to no proposals for agreement until he whom they sought was delivered up to them; but they thanked the ambassador for his good services, and begged him to withdraw, which he did, while they prepared for battle.\* Du Croc returned to Edinburgh.

The day was now advancing, and the lords made a slight movement as though to draw their opponents from their vantage ground; but at this moment a strong indisposition to fight began to manifest itself in the royal army, in spite of the exertions of the queen and her husband, and many of the soldiers began to desert, and some went over to the lords. Alarmed at these symp-

toms, Bothwell again proposed to decide the quarrel by single combat, and Mary having, with some reluctance, given her consent, he dispatched a herald to deliver his challenge. It was immediately accepted by the baron of Tullibardine (James Murray), the very person who was understood to have placed on the tolbooth door the placard denouncing Bothwell as the king's murderer. Bothwell, it is said, was now ready for the combat, but Mary interfered, and refused to let her husband fight a man so much beneath him in rank, and who moreover, she said, was a traitor to herself. Bothwell then proposed that the earl of Morton should be his antagonist, and that nobleman immediately offered to fight him on foot with two-handed swords. Lord Lindsay of the Byres now interfered, and pleading his relationship to the murdered king, claimed the right of avenging his death on the murderer. The lords yielded to his appeal, and Morton not only made way for him, but gave him his own sword, celebrated as the weapon of his ancestor Archibald Bell-the-cat, to fight with. Preparations were now made on both sides for the combat; lord Lindsay was armed, and advancing before the ranks, fell on his knees, prayed aloud for strength to execute justice, imploring heaven to support the right and punish the guilty. But Mary again interfered, and prohibited the combat.

The desertion among the queen's troops now became general, and Mary's urgent appeals to them to advance against her enemies, and the assurance that Huntley was coming to her aid with the garrison of Edinburgh castle, produced no effect. The confusion and alarm increased, when the laird of Grange was seen advancing at the head of his division of troops, and it was observed that he began to wheel round the hill to turn the flank of the royalists. In a few minutes the queen's forces had dwindled to, it is said, not more than sixty gentlemen and her guard of hagbutteers. It was now too late to think either of fighting or of retiring, and the anxiety of the queen was to obtain terms which would secure the safety of her husband. There was no time to be lost, for if the laird of

\* Such is the substance of Du Croc's own account of his proceedings, given in a long dispatch to the king of France, Charles IX. For what follows we use partly a detailed report in French, drawn up by one of Mary's officers, who appears to have been near her person during the whole time, and who therefore may be taken as unexceptionable authority for the



Grange succeeded in placing himself between them and Dunbar, both the queen and Bothwell would inevitably be captured. Mary accordingly sent the laird of Ormiston to demand a parley, and Grange rode forwards and assured the queen that the lords were ready to pay all obedience to her if the man who stood beside her were dismissed. Mary offered to leave him and put herself in their hands, if they would allow the duke to escape, and promise to return to their allegiance. Grange went to his colleagues, and after a brief conversation, returned with the assurance that they were willing to accept her conditions. The queen still stood hesitating, when Grange, fearful that the troops from Edinburgh castle might arrive and at least facilitate her escape, urged Mary to come to an immediate decision, threatening, as the alternative, that he must order his troop to advance to the charge. Mary then, with great anguish, threw herself into Bothwell's arms, and repeatedly embraced him; and at last, as she separated, he asked her if she would on her part keep the promise of fidelity which she had made him, and she replied that she

would. Mary then gave him her hand, and leaving her, he turned his horse's head, and, accompanied with about a dozen of his friends, rode off in the direction of Dunbar. Mary then sent the officer who has left us the account of these circumstances, the captain of Inchkeith, to order the lords to advance no further, on the assurance that she would come to them. Accordingly, having waited till she thought Bothwell was safe from pursuit, she came forwards and said, "Laird of Grange, I surrender to you on the conditions you have specified in the name of the lords." Grange immediately took the queen's hand and kissed it, and then, leading her horse by the bridle, they proceeded down the hill to the confederate nobles. These dropped on their knees as she approached, and Morton said, "Here, madame, is the true place where your grace should be, and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever nobility of this realm did your progenitors!" Some of the soldiers could with difficulty restrain themselves from uttering reproaches against the queen, but Grange drew his sword, and compelled them to silence.

## CHAPTER XII.

MARY CARRIED TO LOCHLEVEN; PROCEEDINGS OF THE LORDS; REAPPEARANCE OF KNOX; POLICY OF FRANCE AND OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE queen was now a prisoner in the hands of the lords, and although they treated her with outward respect, she witnessed enough to excite her alarm. One of the first objects which presented itself to her eyes was the white banner with the picture of the murdered king and the prince crying out for vengeance, which had been carried at the head of the army. This, and the discovery that she was under restraint, added, probably, to the chagrin caused by her compulsory separation from her husband, seem to have thrown her into a violence of temper which she could not conceal. The best authorities for what passed on the march to Edinburgh, M. du Croc and the captain of Inchkeith, the latter of whom accompanied the queen and was probably near her person, inform us that

she gave utterance to angry invectives and menaces against the nobles to whose hands she had entrusted herself, and whom it was her interest to conciliate. Her language to Lord Lindsay, one of the fiercest of the confederate barons, was particularly violent. She reproached him bitterly with his past offences towards her, and calling him to her and taking his hand, she said, "By the hand which is now in yours, I will have your head for this!" It was ten o'clock when they reached the capital, where new trials were reserved for her. The populace received her with yells and execrations as she rode through the streets, and even the women crowded round and screamed out, in coarse language, the charges of adultery and of the murder of her husband, while their fury was



excited by the banner which the soldiers continually waved before her eyes.

It was ten o'clock at night when Mary entered the capital. She was taken to sleep at the house of the lord provost, who, with some of the chief citizens, had accompanied the lords to the field. Although Mary had not eaten for four-and-twenty hours, she refused to taste food, and began to scold and threaten the earls of Athol and Morton. At last she was shown to her chamber, where she passed the night closely guarded. In the middle of the night, or, according to Du Croc, at one o'clock in the morning, she presented herself at the window, and cried out for succour. Lethington happening to pass at the moment, she addressed herself to him, and requested that she might speak with him. Lethington, it appears, went up into the queen's chamber, and next day he repeated to Du Croc the conversation which had taken place between them. It seems that Mary began by reproaching him with having assisted in separating her from her husband, with whom, she said, she would live and die with the greatest contentment in the world. Lethington replied that they were so far from supposing they would do her any displeasure in separating her from the man she called her husband, they looked upon it on the contrary as the greatest benefit and honour they could do her, "hoping thereby to procure her quiet and contentment." He told Mary, thereupon, that to his knowledge Bothwell had written to his first wife, the countess, since his marriage with the queen, assuring her that he considered her, the countess, as his real wife, and that he looked upon the queen only as his concubine. Mary refused to believe this statement, but Lethington protested that it was proved by the letters themselves; and Du Croc says that it was the universal belief that the only passion Bothwell gratified by his marriage with the queen was ambition, and that he still loved his first wife more than his second. Lethington stated that at last the queen said to him that, in the extremity to which they were reduced, all she demanded was that she and Bothwell might be placed in a ship together and sent out to sea, to be conducted wherever fortune might lead them. "And I wish they were," said Lethington to Du Croc, "provided they were not carried to France." "I told him on the contrary," says the ambassador to Catherine de Medicis, "that I wish they were there, and the king would judge them according to

their merits, for the unhappy facts are too well proved (*car les maleureux faits sont trop prouvés.*)"

On the morning of the next day, the 16th of June, Mary fell again into a violent access of passion, which was increased when she saw the same obnoxious banner that had been so often presented to her, and which the populace had raised up opposite her window. In an agony of despair she tore her dress from her body, and, almost naked, rushed to the window and cried out for relief. Some of the lords went to her to appease her, but the lamentable condition of their sovereign had already excited compassion among many of the inhabitants of the capital, and it was reported in the course of the day that an attempt would be made to rescue her from her captivity. To provide against any accident of this kind, at eight o'clock in the evening she was conducted to Holyrood House, with an escort of three hundred hagbutteers, commanded by the earls of Morton and Athol. She was accompanied by two of her maids of honour, Semple and Seaton. The same night the lords conducted her to Leith, whence she was conveyed across the firth of Forth, and finally committed a close prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, which, situated in the middle of the lake, and belonging to Douglas, one of the most zealous of the confederates, was looked upon as a place from which escape was impossible. It is said that on her way, she was dressed in mean garments and mounted on a miserable hackney, and thus exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and that even Kirkaldy of Grange expostulated against this treatment, until he was shown an intercepted letter, written by Mary from her prison in Edinburgh to Bothwell, in which she declared she would never desert him, and implying that she hoped ultimately to bring him back.

A few days had thus brought about an extraordinary revolution, which seems to have been totally unexpected by the foreign powers. The popular leaders in Scotland had for once begun and carried through their work without any direct reference to England, but now that it was done, they were placed rather in an embarrassing position with regard both to England and to France, the more so as the latter power, through Du Croc, had been intriguing with the Scottish lords, and it was very likely that the jealousy of Elizabeth would be awakened. Under these circumstances, one of their first steps



was to send an envoy to the English queen. He was to declare to Elizabeth that the only motive which had induced them to take up arms was the punishment of the king's murder, and that it was their intention, as soon as this was accomplished, to restore their queen to her liberty. As rumour had gone abroad that they intended to depose the queen, and crown the young prince, they positively disclaimed any such design. They did not conceal that offers had been made to them on the part of France, but they declared that they were ready to refuse these, and to submit entirely to the guidance of England, requiring in return for such submission an advance of three or four thousand crowns to pay their soldiers.

Immediately after this, the Scottish lords dispatched their letters to France, justifying their recent proceedings, and full of professions of amity and regard. They were much less in the dark with regard to the policy of the French king than with regard to that likely to be followed by Elizabeth, for the French ambassador, while professing the utmost anxiety for the queen, was holding counsel with her opponents, and assuring them of assistance from France, and he is said to have proposed that the young prince should be sent over to France to be educated, and to have advised them, now they had got their queen into their hands, to keep her safe. The Scottish lords had now gained experience in diplomacy; their natural leaning was towards England, but as they were uncertain what Elizabeth's sentiments might be, they kept the French in hand with fair words, and avoided committing themselves until they received some decided answer from England.

At this moment, when the triumph of the lords seemed complete, the desertion of sir James Balfour, to whom Bothwell had delivered the custody of Edinburgh castle as his deputy, relieved them of all anxiety with regard to that important fortress. Balfour was a man of infamous character, a confidential agent of Bothwell, and, as it appeared, a principal actor in the murder of Darnley. By his treachery, the lords became possessed of evidence which seems to have had an important influence on their conduct towards the queen. In the hurry attendant on the rapid events which had

preceded the catastrophe at Carberry Hill, Bothwell had left among his other papers in Edinburgh castle, a casket of documents of the utmost importance, of which he was now anxious to obtain possession. With this object, on the 20th of June, he sent one of his confidential servants named Dalglish, secretly from Dunbar to Edinburgh, with directions to Balfour to deliver the casket into his hands. Balfour obeyed, but he gave private intimation to the lords, and Dalglish was intercepted on his return by the earl of Morton, who thus obtained possession of the casket of documents. The casket was of silver gilt, about a foot in length; it had belonged originally to Francis II., Mary's first husband, whose crown and initials it bore, and had been given to Bothwell by Mary after her second husband, Darnley's death. In this casket were found a number of letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and twelve sonnets also addressed to him, with two contracts of marriage, all, except one of the latter, in the queen's handwriting. The letters and sonnets were in French; the former gave full evidence of Mary's complicity in the death of her husband, and both they and the sonnets showed her connexion with Bothwell before her husband's death. It would appear that Bothwell, suspicious of the queen's mutability of temper, had secretly preserved these documents to be his own protection, in case the queen should herself turn from him, and that he was now anxious to obtain possession of them, in the belief that he might soon have to appeal to them for his vindication. With such proofs of the queen's guilt in their hands as these, the lords seem from this moment to have resolved on deposing her, and on compelling her consent by threatening to bring her to a public trial.

Such is the account of the discovery of this casket of papers, as given by those most capable of explaining it, inasmuch as they were the men concerned in the transactions. Doubts have been thrown upon the story, but I must confess, that after a fair consideration of what has been said on both sides, it appears to me that the main ground for such doubts is the wish not to believe it.\*

As might be supposed, the first intelli-

\* The question is, on the whole, very fairly discussed by Malcolm Laing. The documents themselves are unfortunately only preserved in the copies of them delivered to the English government, and

with regard to the letters, these are only translations. But the originals were seen by many persons well acquainted with Mary's handwriting, who expressed no doubt of their authenticity. On the contrary,



gence of these extraordinary events surprised the courts of England and France. Elizabeth, especially, felt embarrassed at the position which Scottish affairs had assumed without her interference. Her notions of royal prerogative and inviolability were shocked at the sight of a sovereign, so nearly related to her, thrown into prison by her subjects, yet she perceived the danger to Scotland and to her own interests which would arise from the deliverance of Mary at the present moment, and, as she had often done before, she adopted a middle course, which procured for her the confidence of neither party. She professed outwardly a great anxiety for the liberation and restoration of the Scottish queen, while she was suspected of giving private encouragement to her opponents. Robert Melvil, who had been sent to Elizabeth by Mary, to defend her marriage, was still in England, and Elizabeth dispatched him home with a letter to Mary, in the belief that he would obtain ready access to her. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was at the same time directed to hold himself ready to proceed to Edinburgh as Elizabeth's ambassador.

The king of France had been fully instructed of the progress of affairs in Scotland by his ambassador Du Croc, to whom, apparently before they had taken any decisive turn, M. de Villeroy was sent with new and secret instructions, which clearly show that it was at this time the wish of France to ally itself with the insurgent lords. He was to tell Du Croc that the king's opinion was unfavourable to Mary, that he looked upon the cause of the Scottish lords as a just one, that he feared they were supported by England, and that it was his great anxiety to preserve and strengthen the Scottish influence in Scotland. The king desired that Du Croc "should consider well the state in which things were there, and especially in which they are likely to fall with regard to the queen of Scots, to whom he will give all favour and aid, but not in anything that will be to the loss and ruin of her kingdom, and to the injury of the king's service and affairs, the said English having the intention which they seem to me to bear internal evidence of being authentic; there is much in them that a forger would never have thought of, and much, I think, which he would never have known; and it is not likely that he would have made them so long and rambling. Tytler seems to make a principal point of the circumstance that their discovery is not mentioned in

have, which must be duly taken into consideration, in order, according as the said sieur du Croc shall know it to be necessary to be done by the said sieur de Villeroy or himself, to tell the said lords that the king cannot believe that the mother, whom he esteems honourably virtuous, and kindly, should have any other intention than the good of her son and kingdom, and, consequently, that of her good subjects; things which have kept him hitherto from giving faith to the report that the said lords had risen against her in the name of her son, and that there was discussion among them, which threatened so great evil as he would be sorry to see in that country; assuring them at the same time that his majesty will espouse and embrace always earnestly whatever shall be for the weal and maintenance of the kingdom in its entire, without any other respect but to reason and equity; and he will use on his side all his efforts to restore good intelligence between the said queen and them, and to put her in the good and suitable way to hinder those who seek their ruin from effecting their purpose." Villeroy had arrived in Scotland when Mary was already a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven, and he returned to France on the 26th of June, the lords having refused to allow him or Du Croc to visit Mary in her prison.

Immediately after the capture of the queen, the lords had commenced proceedings against the inferior agents in the assassination of the king. The first persons seized were the notorious captain Cullen, with captain Blacater, who is said to have been captured at sea, and a foreigner named Sebastian de Villours. The latter was soon discharged; Cullen was said to have made a full and long confession to the secret council, but it was never brought forward, and for some reason or other we hear no more of him; Blacater was tried for the murder, condemned, and executed, but he died protesting his innocence. Bothwell remained in his castle of Dunbar until the 26th of June, when there appeared a proclamation of the lords of the secret council for his arrest. Next day he set sail with three ships, directing his course towards the contemporary correspondence between Drury and Cecil; but surely the Scottish lords, when they had obtained by stealth such documents as these, were not likely to make the circumstance public, until they had determined what to do with them, and before they had ascertained what were Elizabeth's sentiments towards their cause.



northern isles. The laird of Grange was sent with some ships in pursuit of him, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, but Bothwell with the third made his escape, and sailed towards Norway. He was at length seized by the Danish cruisers, and being, it is said, charged and convicted of piracy, he was thrown into prison at Malmoe, and kept there the rest of his life. Some obscurity seems however to hang over his history after his flight from Scotland.

Meanwhile, signs of new troubles in Scotland had already begun to show themselves. The Hamiltons saw that their private interests were in danger, and began to intrigue against the lords in Edinburgh. They were led by the archbishop of St. Andrews, whose elder brother, the duke of Châtelherault, now in France, was next heir to the throne after the queen and her child, and they saw that the present tendency of affairs was to raise the latter to the crown, with a regency which would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the earl of Murray, or into those of one of the confederate lords. Although they had never been remarkable for their loyalty to the queen, they determined to effect her release and restoration rather than allow a regency to be established. After various consultations, they assembled on the 29th of June at Dumbarton, where they were joined by the earls of Argyle and Huntley, who had deserted the confederates. Their party was also strengthened by the support of the earl of Crawford, and the lords Herries, Scaton, and Fleming. Their chief directors were Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lesley, bishop of Ross. They were bold enough to issue a proclamation, calling upon all good subjects to be ready at nine hours' warning to assemble in arms for the delivery of their queen.

Alarmed at these preparations, the confederates were now anxious for the return of the earls of Murray and Lennox, who were both in France. But they found the strongest support in their enterprises from the decided protestant feeling which now prevailed in Scotland, and which they enlisted on their side.

The protestant preachers, who possessed great influence over the people, had indeed always been opposed to the queen. They suspected all her concessions, and believed firmly that it was her intention eventually to re-establish popery, and they knew that she had never recognised the parliament held at Edinburgh in 1560, by which the

reformed religion was established. They were further convinced that Mary was an accomplice with Bothwell in the murder of her husband, and they had not shrunk from demanding justice against her as the principal criminal. When the confederates entered Edinburgh, after the escape of Bothwell from Borthwick castle, the earl of Glencairn had signalized his reforming zeal by entering violently the royal chapel of Holyrood, and destroying the altar, with the shrines and images; and though that was blamed by some, it gave great satisfaction to the ministers of the reformed religion, and prepared them to expect still greater things from the triumph of his party, which they were ready to support with all their influence. The lords were not blind to the advantage of this alliance, and now that they had obtained the mastery, an assembly of the church was called to meet at Edinburgh on the 25th of June.

This assembly was rendered remarkable by the reappearance of John Knox, who had been living in retirement, it is supposed, in the neighbourhood of Berwick, since the murder of Riccio. He believed that the time was now come for the utter destruction of popery in Scotland, and he came forward to assume again the same bold and prominent position which he had held when the Scottish protestant church was struggling for existence. It was he who virtually negotiated the alliance between the confederates and the preachers. He stipulated, as a principal condition, that the lords should recognise the parliament of 1560, and, as no scruples could possibly stand in their way, this proposal was at once agreed to without hesitation. They further agreed to restore the patrimony of the church, which had been seized and devoted to civil uses; to entrust the education of youth in colleges and public schools entirely to the reformed clergy; to put down "idolatry" by force of arms, if necessary; to commit the education of the prince to a godly and grave governor; and to seek out and punish rigorously the murderers of the king. These matters being adjusted, Knox again appeared publicly in the pulpit, and exerted his voice with the same success as ever over the popular feelings. One subject of concern still remained. The assembly was adjourned to the 20th of July, and it was determined to make an immediate effort to gain over the protestant nobles, such as Argyle, Huntley, and



Herries, who had joined the faction of the Hamiltons. Letters were written to them in the name of the church, requesting their attendance at the adjourned meeting of the assembly in Edinburgh, and Knox, with three others of the leading preachers, Craig, Douglas, and Row, went to them and urged upon them the necessity of a general union in the cause of the church. They were, however, unsuccessful; and to guard against any attempt of the opposing faction, the confederate lords, or, as they now termed themselves, the secret council, determined to exact from Mary a resignation of the crown, and to place it upon the head of the young prince.

It was at this moment that Robert Melvil, Mary's ambassador, returned from England. Melvil had, as we have seen before, joined the party of the nobles, and he had been acting at the court of Elizabeth more for their interests than for those of his mistress. The English queen, though strongly prejudiced against the principle that subjects might rise against their sovereign, was at the same time well aware of the folly of Mary's conduct, and convinced that the success of the lords would ensure the triumph of protestantism and the establishment of the English influence in opposition to that of France, and she seems to have secretly promised Melvil that she would assist them under certain conditions and limitations, and even to have consented to the coronation of the young prince, if Mary could be persuaded to resign the crown voluntarily. Melvil repaired directly to Edinburgh, where he had an interview with the lords, and informed them of Elizabeth's promises. Two days after his arrival, on the 1st of July, Melvil wrote a long letter to Cecil, which has been printed from the original in the state-paper office, by Tytler, and which throws such an interesting light on the state of affairs, that it deserves to be given in the original words.

"It may please your honour," Melvil writes, "to be advertised, I came to this town upon the 29th of June, and have imparted the queen's majesty's good disposition in the assisting and partaking with the lords to prosecute the murderers of the king, and to preserve the prince in the custody of the earl of Mar. Whereof the said lords most humbly thank her highness. The whole particularities that I had your honour's advice in, according to the queen your sovereign's meaning, is not at this

present resolved on, by reason the most part of the noblemen are gone to their houses, to repose them and their friends, except the earls of Morton and Athol, with my lord Hume, my lord Lethington, sir James Balfour, captain of the castle, who is daily in council with them, and Mr. James Makgill, and the justice clerk. The cause of their going from this town is by some bragging of the Hamiltons, with the earl of Huntley, minding to convene their forces, and make their colour for the delivery of the queen; albeit it be credibly reported, that they fear the king's murder to be laid to some of their charges, I mean the bishop of St. Andrews; wherefore it was thought most convenient that the noblemen and gentlemen should in the mean time have their friends in readiess. Before my coming, the lords did write divers instructions unto me, besides a letter written to the queen's majesty (Elizabeth), subscribed by them. The effect whereof was, that as they did understand by me of the good inclination of your mistress and council being addicted to help them in their most need, so, for their parts, their good will to do her majesty service, before all other, with time shall be declared. As for their dealing with France, they have used them so discreetly, as neither France may have any just cause to be offended, and the queen your sovereign be well pleased. The lords presently (*at the present*) need but money, for they have already enlisted divers men of war, and are taking up more. The Hamiltons are judged to be maintained by the queen's (Mary's) substance, and countenanced by France to have money, seeing France is in doubt to persuade our noblemen. Wherefore, sir, it is most needful, that, with all expedition, money may be procured of the queen your sovereign, and sent hither with sir Nicholas Throckmorton, or by some of the borders; for that necessity that they will be prest to will be within eight or ten days, which I thought meet to advertise your honour of. And what order shall be taken for my going to the queen is not agreed upon, by reason the most part of the lords are not present; and my lord Lethington, being greatly empesched (*hindered*) with affairs, might not have leisure to concur at length, but is glad to understand of the care your honour has, that we should do all things by justice and moderation. And that the queen your sovereign may be content with your conference with me, he does well like of your advice in divers



heads; always, there is matter enough probable (*proveable*) to proceed upon that matter we first agreed upon, and farther if thought expedient. Ye shall with diligence be advertised; and I refer the rest to my lord of Lethington's letter, who does repose himself upon the care he hopes your honour will continue in, for to set forward their honourable enterprise; and the lords, for their part, will accord with your ambassador to keep the prince; and to her highness' desire will put him in the custody of her majesty, if at any time hereafter they shall be minded to suffer her to go in any other country."

On the very day he wrote this letter, the 1st of July, Melvil was allowed to go to Loehleven, and was admitted to an interview with the Scottish queen. It does not appear that Mary was subjected to any special ill-treatment, but she was kept in rigorous confinement, and two of the fiercest of the confederates, Lindsay and Ruthven, were her keepers. The castle belonged to sir William Douglas, a zealous member of the confederacy, whose mother, the lady Douglas (the lady of the castle), a daughter of lord Erskine, was the mother of the earl of Murray, by king James V., and, being a proud dame, she was accustomed to boast that she had been the king's legitimate wife, and that the throne of Scotland really belonged to her son. When Melvil was introduced to the queen, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Douglas, insisted on being present at the conference, pleading the orders of the secret council, which they persisted in enforcing, in spite of Mary's remonstrances; Melville could therefore do no more than present Elizabeth's letter. A week later, however, he obtained permission to see Mary alone, and in this second interview he tried to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, but only received a peremptory refusal. When Mary's reply on this subject was communicated to the lords, and from them to the public, it excited great indignation, and the pulpits shook with the loud denunciations of the preachers. It was now generally believed that the queen would be brought to a public trial, and there was a universal conviction that the lords possessed some evidence fixing on her the murder of Darnley.

Melvil was soon followed into Scotland by the English ambassador, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whose instructions were delivered to him on the 30th of June. These

instructions were calculated to give satisfaction to neither party. Elizabeth's ambassador was to express to the Scottish queen, her great grief and indignation that more vigorous steps had not been taken to discover and punish the murderers of her husband; and to tell her, that after her disgraceful marriage with the man pointed out as the assassin, it was the intention of the English queen to take no further interest in the affairs of a princess who seemed so utterly reckless of her own honour; but that these feelings had been considerably softened by the rebellious conduct of the Scottish nobles. Throckmorton was to insist on the impropriety of subjects assuming the sword, and taking upon themselves to punish the crimes of the prince, whatever these might have been; and he was authorized to tell Mary, that his royal mistress so entirely disapproved of their proceedings in this respect, that she was ready to employ force to obtain her liberty. She was prepared, nevertheless, to give her assistance in tracing out and punishing the murderers of the king, and in promoting any measures for the preservation of the young prince. He was further to state to Mary all the charges brought against her by her subjects, and to hear her replies to them.

The English ambassador found his mission far less easy than he probably imagined, for the leaders of the popular party were crafty and politic. Lethington met him at Coldingham, on the 12th of July, and conducted him to Fastcastle, a small but strong fortress overhanging the German Ocean, and belonging to lord Hume. Here they found Hume himself and sir James Melvil, and, after a conference on the state of affairs, Throckmorton wrote a dispatch to Cecil, in which he informed him of the suspicion with which the Scottish nobles regarded Elizabeth's policy. They had told him that they were convinced that, if they ran her fortune, as they expressed it, she would in the end leave them in the briars. They declared that, if the English queen really wished them to set Mary free, it was evident she sought their ruin, for if she were at liberty there was no chance of pursuing the murderers of the late king, but, on the contrary, they would themselves become objects of vengeance. Throckmorton was convinced that, although France was making much greater advances towards the nobles than Elizabeth, they were acting towards that power in the most cautious manner, carefully abstaining



from committing themselves so far as in any way to affect their negotiations with England. The same day Throckmorton was conducted by lord Hume with an escort of four hundred horse to Edinburgh. Next day (the 13th of July), was a solemn fast among the protestant leaders, and the ambassador could obtain no interview with the lords; but he was visited by Lethington in the evening, and learnt from him enough to be convinced that he would not be allowed to see the queen. It was represented, that as they had denied this favour to the ambassador of France, it could not well be granted to the English ambassador without provoking unnecessary jealousy. Throckmorton's account of the feelings of the public with regard to this unhappy princess, showed that Elizabeth's interference in her favour was not likely to have any satisfactory results. He informed Elizabeth that there was very little unity or zeal among the lords who had joined together to rescue the queen. The Hamiltons, who were so nearly related to the crown, had their own interested views, and there were not wanting people to say that their real object was to drive the lords of the secret council into extreme measures, that, by making away with the queen, they might clear the way for the ambition of their opponents. Argyle was understood to be secretly tampering with the lords. Even Herries, who had shown more devotion to Mary's cause, was beginning to show a still greater attachment to his own interests.

Throckmorton soon found that the Scots were not inclined to listen to Elizabeth's high doctrines of passive obedience. Their preachers, with whom George Buchanan was now an active coadjutor, were daily preaching from the pulpit the contrary duty of resistance to unrighteous princes and governors; and Throckmorton told Elizabeth, that it had become "a public speech among all the people, that their queen had no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm." As usual, they supported this doctrine by examples of the punishment of wicked princes taken from the Old Testament, and these tended to inflame people's minds more and more, until it was difficult to restrain the populace from the most violent demonstrations, and the outcry for vengeance against the Scottish queen became almost irresistible. Amid this excitement, Melvil was sent again to Lochleven,

and in a private interview, by direction of the lords, he made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to prevail upon Mary to renounce Bothwell. He carried with him a letter from Throckmorton, who strongly urged her to listen to Melvil's appeal, but it was all to no purpose. She stated her belief that she was with child, and declared that she would never make her offspring illegitimate by ignoring its father. She then entrusted Melvil with a letter to the lords, in which she requested, on the score of health, that she might be removed to Stirling, where she would have the satisfaction at times of seeing her son. She said that she was willing to resign the government into the hands of the earl of Murray, or to a council of the nobility; but she desired that, as the mother of their prince, and the daughter of their king, she might receive gentler treatment than she experienced at present. When Melvil was leaving, Mary produced a letter, which she requested him to forward to Bothwell, but on his refusal she threw it in anger on the fire.

The obstinacy with which Mary persisted in her attachment to Bothwell increased the popular resentment, and the lords were now publicly called upon to bring her to a trial. They were among themselves much divided in opinion as to the extent to which it was wise to proceed. The more moderate proposed that she should be restored to the throne, if she would consent to a divorce from Bothwell, but to this it was now evident her consent would not be obtained. Athol, who was supported to a certain degree by Morton, proposed that Mary should resign in favour of the prince, and that she should herself retire to France. But the majority of the counsel were for bringing her to a public trial, and condemning her to perpetual imprisonment, as guilty of the murder of the king her husband. It must be observed that this circumstance is sufficient to convince us that the lords were at this time in possession of the casket of letters already mentioned, for the consciousness of the existence of such evidence could alone produce that certainty of conviction which they showed when they talked of bringing their queen to a public trial. Other incidental allusions have been pointed out, which leave the same impression upon the mind. It is clear that everybody believed, for some reason or other, that the result of a trial would be fatal to the queen's character. Throckmorton had discovered



on the 21st of July, that the nobles had resolved to crown the young prince, with the queen's consent, if it could be obtained, and if not, they were ready to proceed against her publicly, by bringing forward such evidence as they said they had obtained of her guilt, which was sufficient to touch her life and honour. In accordance with this, we learn from subsequent letters of the English ambassador, that Lindsay and Robert Melvil were sent to her on the 24th, to exhort her to a voluntary resignation of the crown, in which case "they would endeavour themselves to save both her life and honour, both which otherwise stood in great danger." And Throckmorton stated his own belief, that if the lords could not by fair means induce Mary to assent to this proposal, they meant to charge her judiciously with the violation of the common and statute laws, with adultery with Bothwell, and with the murder of her husband, "of which, as they said, they had sufficient evidence under her hand." This evidence could be no other than the letters and sonnets found in the silver casket.

Such was the state of feeling when the general assembly of the church met again at Edinburgh, and the question of proceeding against Mary was debated there with great warmth. The earnest expostulations of the English ambassador were required to prevent them from adopting extreme resolutions, and at length their feelings became so far moderated, that it was resolved she should be required to resign the government to the earl of Murray, according to a suggestion which had been intimated by herself. It was in consequence of this resolution that Lindsay and Melvil were sent to visit her in her prison at Lochleven.

Peoples' eyes were now turned to the earl of Murray, who, still in France, had given no decided intimation of the part he intended to take. Although fully informed of the objects and desires of all parties, he as yet carefully avoided compromising himself with any, but he prepared to return to Scotland, in obedience to the earnest request of his friends in that country. His inclinations appeared to lean towards the queen, to whom he sent Nicholas Elphinston, one of his servants, to assure her of his affection and of his desire to serve her; and, though he steadily refused the most tempting offers of the king of France to attach him to his interests, he directed Elphinston to seek an interview with Elizabeth on his way, to con-

sult with her on the position of affairs. On his arrival in London, on the 8th of July, Elphinston was admitted to a secret conference with Elizabeth, which lasted an hour, and the English queen was so convinced of Murray's intention to labour for the deliverance and restoration of his sovereign, that she determined herself to adopt suddenly a more decided policy in promoting the same object. On Elphinston's departure, she called one of her gentlemen, Mr. Heneage, who was in waiting in the antechamber, and directed him immediately to inform Cecil of the arrival of the earl of Murray's messenger, and of the intention of the earl to take part with Mary against her rebellious nobles. Heneage was further to convey to Elizabeth's minister her directions on the subject. "Tell Cecil," she said, "that he must instantly write a letter, in my name, to my sister, to which I will set my hand, for I cannot write it myself, as I have not used her well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past. The purport of it must be, to let her know that the earl of Murray never spoke defamedly of her for the death of her husband; never plotted for the secret conveyance of the prince to England; never confederated with the lords to depose her; on the contrary, now in my sister's misery let her learn from me the truth, and that is, that she has not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland."

I think that Tytler is mistaken in imagining that Elizabeth had in this letter made "an admission from her own lips" of her "insidious dealing" with Mary. By not having "used her well and faithfully," she seems to me simply to mean that she had not exerted herself so much as she ought to have done, according to her own high notions of the dignity and inviolability of princes, to protect her from the violence of her subjects. In fact, although she had all along expressed the strongest disapprobation of their proceedings, she had acted with great caution and forbearance; but now, believing that Murray was entirely in Mary's interest, and thinking that his appearance in Scotland would lead at once to her deliverance from prison, the English queen seems to have repented of her cautious dealing, and to have wished to appear to be acting more decidedly and more vigorously in her favour. Thinking that if she now wrote an autograph letter, it would seem as though a sudden change had taken place in



her mind, and as if she were now only following in Murray's footsteps, she wished a letter to be written in her name by her secretary, as though it were a matter of course, in which she might recommend Murray to the Scottish queen as if he were

acting under her counsels and in continuation of her own policy. As Tytler remarks, Heneage's letter shows that at this time Murray was acting independently, and that he was not a party to the schemes of the confederates.

### CHAPTER XIII.

MARY DEPOSED, AND JAMES VI. CROWNED; ARRIVAL OF THE EARL OF MURRAY IN SCOTLAND; HE ACCEPTS THE REGENCY.

WE are not acquainted with the further steps taken in accordance with Elizabeth's instructions, but nothing could now stop the downward course of Mary's fortunes. The general assembly of the church was still only prorogued, and meetings of the protestant clergy were held, in which the position of the kingdom was taken into earnest consideration, and it was the general wish that the queen should be brought to trial, and that if found guilty of the murder of her husband, and of previous adultery with Bothwell, of which no one seemed to doubt, she should be put to death. Few anywhere spoke in the queen's vindication, and we are assured that the expostulations of the English ambassador alone hindered these extreme measures from being carried into effect, until the leaders gradually adopted more moderate sentiments, and it was decided to act upon the suggestion which Mary herself had started, that she should resign the government to the earl of Murray, with the further provision that the young prince her son should be crowned. Lindsay, who was at this time in Edinburgh, was immediately sent back to Lochleven in company with Robert Melvil, and they carried with them three instruments which the queen was to be required to sign. The first of these was a resignation of the crown to her son, with directions for his immediate coronation; the second was an act by which she conferred the regency, during James's infancy, on the earl of Murray; and by the third she appointed the duke of Châtelherault, with the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, regents of the kingdom until Murray's arrival, with power to continue

in that office if he refused to accept it. This circumstance shows sufficiently that the lords were not at this time certain of the course which Murray would pursue.

On their arrival at Lochleven, Melvil was first admitted to a private interview with the captive queen. He informed her of the documents which she was expected to sign, assured her of the danger which threatened her if she refused, and informed her of the proposal to bring her to a public trial, and of written evidence of her guilt which was in the possession of the lords of the secret council. He brought a message from Athol and Lethington persuading her to the same course, as well as a letter from Throckmorton, and it is said that the English ambassador, as well as Melvil, intimated as a reason for signing the documents, that as it was done in captivity and under restraint, the deeds would not be valid. Mary, however, refused all concession, and declared with passion that she would rather lay down her life than her crown; until at length the earl of Lindsay was introduced, when the sight of this fierce baron, whose life she had but recently threatened, and who seems always to have inspired her with terror, overcame her scruples. With tears in her eyes she took the pen, and without condescending to read the documents, she placed her signature to them. They were carried back in triumph to the capital, and it is said that when the keeper of the privy seal, Thomas Sinclair, objected to the documents as irregular, Lindsay took possession of his house by force, and seizing upon the seal, compelled him to fix it to the resignation. The lords now resolved to lose no time in completing the



work they had begun, and they fixed an early day for the coronation, and sent a formal invitation to the Hamiltons and their party to be present. Throckmorton was also invited to attend, but he refused, on the plea that the lords had shown contempt towards his mistress in not following her advice. The Hamiltons also declined, but in so doing they disavowed all hostility, and pleaded merely that from the first they had been no party to the proceedings of the other lords. They seemed, in fact, to concur in the present proceedings, though they wished them to be done without their complicity, for there was no talk of opposition; and so far did this appearance of secret understanding go, that when the Hamiltons presented a protest that this coronation should not prejudice the title of the duke of Châtelherault as next heir to the crown, the lords granted their request without hesitation.

Preparations were immediately made for performing the ceremony of coronation with the utmost solemnity, and the lords repaired to Stirling, where the prince was kept. A warm dispute now arose between Knox with one part of the clergy, who insisted that the process of anointing should be laid aside as an obsolete Jewish custom; and the lords, who were especially anxious on the present occasion that no part of the solemnity should be omitted. This question was decided against Knox. On the 29th of July, the prince, who was then only thirteen months old, was carried in the arms of his governor, the earl of Mar, to the high church of Stirling. The earl of Athol carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, and Glencairn the sword. When all things were prepared in the church, the queen's acts of resignation were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven declared upon oath that they were her own free acts. A sermon was then preached by Knox. After this, the ceremony of coronation was performed, the bishop of Orkney placing the crown on the king's head, while the earl of Morton, with his hands on the gospels, promised on behalf of his sovereign that he should maintain the reformed religion, and labour to extirpate idolatry and heresy. The oaths of allegiance were then taken by the representatives of the two estates, and Mar carried back the new king, who had been crowned as James VI., to the castle. The event was celebrated in the capital with great rejoicing.

A messenger was now dispatched to France to inform the earl of Murray that he had been appointed regent, and all parties waited anxiously for his decision. Down to the present time his real sentiments on the position of affairs remained a profound secret. Whatever outward demonstration he had made was in favour of his queen, and in opposition to the lords, but at all events, he showed a resolution to suspend his judgment until his arrival in Scotland, where he would have a better opportunity of examining the proofs of guilt or innocence. Before he left Paris, however, Murray received information of the casket of letters, conveyed to him, it is supposed, by his servant Elphinstoun, and his informant assured him that he had seen and read a letter from Mary to Bothwell, which proved that she was a party to the murder of her husband.

At the French court, no means were left untried to secure the earl of Murray in the French interests, and high honours were offered him, which he refused. When it was found that nothing but general professions of friendship could be obtained from him, and it was suspected that his leaning towards England remained as strong as ever, impediments were thrown in the way of his departure from France, but these also he overcame. When at last the earl proceeded on his journey, the French king sent after him one of the gentlemen of his chamber, M. de Lignerolles, as his ambassador to the confederate lords, but whose real business is understood to have been to watch Murray's conduct, both at the court of Elizabeth, which he proposed to visit on his way, and in Scotland. His instructions, which are preserved, and have been recently printed, are evidently but a cover to the secret object of his mission. De Lignerolles was directed first to visit the court of Elizabeth, and to present to that princess complimentary letters from the French king and the queen-mother. If Elizabeth inquired of him the purpose of his mission to Scotland, he was to say that the king having received intelligence from his ambassadors De Villeroy and Du Croc of the miserable state of anarchy to which Scotland was reduced, had sent him to inquire further into the state of affairs there, and to labour to promote peace and union. "Thence," the instructions continue, "he shall pass into Scotland, where he will find Murray, who, as he says, is returning there with the





Engraved by H. Robinson.

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY.

(REGENT OF SCOTLAND.)

OB. 1570.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.







intention to adjust matters as far as he can, and to put them back into the best way that shall be possible. Which the said sieur de Lignerolles will be able enough to judge on the spot, and by his behaviour." He was to watch the course of events closely, and to let no opportunity escape of furthering the interests of France, whether he treated collectively with the government, or individually with the nobles, for which purpose he was furnished with blank letters of credit, to be filled up and used as he might see fit. "There are two parties," say the king's directions, "in the said kingdom, one the Stuarts, who are those who have the queen and the prince in their power, and use for a cover to their enterprise the death of the late king, and the demand for justice; the other, that of the Hamiltons, nearer in degree to the succession to the throne, who, as it is understood, shows a desire that the said lady should be released from the captivity in which she is." De Lignerolles was to use his endeavours to fathom the designs of both parties, and, as far as we can understand his instructions in this point, he was to ally himself with that which was likely to be the stronger. At all events, he was to do his best to obtain some relaxation of the queen's imprisonment, and he was to declare to the lords that the king of France would be grieved if any extreme severity was exercised against one who was so nearly related to himself.

When the earl of Murray arrived at the English court, Elizabeth immediately admitted him to her presence, but she seems to have been entirely mistaken in the expectations she had formed of his submission to her will. She spoke to him in a dictatorial tone of her intention to restore Mary to liberty, and punish her rebellious subjects; and when he expostulated, she upbraided him, and dismissed him in anger. Murray reached Edinburgh on the 11th of August, and he seems to have found Mary's cause looking much less favourably than even he expected. This unfortunate princess had, indeed, so entirely lost the respect, and, consequently, the love of her subjects, that those who still made any open demonstration in her favour, were led merely by self-interest and personal ambition. This was especially the case with the faction of the Hamiltons, and the correspondence of the English ambassador, Throckmorton, who was still in Edinburgh watching the course of events, reveals to us the dark intrigues in

which they were engaged. Elizabeth, following her own feelings in this matter, and offended at the little regard the lords had shown for her advice, had ordered her ambassador to hold no further intercourse with them, and he paid strict obedience to her directions; but, on the 7th of August, when the lords were assembled in Edinburgh, awaiting the arrival of the earl of Murray, one of them, the laird of Tullibardine, who held the office of comptroller, paid the English ambassador a visit. Throckmorton received him coldly, and began at once to expostulate on the recent conduct of the lords, threatening them with Elizabeth's hostility unless they reversed their proceedings, and released their queen from captivity. To this Tullibardine replied, that the policy now followed by the queen of England was more dangerous to Mary's person than any she could have chosen. "For," said he, "within the last forty-eight hours, the archbishop of St. Andrews, on the part of the Hamiltons, has proposed to us to put the queen to death. They have recommended this course as the only certain method of reconciling all parties; and, on our consenting to adopt it, they are ready to join us to a man, and to bring Argyle and Huntley along with them." Throckmorton was thunderstruck at this statement, and expressed strongly his disbelief of it, adducing a variety of arguments to show the impolicy of taking Mary's life. "These matters you speak of," replied Tullibardine, "have been in question amongst them (the Hamiltons), but now they see not so good an outgaith (*exit*) by any of those devices as by the queen's death. For, she being taken away, they account but the little king betwixt them and home (*i.e.* the succession), who may die. They love not the queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them; and they fear her the more, because she is young, and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of."

Whatever may have been Throckmorton's incredulity with regard to the information thus given him, it was fully confirmed by Lethington, who, the same evening, paid him a visit on the part of the lords of the secret council. When the ambassador reproached him with their hasty proceedings, and especially with proceeding to such acts of severity against their queen, "being a prince anointed," without having first imparted their designs to his royal mistress, Lethington said, "My lord ambassador, these



lords did think their cause could suffer no delays; and as for imparting their purposes to the queen's majesty your sovereign, they doubted that neither she would allow that which was meet for them to do, neither could take any of their doings in good part. And where you have charged us with deprivation of the queen from her royal estate, it doth appear by such instruments as I sent you from Stirling, that we have not denuded the queen of her regality, but she hath voluntarily relinquished the same unto her son." Throckmorton retorted by observing, that documents thus procured from a person in prison, and under fear of death, could not be looked upon as voluntary acts. "Yea," said Lethington, "it is you that seek to bring it to pass, what show soever the queen your mistress or you do make to save her life or set her at liberty. For the Hamiltons and you concur together; you have nothing in your mouths but liberty, and nothing less in your hearts. My lord ambassador, I have heard what you have said unto me; I assure you, if you should use this speech unto them which you do unto me, all the world could not save the queen's life three days to an end; and as the case now standeth, it will be much ado to save her life." In answer to some further remarks of Throckmorton, Lethington again said, "Well, my lord, I trust you do not take me to be one that doth thirst my sovereign's blood, or that would stain my conscience with the shedding of the same. You know how I have proceeded with you since your coming hither. I have given you the best advice I could to prevent extremity, and either the queen your sovereign will not be advised, or you do forbear to advise her. I say unto you, as I am a christian man, if we which have dealt in this action would consent to take the queen's life from her, all the lords which hold out and lie aloof from us, would come and conjoin with us within these two days. This morning the bishop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Kilwinning have sent a gentleman unto us for that purpose. And likewise the earl of Huntley hath sent Duncan Forbes, within this hour, to conclude with us upon the same ground. And, to be plain with you, there be very few amongst ourselves which be of any other opinion."

It is evident, from these conversations, that the Hamiltons had no sincere wish for the queen's safety, and that at this time the life of the royal captive was in imminent danger.

Such was the state of things when the earl of Murray arrived in Scotland. The lords of the secret council received him with the utmost respect, and proceeded at once to convince him of the justice of their cause. At Berwick, where he arrived on the 8th of August, he was met by sir James Melvil and sir James Makgill, the lord clerk-register, who represented the violent and the moderate parties in the council, and who gave him a full account of the state of affairs. At the limit between the two countries he was met by about four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, who conducted him in state to Whittingham, where he was received by Morton and Lethington, and where he remained for the night. Next day he entered the capital, in the midst of universal rejoicings. He there spent two days in consultation with the nobles, and with Elizabeth's ambassador, and although he expressed to the latter great commiseration for the captive queen, he had become so far convinced of her guilt, that he saw it would be madness to attempt then to liberate her, and he seemed willing to accept the regency. His chief objection lay in the declaration of Mary's friends that the acts which placed the crown on the head of the prince and appointed him regent had been extorted from her, and to ascertain this from Mary herself, he requested, before giving the lords a final answer, that he might be permitted to visit her in the castle of Lochleven. This permission was given with reluctance, and on the fifteenth of August he proceeded to Lochleven, accompanied by Morton, Athol, and Lindsay. Mary is said to have received them in tears, and to have complained passionately of the manner in which she had been treated. Before supper, she took Murray aside, and questioned him as to the intentions of the lords with regard to her, but, probably himself affected with the nature of his mission, he was silent and reserved. After supper, Mary again conferred with Murray in private, and, addressing him as a brother, spoke of her persecutions and sufferings, and begged him to speak out freely and tell her what she had to expect. Murray now spoke to her with severity and plainness, describing to her one after another all the errors of her eventful history since her ill-fated marriage with Darnley, and told her of the hatred of her subjects, who had determined, on the strength of the casket of letters which had fallen into their hands, to bring her to a trial and put her to



death. She is described as listening to his accusations, weeping and expostulating, confessing some things, excusing or extenuating others, and sometimes denying; and when, after this painful conversation had lasted till after midnight, Murray prepared to retire, Mary, overcome with terror and distress, implored the earl to protect her against the fury of her enraged subjects; but he only bade her seek her refuge in the mercy of God, and departed to his chamber. Early on the next morning the queen sent for him again, and finding that his conversation the preceding night had made a profound impression upon her, he assumed a milder tone, and assured her that as far as he was concerned, he was ready to sacrifice his own life to save hers. He told her that, unfortunately, the decision at present lay, not with him, but with the lords, the church, and the people, and that he had but one voice in it; but he urged her to show herself submissive, to make no attempt to escape or to call in the French or English to deliver her, and above all to show her abhorrence for the murder of her husband, and to lay aside her attachment to Bothwell, and then he hoped that matters might be prevented from running to extremities. Mary seems to have clung like a child to the hope of saving her life, and when Murray had concluded, she started from her seat, threw herself round his neck, and urged him to accept the regency as the only means of salvation for herself and her son. Murray refused, and when pressed again, he explained to her his reasons for declining so weighty and dangerous an honour. Mary urged him more earnestly, until at length with apparent reluctance he gave his consent; and then she suggested that as soon as he was confirmed in the regency, he should begin by getting all the forts into his hands, and she begged him to take her jewels and other articles of value into his own keeping, as the best means of preserving them for her. When Murray parted from her, Mary again threw herself into his arms, and kissed him gratefully,

sending by him her blessing to her son. Then, after recommending her to the indulgence of her keepers, he left the castle and proceeded with his companions to Stirling.

Every one now looked forward to the ceremony of the inauguration of the regent. This was performed on the 22nd of August, in the council chamber at the Tolbooth, with all possible solemnity. The nobility, spirituality, and commissioners of the burghs being there assembled, with the lords of the secret council, the act by which the queen appointed the earl of Murray to the regency was publicly read. A series of articles were then declared, by which the lords and the estates of the kingdom on one part, and the earl of Murray on the other, promised mutually to assist each other in correcting the abuses under which the kingdom had laboured, and in governing it according to justice and right. The earl made an oration, in which he pleaded his unfitness for so high an office as the cause of the reluctance with which he had accepted it. He then laid his hand upon the gospels, and swore solemnly to maintain God's faith in that realm according to his word, as declared in the holy scriptures and set forth by the preachers; to oppose and abolish all false religion which was contrary to the faith as then established; to govern the people committed to his charge "according to the will and commandment of God as contained in his said word, and according to the praiseworthy laws and constitutions received in this realm, as far as they are not repugnant to God's word;" to study to procure and preserve peace; to preserve intact the revenues and rights of the crown; to suppress wrong and protect the people from oppression; to secure to all an equal administration of justice and equity; and to extirpate all heretics and enemies of God's true church. The regent was then proclaimed at the cross in Edinburgh, and through all the counties and burghs of the kingdom, and the proclamation was everywhere received with the warmest demonstrations of joy.



## CHAPTER XIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF MURRAY'S REGENCY; PROCEEDINGS WITH REGARD TO THE MURDERERS OF THE KING;  
MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

MURRAY now entered upon the government of the kingdom, and he exhibited the same energy and decision of character which had marked all his former actions. While showing every disposition to conciliate both Elizabeth and the king of France, he acted independently of both, and he found support in the mutual jealousy of the two monarchs. The very day on which he was proclaimed regent, he invited Throckmorton, the English ambassador, to a conference. Throckmorton, at this moment, shared to a great degree in the feelings of his mistress, who was highly displeased at the earl of Murray for accepting the regency, and taking part with the confederate lords; and, finding Murray and Lethington together, he expressed these sentiments on the part of his mistress in threatening language, charging them to set their queen at liberty, and restore her to her dignity. Lethington, speaking on behalf of the lords, retorted with warmth, disclaiming all intention of injuring the person or honour of their queen. "So far from it," he said, as his words are given in Throckmorton's dispatch, "that we wish her to be queen of all the world; but now she is in the state of a person in the delirium of a fever, who refuses everything which may do her good, and requires all that may work her harm. Be assured, nothing will be more prejudicial to her interest than for your mistress to precipitate matters. It may drive us to a strait, and compel us to measures we would gladly avoid. Hitherto have we been content to be charged with grievous and infamous titles; we have quietly suffered ourselves to be condemned as perjured rebels and unnatural traitors, rather than proceed to anything that might touch our sovereign's honour. But beware, we beseech you, that your mistress, by her continual threats and defamations, by hostility, or by soliciting other princes to attack us, do not push us beyond endurance. Think not we will lose our lives, forfeit our lands, and be challenged as rebels throughout the world, when we have the means to justify ourselves. And if there be no remedy but your mistress will have war, sorry though we be, far rather will we take our fortune,

than put our queen to liberty in her present mood, resolved as she is to retain and defend Bothwell, to hazard the life of her son, to peril the realm, and to overthrow her nobility. For your wars we know them well. You will burn our borders, and we shall burn yours; if you invade us, we do not dread it, and are sure of France; for your practices to nourish dissension among us, we have an eye upon them all. The Hamiltons will take your money, laugh you to scorn, and side with us. At this moment we have the offer of an agreement with them in our hands. The queen your mistress declares she wishes not only for our sovereign's liberty, and her restoration to her dignity, but is equally zealous for the preservation of the king, the punishment of the murder, and the safety of the lords. To accomplish the first, our queen's liberty, much has been done; for the rest, absolutely nothing. Why does not her majesty fit out some ships of war, to apprehend Bothwell, and pay a thousand soldiers to reduce the forts and protect the king? When this is in hand, we shall think her sincere; but for her charge to set our sovereign forthwith at liberty, and restore her to her dignity, it is enough to reply to such strange language, that we are the subjects of another prince, and know not the queen's majesty for our sovereign."

Throckmorton appears to have been astonished at the bold language of Lethington, and, turning from him to the regent, he expressed the hope that he, who had not been banded with these lords, and was no partner to their proceedings, held different sentiments. Murray replied briefly and firmly:—"Truly, my lord ambassador, methinks you have reason at the laird of Lethington's hands. It is true that I have not been at the past doings of these lords, yet I must commend what they have done; and seeing the queen my sovereign and they have laid on me the charge of the regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life."

Throckmorton closed his dispatch, in



which he gave Elizabeth an account of this interview, with a request that, being no longer of any use there, he might be recalled, and the English queen granted his demands; but she directed him to make another appeal to the regent in favour of Mary, and he was to ask to be admitted to an interview with her before leaving Scotland. But this was refused on the same plea as before, namely, that permission to visit the captive queen had been refused to the French ambassador, M. de Lignerolles, and that it would appear invidious to grant it to the ambassador of another power. To the other part of Elizabeth's message, the regent answered in the same spirit as on the occasion of the previous interview; and, satisfied that nothing further was to be done, Throckmorton quitted Edinburgh on the 29th of August.

This same day, Elizabeth had written another letter to her ambassador, which he appears to have received on his way, probably at Berwick. She expressed great displeasure at what she called the rash and peremptory proceedings of the regent and the lords, and directed him to place himself in communication with the Hamiltons, and to assure them that she approved entirely of their endeavours to set their queen at liberty, and that she would give them every assistance in her power. She told him that she had authorized her border warden, lord Scrope, to hold a conference with lord Herries on this subject, and she directed Throckmorton to require lord Scrope, in her name, to favour and aid the Hamiltons in their undertakings.

But the vigour displayed by the new regent soon produced its effect. The attempts of the Hamiltons to embarrass his government were easily defeated, and most of the nobles who had hitherto held neutral, gave in their adherence. The notorious sir James Balfour still held the command of Edinburgh castle, but Murray immediately entered into communication with him, and two days after his accession to the regency, that fortress was delivered into his hands. The terms of this transaction were, however, disapproved by many. Balfour was known to have been a chief agent of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, and he obtained a full remission of all guilt as an accomplice in that crime; he received five thousand pounds in money; and the priory of Pittenweem was granted to himself, and a pension to his son. It must be con-

sidered, however, that the castle of Edinburgh was a very important acquisition to the government, and that Balfour had already made his peace with the lords before the appointment of Murray to the regency. Dunbar and one or two other fortresses were still held by adherents of the queen. The former, which was garrisoned by the retainers of Bothwell, was besieged by the regent in person, and soon surrendered; and the Hamiltons abandoned a plan of resistance, which, urged on probably by the encouragement they received from England, they had decided on, and sought their peace. The earls of Argyle and Huntley, the lords Herries, Boyd, and Livingston, and the abbot of Kilwinning, all gave in their adherence to Murray's government; so that by the middle of September, the regent could boast that he had reduced the whole kingdom to peace.

A more difficult affair to manage was the prosecution of the king's murderers. Bothwell's immediate agents in this transaction were persons in general of a comparatively low degree, but some of the most powerful of the nobles, and those leaders in the party who had driven away Bothwell, and thrown Mary into prison, such as Argyle, Morton, and Lethington, had been parties to the earlier bond for killing the king, and were no doubt more or less cognizant of the murder itself, aware probably, or believing, that it was then desired by Mary. To proceed against these noblemen, or to implicate them in any way, would have been absolute madness; it would have been simply to draw the whole of the hostility of the nobles against the regent, and must have resulted in the overthrow of his government, and the return of that anarchy from which he was anxious to save his country. Moreover, these nobles do not appear to have been directly implicated in the murder itself, which was the work of Bothwell and his agents. Murray, therefore, pursued a prudent policy, if not altogether a righteous one, in shielding from inquiry the nobles alluded to, while he prosecuted with vigour the immediate accomplices of Bothwell. This latter nobleman had entrusted to Balfour the keeping of the original bond of the nobles for killing the king, drawn up at Craigmillar, and bearing, among others, the signatures of Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington; and when Edinburgh castle was surrendered, Balfour delivered this important document to Lethington



himself, who immediately committed it to the flames. Soon after, the regent caused several of the reputed murderers to be seized, among whom was John Hay of Tallo, a principal agent in the crime, whose guilt was soon made manifest, and who made a full confession, in which all the particulars of that dark transaction were fully described, and which is said to have implicated some of the nobles. Murray was embarrassed by this circumstance, and he postponed Hay's trial, and for the present suppressed his confession. Hay himself, with the other individuals arrested at the same time, a page of the king's, named Durham, black John Spense, John Blacater, and James Edmonson, all accused of being active agents in the murder, were kept in close imprisonment.

It was the regent who sent Kirkaldy of Grange, with the laird of Tullibardine, in command of three ships of war, in pursuit of Bothwell. This nobleman, as we have already stated, had betaken himself to piracy, and he had tried in vain to raise a party in his favour in the north of Scotland. He would, probably, have been taken but for an accident which happened to the laird of Grange, whose ship, one of the largest in the Scottish navy, ran aground on a sandbank; but in one of Bothwell's ships which Grange captured, was taken Hepburn of Bolton, another of the active agents in the murder. He also made a confession, which threw great light upon the details of the plot for the king's murder, but it was, like the others, concealed for the present.

The kingdom now seemed reduced to a degree of tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger, and no event of importance occurred till the middle of December, when the Scottish parliament met in accordance with the regent's summons. It was now evident that Murray had identified himself completely with the protestant party, and although there were still bishops and abbots in Scotland, only four of the former appeared in their places in parliament. The old church, however, was represented by fourteen abbots, and of the laity there were twelve earls, sixteen lords and eldest sons of lords (or, as they were termed in Scotland, masters), and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs. The proceedings were opened by Lethington, who, in an able speech, a draught of which has been preserved, described the state of the kingdom, and the reasons for thus calling the estates together. He dwelt

especially on the rapid progress of the reformation in Scotland, and on the small amount of bloodshed and persecution with which it had been attended, in comparison with what had happened in other countries. "As to religion," he said, "the quietness you presently (*at present*) enjoy, declares sufficiently the victory that God by his Word has obtained among you, within the space of eight or nine years; how feeble the foundation was in the eyes of men, how unlikely it was to rise so suddenly to so large and huge a greatness, with what calmness the work has proceeded, not one of you is ignorant. Iron has not been heard within the house of the Lord; that is to say, the whole has been builded, set up, and erected to this greatness, without bloodshed. Note it, I pray you, as a singular testimony of God's favour, and a peculiar benefit granted only to the realm of Scotland, not as the most worthy, but chose out by his providence from among all nations, for causes hid and unknown to us, and to foreshow his Almighty power, that the true religion has obtained a free course universally throughout the whole realm, and yet not a Scotchman's blood shed in the forthsetting of the whole quarrel. With what nation in the earth has God dealt so mercifully? Consider the progress of religion from time to time in other countries, Germany, Denmark, England, France, Flanders, or where you please, you shall find the lives of many thousands spent before they could purchase the tenth part of that liberty whereunto we have attained, as it were sleeping upon down beds."

The ecclesiastics in this parliament seem to have been in general favourable, more or less, to the reformation, for three of the bishops and seven of the abbots were chosen among the lords of the articles. The first business of the estates was to confirm and sanction Mary's resignation of the crown, the coronation of her infant son, and the appointment of the earl of Murray to the regency. The strong protestant feeling of the parliament was shown in acts abolishing the authority of the pope, and in the solemn ratification of the proceedings of the parliament of 1560. All laws repugnant to the word of God were annulled; the Confession of Faith, approved in a former parliament, was sanctioned and published by authority; all heretics and hearers of the mass were made liable to confiscation of moveables for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third; all who opposed



the confession of faith, or refused to receive the sacraments under the form prescribed by the law, were declared to be no members of the church of Christ; strict rules were given for the examination and admission of ministers; and it was made binding on kings at their coronation, and on all who were appointed to act in their name, that they should take the oath for the support of the true church, and the extirpation of heresy. The proposal to restore the patrimony of the church met with great and successful opposition, and it was with much difficulty that they obtained the restoration of a third of the benefices which had been seized by the lay barons. Acts were passed for reforming all schools, colleges, and universities, and the reformed Scottish or presbyterian church was endowed with the sole power in all ecclesiastical matters.

The subject which caused most debate in this parliament—and which, too, shows that it was in every sense of the word a free parliament,—was the imprisonment of the queen. In a meeting of the privy council, on the 16th of September, the earl of Morton had delivered to the regent the casket with the letters and sonnets, and these appear to have been now produced before the estates. There were barons present of various shades of politics, from those who concurred with the preachers that Mary ought to be tried publicly and put to death, to those who held that princes were answerable for their crimes to God alone, and that their conduct could not be questioned by their subjects, yet we hear of no one who believed in Mary's innocence, or who doubted the authenticity of the letters which criminated her. The moderate party in the parliament appear to have been on this occasion the strongest, and it was resolved simply to continue the imprisonment, and pass an act to exonerate the barons and others who had risen in arms against her. This act, which was ordered to be printed in the statutes, declared the conduct and transactions of the lords, from the 10th of February (the day of Darnley's murder,) to the present time, to be lawful and loyal; and that they should never be subjected to any prosecution for what they had done; inasmuch as, if the queen were placed under restraint, it was solely in consequence of her own fault and demerit, seeing that, by several of her private letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to

Bothwell, and by her ungodly and pretended marriage with him, it was most certain that she was cognizant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband.

Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, the trials of the persons arrested for the murder of Darnley were proceeded with. These were Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, George Dalgleish (Bothwell's chamberlain, the same who had been seized with the casket of letters), and William Powrie, another of Bothwell's servants. The confessions of these persons, as far as it was thought proper to commit them to writing, are still preserved. Hay declared that Bothwell had first spoken to him of the intended murder on the 7th of February; that he, Hepburn, and the laird of Ormiston, were, with Bothwell, the chief conspirators; and he described the whole process of carrying in the powder to blow up the king's lodgings, and the assistance they received from Paris, Mary's French servant. He repeated his confession, enlarging and confirming some parts of it, on the scaffold. Hepburn, whose confession was in substance the same as that of Hay, stated that he had been first made acquainted with the plot a day or two after the powder for the blowing up had been brought by Bothwell's orders from Dunbar; when the earl told him, "There is a purpose devised amongst some of the noblemen, and me amongst the rest, that the king shall be slain, and that every one of us shall send two servants to the doing thereof, either on the fields, or otherwise, as he may be apprehended. He said the first plan was to slay the king in the fields, but on further consideration it was determined to blow him up with powder, and that this plan was decided upon on the 7th of February, the very day on which Hay of Tallo was brought into the plot. Hepburn's account of the proceedings connected with the murder was very minute. George Dalgleish declared that he knew not of the purpose of the murder until after it was committed; that Bothwell and the conspirators took him with them, but that he was not made acquainted with their design till after he heard the explosion; and he gave important evidence with regard to Bothwell's subsequent movements before the murder was publicly known. William Powrie stated that he also was only taken into the plot at the moment when the conspirators were starting to put it into execution; but his account of their proceedings is the most minute of them all. The trials of these con-



spirators were hurried through on the 3rd of January, 1568, and they were arraigned, convicted, and executed on the same day.

There can be no doubt that the object of this haste was to screen some of the more powerful of the nobility from being implicated by any further declarations of the criminals, and that whatever they had said to this effect in their former examinations was suppressed. This, at all events, applies to the earl of Huntley, whom at the present moment it was not the interest of the government to offend. He was the first nobleman who was in communication with Bothwell on the night of the murder after it was committed, and we are assured that in the original confession of Hay of Tallo, which was suppressed, this nobleman was accused of having been directly implicated in the murder. With respect to the others, they appear to have been only implicated so far as they had signed the older bond for slaying Darnley. This was all, as far as we know, that is said to have been laid to the charge of Argyle, Huntley, and Lethington, by Hepburn of Bolton.

The calm in public affairs which had lasted during the assembly of parliament, had given Mary's friends time to lay the foundations of new intrigues against the regent, who, by his proceedings in regard to the prosecution of the murderers, had given dissatisfaction to many of those who had hitherto supported him. Many of the extreme party wished to see higher game struck than such men as Hay and Hepburn, and they complained loudly that the regent and his counsellors, moved by selfish considerations, pursued and punished the offenders of low degree, and allowed the principal criminals to pass unpunished. Probably they imagined that several of the nobility were implicated to a greater extent than was really the case; for at a later period, when one of the noblemen against whom the popular suspicions at this time were strongest, had become an object of persecution to the government then existing, and the share he had taken in the murder of Darnley was made a part of his accusation, all that could be proved was that Bothwell had asked him to join in the conspiracy,

assuring him that it was the queen's will, and that he had refused, but that he had not disclosed his knowledge of the design. There were many, moreover, who were bitterly disappointed that Mary herself had not been brought to trial. The consequence was, that the capital teemed with satirical poems and pasquinades, and that handbills, accusing the government of unjust partiality, were attached, under cover of night, to the doors of the privy-council chamber, and the house of the regent.

On the other hand, the very virtues of the regent had provoked the enmity of many of the nobles. The catholics hated him for the favour he had shown to the protestants, and it was suspected that he was further desirous of restoring to the reformed church all the property which had been taken from it by the lay nobility. The nobles accused him also of treating them with pride and coldness, while he laboured to conciliate the commonalty; and the firmness with which he suppressed injustice, and enforced the impartial execution of the laws throughout the kingdom, gained him many enemies among those who during the late unsettled times had paid little attention to either justice or law. Personal feuds, also, soon arose, and separated some of the most influential nobles from the interests of the regent, who had not in all cases satisfied their expectations of reward for the zeal they had shown in overthrowing the late government. Lethington, who had received the sheriffship of Lothian, was too fond of intrigue and change to remain long steady in one purpose, and a coolness arose between him and Murray. Morton was to have the office of lord high admiral, held by Bothwell; Kirkaldy of Grange was made governor of Edinburgh castle, in place of sir James Balfour; and lord Hume was made sheriff of Lauderdale. Huntley and Argyle were also courted with indulgences and promises, but they continued secretly to encourage and favour the Hamiltons, who never laid aside their hatred of the regent. Such was the state of things, when an event occurred, which, but for the energy displayed by the regent, would have overthrown everything that had been done.





*Painted by Rubens.*

THE ESCAPE

*Engraved by J. Rogers.*

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN LOCHLEVEN CASTLE.







## CHAPTER XV.

ESCAPE OF MARY FROM LOCHLEVEN; BATTLE OF LANOSIDE; MARY ESCAPES INTO ENGLAND.

WE hear little of the Scottish queen, in her prison at Lochleven, since the submission of the Hamiltons. Elizabeth's policy seems to have undergone a change, and she had accepted as an established fact the regency of the earl of Murray. All intrigues, therefore, in favour of Mary were discountenanced on her part. From one or two of her letters, which have been preserved, it appears that, in spite of the strict watch which was kept over her actions, Mary contrived to carry on a correspondence with France, and that she was entering into an intrigue with that court for her delivery, the assistance given her for this object being, probably, to be purchased by the re-establishment of the French influence in Scotland. In a letter written to her ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, on the 31st of March, 1568, she begged him to urge the king, the queen-mother, and her uncles of the house of Guise, to burn her letters; "for," she adds, "if they knew that I have written, it would cost their lives to many, and would put mine in hazard, and cause me to be kept more strictly." In the small circuit of her acquaintance within the walls of Lochleven, she had been exerting all her powers of fascination to gain some of her keepers or attendants to her interest, and it is said that even the proud lady Douglas had become softened towards her, while the queen had gained an unbounded influence over the mind of George Douglas, her younger son. Scandal imputed to Mary a closer intimacy with this youth; but this is certain, that sir William Drury, now Elizabeth's chief agent in the Scottish affairs, gives an account, in a letter of the 2nd of April, of an interview which had taken place in Lochleven a few days before, between Mary and the regent, for whom she appears to have sent. In this interview Mary first complained of the rigour which had been used towards her in the proceedings of the parliament, which he excused on the plea, "that he and the rest of the nobility could do no less for their own surety, in respect they had enterprised to put her into captivity." The allusion, no doubt, is to the act of absolution to the confederate lords, in which the contents of Mary's letters to Bothwell had been stated,

and Murray meant that the lords had thought this act necessary for their own justification and protection. "From that," says Drury, "she entered into another purpose, being marriage, praying she might have a husband, and named one to her liking, George Douglas, brother to the lord of Lochleven. Unto the which the earl replied, that he was overmean a marriage for her grace, and said further that he, with the rest of the nobility, would take advice thereupon."

Discouraged in this matter by Murray's reply, Mary and her admirer concerted an ingenious plan for her escape, which very nearly succeeded. On the morning of the 25th of March, George Douglas, with two of Mary's old servants, Semple and Beaton, concealed themselves in the village of Kinross, on the banks of the lake. It appears that the queen was in the habit of remaining in bed long in the morning, and that her keepers were not accustomed to disturb her until a late hour in the forenoon. On the morning in question, the laundress, who had been gained over by the conspirators, came over to the castle at an earlier hour than usual to fetch the queen's dirty linen, and she was admitted without any suspicion into the queen's bed-room. There she undressed, and Mary, having disguised herself in the clothes of the laundress, and, as was customary, thrown her muffler over her face, passed out unnoticed with the bundle of clothes, and stepped into the boat, which was immediately rowed towards the shore. But it happened unfortunately for Mary that the boatmen were in a merry humour, and supposing her to be no more than a washerwoman, and willing to have a joke at her expense, one of them said, "let us see what manner of dame this is," and offered to pull down her muffler. Mary instantly raised her hands to protect herself, and the boatmen observing that they were very fair and white, immediately suspected the truth. Mary, finding herself discovered, declared herself, and with the authority of a queen, she commanded them on peril of their lives to land her on the opposite bank. Instead of obeying, they immediately turned back to the castle, though to pacify her, they promised, if she would steal back to her room,



they would give no information of her attempt to escape. This promise, however, they did not keep; and when the attempt was made known to the government, George Douglas was dismissed from the castle, and Mary's movements were more closely watched.

The failure of Mary's first attempt at escape appears to have given her great chagrin, which was increased by the intelligence of the peace of Longjumeau, between Charles IX. and his subjects, which seemed to cut off all hopes of assistance from France. On the 31st of March she contrived to send a messenger to that country, who was the bearer of the letters already alluded to. In the course of the month of April, the French king sent Monsieur de Beaumont as his ambassador to Scotland, and we know that he passed through Berwick on the 21st of that month, and that he reached Edinburgh the next day. He there learnt that Murray was at Glasgow, where he was engaged in a judicial circuit, for he had lately been obliged to proceed rather energetically against some of the turbulent subjects. Monsieur de Beaumont followed him thither, and presented his letters, one object of which is said to have been to prevail upon the regent to grant some greater indulgence to the captive queen, if not to set her at liberty. Murray replied to the ambassador cautiously, and under pretence of business, put off answering the letters of the French king until the 20th of May. On the 1st of May, Mary wrote from her prison to queen Elizabeth and to Catherine de Medicis, imploring them to assist her in effecting her deliverance. To the latter she represented the discontented state of Scotland, and assured her that if a body of French soldiers were landed in Scotland, the whole country would revolt against Murray and Morton. Several of the lords were indeed at this time strengthening themselves to resist the regent, and the lord Semple especially was gathering his friends at the castle of Dumbarton, which Murray was anxious to get into his possession.

The failure of the first attempt to effect the queen's escape had not dismayed George Douglas, who was now in communication with the Hamiltons, and others of Mary's friends. He established a means of communicating secretly with the queen, and he contrived to secure the services of a page of his mother's, known in the family as Little

Douglas, by whose assistance George Douglas at length succeeded in effecting the queen's escape. On the evening of the 2nd of May, as the castellan sat at his supper, with the key of the castle-gate as usual laid on the table beside him, Little Douglas, in placing a plate before him, dropped his napkin on the key, and contrived to carry it away with him. He hurried to the queen, who was ready and waiting for him, and taking a young girl, one of her maidens, and the page with her, she glided quickly through the castle-gate, which Little Douglas locked behind them. Waving a white veil with a broad red fringe, the signal agreed on with her friends, Mary and her companions stepped into the boat, and she herself with her page rowed it across to the shore. When she at last sprung from the boat, she was received by George Douglas, who was walking on the edge of the lake, and they were joined almost immediately by lord Seton and a small escort, who had been stationed on an adjoining hill. Mary now mounted a horse which was brought for her, and she galloped to the Ferry, crossed the Firth, and reached Niddry castle in safety. She had been joined on the way by lord Claude Hamilton, with a body of fifty horse. The queen made a short stay at Niddry, and sent Hepburn of Riccarton to summon the castle of Dunbar, which she imagined would be surrendered to her, and he was then to hasten to Denmark, to inform Bothwell of her escape. This showed at once how little prudence Mary had learnt from her misfortunes. From Niddry the queen and her friends hastened to the castle of Hamilton, where she not only considered herself in safety, but she was within ten miles of Glasgow, where the regent was at this moment, with a very slight escort, and totally unsuspecting of any danger.

From Niddry, Mary had written to France, and sent messengers to some of her principal friends in Scotland to summon them to her assistance. The appeal was quickly responded to, and she was soon surrounded at Hamilton by a considerable body of the nobility; among whom were the earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Rothes, and the lords Somerville, Yester, Livingston, Herries, Fleming, Ross, and Borthwick. Among others who deserted to her was Robert Melvil, and the French ambassador joined her at Hamilton as soon as he heard of her escape. By the exertions of the lords an army of six thousand men was



assembled. She called a council immediately, and declaring that in all that had lately been done she was acting under compulsion, in which she was confirmed by Robert Melvil, an order of council was drawn up, declaring all the proceedings since the insurrection of the barons to oppose Bothwell, treasonable and of no validity. A bond was then drawn up for the defence of the queen, and her restoration to her crown and kingdom, and it was signed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly a hundred lesser barons. Pardon was offered to all who should return to their obedience to the queen, with five exceptions, the earl of Morton, the lord Lindsay, the lord Semple, sir James Balfour, and Craigmillar, provost of Edinburgh. But when she sent to the earl of Murray, with this order of council, a summons to resign the government into her hands, it was accompanied with offers of forgiveness and reconciliation.

But the regent was neither shaken by the offers of the queen, nor by the alarm which was spreading fast among his own party, but he remained at Glasgow, and summoned his friends to join his standard. When advised to retire from his exposed position, he replied firmly, that to retreat would be ruinous to his cause, for it would at once be construed into flight, and every hour's delay would strengthen the queen and discourage his adherents. The only chance, he said, was to bring the queen's army to a battle, before it was reinforced by the arrival of Huntley and Ogilvy with the forces from the north. He gained a few days by pretending to negotiate, and, then, when he felt that his firmness had produced the intended effect, he issued a proclamation, announcing his determination to support the government of the young king, and declaring all those who had joined the standard of Mary to be guilty of high treason. He was soon surrounded with resolute soldiers. The earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Lennox, and the lord Semple, collecting the forces of the south, arrived in Glasgow by forced marches; the lord Hume, after saving Dunbar from the attempt of Hepburn, joined Murray with six hundred men; the earl of Mar sent both men and cannon from Stirling; the laird of Grange hastened to join the regent with a part of the garrison of Edinburgh castle; and even the citizens of Edinburgh supplied their quota of men. Within ten days after the queen's escape, the regent at Glasgow

found himself at the head of not less than four thousand men, and the hostile armies were too near together to admit of a doubt that a serious conflict must soon take place.

The position of Mary was not in all respects agreeable, for in escaping from the hands of one part of her subjects, she had only thrown herself into the hands of another party, who were equally desirous of keeping her in bondage. The views of the Hamiltons, in effecting her escape, were of a selfish character, and Mary seems to have known well enough that their real object was to get the government into their own hands. At Hamilton castle she was entirely under the control of this faction, and she determined to remove from it; but when she expressed a wish to proceed to Dumbarton, the Hamiltons, who perhaps suspected the reason of it, opposed this design strongly, on the plea that the lord Fleming, who had possession of that strong fortress, might be prevailed upon by the party of the regent to deliver her up. She had again dispatched messengers to France and to England, to beg for immediate assistance. The conduct of Elizabeth was at this moment equivocal. Elphinston, Murray's messenger, had been coldly received by the English queen, although her ministers assured the regent of her sympathy; but she sent a messenger herself to congratulate Mary on her escape, and to offer her mediation between the two parties. The French ambassador, Monsieur de Beaumont, appears to have been actively engaged in intrigues to raise up the party of the Scottish catholics.

When the Hamiltons found that their queen was bent upon going to Dumbarton, they determined to hurry on a battle, in the hope of at once crushing their opponents, and by the victory thus obtained, establishing their own power. Advanced posts of the two armies watched a bridge over the Clyde, and there had already been several skirmishes in the outposts. It is said that at this time the French ambassador moved backwards and forwards between the two parties, under pretence of being a mediator, but that in reality he was acting as a spy for the queen; that the reports he made of the inferiority in numbers of the regent's army, made the Hamiltons more resolute for fighting; and that it was with the prospect of an engagement that they agreed to march with her to Dumbarton.

The regent was rejoiced when he was informed of this determination, and he drew



out his forces on the Borough-muir of Glasgow. Well acquainted with the skill and courage of the laird of Grange, who commanded the cavalry, he entrusted to him the arrangements for the battle, which now seemed inevitable; and when this experienced commander, who had already surveyed the ground, learnt that the queen's army was marching towards Dumbarton on the south side of the Clyde, he placed a hagbutteer on horseback behind each of his troopers, and, fording the river, stationed them in the village of Langside, among the cottages and gardens on each side of a lane along which the enemy must necessarily defile. While this was doing, the earl of Morton with the advanced guard, and the regent with the main battle, deliberately crossed the river by a neighbouring bridge, and drew up their men in order of battle on a rising ground behind the village.

The regent had scarcely the necessary time to marshal his army, when the advanced guard of the queen's army, consisting of two thousand men, under the command of the lord Claude Hamilton, made its appearance, and, attempting to defile along the lane through the village of Langside, was received with a heavy fire from the hedges and gardens, which killed and wounded many, and drove the first ranks back in confusion. Confident in their numbers, they soon rallied, and forced their way up the hill, where they found themselves suddenly in face of the advanced guard of the regent's army, composed of the flower of the border pikemen, commanded by the earl of Morton, with the lords Hume and Semple, and others of the bravest of the southern chiefs. As the Hamiltons formed to charge them, the regent's pikemen, in obedience to the voice of the laird of Grange, which was heard distinctly amid the noise of the battle, kept their pikes shouldered until the enemy had levelled theirs, and then pushed on. The battle was here for a short time contested obstinately; and sir James Melvil, who was present, tells us that the pikes of the contending ranks were so closely interlaced together, that when those behind threw their discharged pistols or broken weapons across in the faces of their enemies, they fell upon the crossed pikes, and remained there instead of descending to the ground.

The result was still doubtful, and the right wing of the regent's advance, consisting of the men of Renfrew, was beginning to give way, when Grange, perceiving it, rode back

to the main battle, and brought up the divisions under lord Lindsay, the laird of Lochleven, and sir James Balfour, who rushed upon the queen's ranks with so much fury, that they were instantly thrown into irretrievable confusion. The regent himself, who had hitherto remained on the defensive, having repulsed the queen's cavalry, which was much superior to his own, now brought up his division to the attack, and this movement decided the fate of the day. The queen's forces took to flight in every direction, and their terror was increased by the yells of the highlanders under the chief of the Macfarlanes, who rushed in among their broken ranks, and would have committed great havoc, had they not been restrained by the regent, who employed his cavalry in mercifully protecting the fugitives from the fury of his own troops. The battle lasted from beginning to end only three-quarters of an hour.

The regent's victory, though not sanguinary, was decisive. Not more than three hundred of the queen's troops were killed in the engagement, and the regent is said to have lost but one man, though many were severely wounded. Among the latter were the lords Hume and Ochiltree, and Andrew Carr of Faudonside. Among the prisoners taken by the regent were lord Seton, whose life is said to have been saved in the battle by the regent himself, and lord Ross, the heirs of Cassillis and Eglington, the sheriffs of Ayr and Linlithgow, the lairds of Preston, Innerwick, Pitmilny, Balwearie, Boyne, and Trahowne, Robert Melvil and Andrew Melvil, two sons of the bishop of St. Andrews, and a son of the abbot of Kilwinning. It was reported that the earl of Argyle, who commanded the queen's army, had been taken prisoner, and suffered to escape. The regent captured ten pieces of brass cannon, which had belonged to the Hamiltons.

In the beginning of the conflict, the queen, attended by the lords Boyd and Fleming, and a suite of about twenty persons, took her station on a hill about half-a-mile from the field of battle, from whence she had a full view of the two armies. She stood anxiously watching the vicissitudes of the fight, until she saw her own army utterly routed by Murray's final charge. Then, in the utmost terror, she turned her horses' head, and taking the road to Dumfries, never stopped till she reached the



abbey of Dundrennan, on the confines of England, not less than sixty miles from the scene of her disastrous defeat. She is said to have been closely pursued during the first part of her flight, and not feeling herself safe even here, she declared, in a brief consultation with the few faithful friends who had accompanied her, and who are said to have opposed her resolution, that she would cross the border and throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth. Amongst her attendants at this time were the lords Fleming, Livingston, and Herries, and the latter had written to the deputy-governor of Carlisle, to inquire if the queen of Scotland might come in safety to that city. But Mary's alarm and impatience were too great to allow her to wait for an answer, and, hiring a fishing-boat, she crossed over the firth of Solway to Workington, a small seaport on the coast of Cumberland. The battle of Langside was fought on the 13th of May, and it was the 16th when Mary arrived at Workington.

From Dundrennan, on the 15th of May, Mary wrote a letter to Elizabeth, telling her in a few words that her rebellious subjects had driven her out of her kingdom, and requesting permission to repair immediately to her presence, and explain in person all that had occurred. The day after her arrival at Workington, she wrote a longer letter to the English queen, in which she threw all the blame of her misfortunes on the ingratitude of her subjects. She told how they had murdered Riccio, how they had subsequently murdered her husband, Darnley, and tried to throw the crime upon her; how, when they took up arms against her at Carberry-hill, rather than be the cause of effusion of the blood of her subjects, she had voluntarily delivered herself into their hands, and they had arrested and imprisoned her; how, by threats of death, they had compelled her to sign an abdication of the crown in favour of her son; how rigorously she had been treated, how she had escaped from prison, and how they had attacked her, and compelled her to seek refuge in England. This letter ended with an urgent appeal to Elizabeth's compassion. "I implore you," writes Mary, "to send to fetch me as soon as you can, for I am in a piteous condition, not only for a queen, but for a gentlewoman. For I possess nothing in the world but my person, just as I escaped, going sixty miles across the fields the first day, and having never since ventured to travel but by night,

as I hope to explain to you, if it please you to have pity, as I hope, of my extreme ill fortune."

On the 18th some of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood waited upon the Scottish queen, and conducted her from Workington to Cockermouth, where she was received by Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle. Here a difficulty was raised by the earl of Northumberland, who was one of the great props of the catholic party in England, and had retained a traditionary belief in those old feudal rights which had long ago become obsolete in other parts of that kingdom. The town of Cockermouth was within the domains of the earl, and he demanded, as a right, that the fugitive queen, when she entered that town, should be entrusted to his keeping. But Lowther, as an officer of the crown, resisted this demand, and he conducted Mary, with all respect and honour, to Carlisle. There she was joined by the French ambassador, Monsieur de Beaumont, who was on his way back to France, and a few days afterwards she dispatched lord Fleming, one of the nobles who had accompanied her to England, to lay her griefs before the French court.

The earl of Northumberland, whose conduct had lately made him an object of suspicion to the English government, persisted in his demand, and even attempted to enforce it by obtaining an order to that effect from the council at York. But as soon as Elizabeth received the intelligence of Mary's arrival in England, she sent orders to the sheriffs to treat the Scottish queen and her suite with honour, but to keep a strict watch, and prevent her escape. Immediately afterwards, she appointed the governor of Carlisle, lord Scrope, and her chamberlain, sir Francis Knollys, to wait upon the fugitive princess, and they carried with them letters from Elizabeth, condoling with her on her misfortunes, but evading the demand to be immediately admitted to her presence. The earl of Northumberland, alarmed at the way in which Elizabeth had viewed his conduct, left Carlisle with his friends who had attended him there, "being all unsound in religion," and met Knollys, at Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. "At the first," Knollys writes to Cecil, "his lordship complained unto me of the deputy-warden's misuse of him, saying that he would not suffer his lordship to repair into the castle to see the queen with any more company than his page, not only to his



dishonour, but as though he had been a stranger and a suspect person. Whereunto I answered his lordship very plainly, that if he sought to take the queen into his own custody, out of the deputy-warden's hands, and that without warrant, as his personal repair to the queen of Scots also was without warrant at the queen our mistress' hands, then did the deputy-warden dutifully and wisely, and his lordship had overshot himself, very much to the discontentation of her highness. Whereunto he answered for the excuse of his repair, that he thought himself bound in duty for the honour of the queen's highness our mistress, to repair into Cumberland, where his land lay, for the defence of the queen of Scots against the pursuit of her enemies. And for his desire to have the custody of the queen, he saith he did desire it not only because the deputy-warden was too base a man to have such a charge, but also because the council of York had given him letters of authority to the sheriff and justices of Cumberland to assist him in that behalf. But I told his lordship that 'although the council of York had forgotten themselves very much, to appoint the assistance of the shire to any other than to the deputy-warden, or to allow of the repair of your lordship to the queen of Scots before her highness' special pleasure known in that behalf, yet nevertheless Mr. Gargrave (the president of the council of the north at York,) utterly denied the giving of authority to your lordship to interrupt the warden in any part of his charge; and he saith further, that your lordship made your repair first, and had their allowance and letter of assistance sent after you, because they understood by your letters that the queen of Scots was arrived at a house of yours, being an inconvenient place for her safety, if her enemies should pursue her.'"

This letter was written at Richmond in Yorkshire, on the 27th of May. Next day Knollys reached Carlisle, having been joined by the lord Scrope on the way, and in a letter, written conjointly to queen Elizabeth on the day following, they gave the following interesting account of their first interview with Mary. "We arrived here at Carlisle yesterday, at six of the clock afternoon, and by the way my lord Herries met us six miles from this town, and after he had discoursed of the lamentable estate of the queen of Scots his mistress, inveighing much against the treasonable cruelty of her

enemies, and also saying as much as he could for the innocency of his mistress touching the murder of her husband, the which he said would be easily proved, if the queen his mistress might be heard to speak for herself in your highness' presence, and affirming that he trusted your highness would either give her aid to the chastising of her subjects for her relief and comfort, or else that your highness would give her leave to pass through your country into France, to seek relief elsewhere. Whereupon we answered, that your highness could in no wise like her seeking aid in France, thereby to bring Frenchmen into Scotland, and we doubted your highness could think it meet to receive her so honourably into your presence as your desirous affection and good-will towards her did wish, until your highness might be well instructed and satisfied, by probable reasons, that she was clear and innocent of the said murder, by some such wise man as he that might set forth the same manifestly. Whereupon, and through other conferences private with me, the lord Scrope, he seemed to determine to ride towards your highness for that intent, within a day or twain, which was the thing we specially sought for. And after this, repairing into the castle, we found the queen of Scots in her chamber of presence, ready to receive us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your highness's sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenient arrival, although your highness was glad and joyful of her good escape from the peril of her person, with many circumstances thereunto belonging, and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue, and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto. And after our delivery of your highness's letters, she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bedchamber, where she complained unto us, for that your highness did not answer her expectation for the admitting her into your presence forthwith, that upon declaration of her innocency, your highness would either without delay give her aid yourself to the subduing of her enemies, or else being now come of good-will, and not of necessity into your highness's hands (for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, do remain fast unto her still,) your highness would at the least forthwith give her passage



through your country into France, to seek aid at others princes' hands, not doubting but both the French king and the king of Spain would give her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction. And here she fell into discourse that the cause of the war and disobedient treason of the chiefs of those her subjects, was thereby to keep that which she had too liberally given them, by violence, since through her privy revocation thereof within full age, they could not enjoy the same by laws, and with this she affirmed that both Lethington and the lord Morton were assenting to the murder of her husband, as it could well be proved, although now they would seem to persecute the same. Unto the first part whereof we answered, that your highness was inwardly sorry and very much grieved that you could not do her that great honour to admit her solemnly and worthily into your presence, by reason of this great slander of murder, whereof she was not yet purged. But we said that we were sure that your highness' affection to her was great; that whether her grace could judge herself or not in that behalf, yet if she would depend upon your highness' favour, without seeking to bring in strangers into Scotland (the imminent danger whereof your highness could not suffer,) then undoubtedly your highness would use all the convenient means you could for her relief and comfort. And withal we said, that if it would please her grace to direct us therunto, we would advertise your highness of those her determinations with all speed, upon answer thereof we should be able to declare further of your highness' intent and meaning. Wherewith her grace complained much of delays to her prejudice, and winning of time to her enemies, so that discontentedly she consented herself therewith. Whereupon we took our leave, saying we would dispatch away with all possible speed. Also, the queen of Scots doth presently send up the lord Herries with her letters for speedy resolution."

It is evident that Mary began to suspect that she was to be placed under restraint, and Knollys, in the sequel of his letter, proceeds to give his opinions on the subject. "And now," he says, "it behoveth your highness, in mine opinion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of divers shires here near adjoining within your realm have heard her daily defence and excuses of her inno-

cence, with her great accusations of her enemies, very eloquently told, before our coming hither; and therefore I, the vice-chamberlain, do refer to your highness' better consideration, whether it were not honourable for you in the sight of your subjects and of all foreign princes, to put her grace to the choice, whether she will depart back into her country without your highness' impeachment (*hindrance*), or whether she will remain at your highness' devotion within your realm here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see how honourably your highness can do for her. For by this means your highness, I think, shall stop the mouths of backbiters, that otherwise would blow out seditious rumours, as well in your own realm as elsewhere, of detaining of her ungratefully. And yet I think it is likely that if she had her own choice, she would not go back into her own realm presently, nor until she might look for succour of men out of France to join with her there. Or if she would go presently into her own country, the worse were that peradventure with danger enough she might get into France, and that would hardly be done, if my lord of Murray have a former (*previous*) inkling of her departure thither. And, on the other side, she cannot be kept so rigorously as a prisoner with your highness' honour, in mine opinion, but with devices of towels or toys at her chamber-window or elsewhere in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the border. And surely to have her carried further into the realm, is the highway to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose."

On the 30th of May Knollys wrote again to queen Elizabeth, detailing another interview with Mary, from which it would appear that his notions of the prerogatives of royalty were more liberal than those of his royal mistress. "This day," he writes, "immediately after dinner, the queen of Scots, before the closing up of her letters directed to your majesty by my lord Herries, in private communication with my lord Scrope and me, fell into her ordinary inveighing against my lord of Murray and his adherents, saying, amongst other things, that when she was but nine days old they had a reverent and obedient care of her, but now, saith she, that I am twenty-four years old, they would exclude me from government like disobedient rebels. Whereupon I thought with myself, that if I should not object somewhat to make the matter disputable,



whether the lords of Scotland deposing her from the government (although not by her own inward consent, yet by her subscription), did well or not, that then she would more clamorously be offended with your majesty, if you should not answer her requests according to her expectation; wherefore I objected unto her, that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. In this case good subjects might depose their prince from government, and restrain him from liberty. And, said I, what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering, for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler; wherefore the question is, whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not; for if your grace should be guilty of any such odious crime as deserveth deposal, then, said I, how should they be blamed that have deposed you? Hereupon her grace beginning to clear herself after her accustomed manner, the tears yet fell from her eyes. And then I said your highness would be the gladdest in the world to see her grace well purged of this crime, that thereby your highness might aid her fully and amply to the advancement of her grace to her government royal again; for her grace, I said, was your highness' nearest kinswoman on the father's side, and that you were both born in one continent of land, although this separation was between you, that you were not both born in one circuit of obedience. Herewith her grace answered me very courteously, but forthwith she said she must go close up her letters to your highness, and so departed to her bedchamber. Thus far I waded with her grace to make her cause disputable, but when I saw her tears, I forbore to prosecute mine objection, and fell to comforting of her with declaration of your highness' great affection and good-will towards her."

On the 28th of May, Mary had written a long letter to Elizabeth, in answer to the two letters brought by sir Francis Knollys. She made a pressing demand to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, that she might explain and defend her past conduct in person, and announced that she had sent to her the lord Herries, to make such explanations as might be thought necessary. She told Elizabeth that she had forgiven her ungrateful subjects on former occasions merely at her intercession, which had been

the cause of all her subsequent misfortunes, and that she therefore felt she had a more just cause to reckon upon her assistance on the present occasion. She appealed, moreover, to her promises of friendship, and assured her that she counted on her aid with so much confidence, that she was now sending lord Fleming to France, to hinder that court from making any demonstration in her favour, in consequence of her reliance upon Elizabeth's assurances. She said that if the queen of England would not help her, then she intended to seek the assistance of foreign princes, without prejudice to England, and she complained that she had been kept a fortnight in a castle, under restraint like a prisoner, without being allowed to go, as she intended, to the queen in person to plead her cause. This delay, she said, was ruining her cause, and she complained in a postscript, that while she was held there inactive, "the gentlemen who called themselves regents and governors," were issuing proclamations for the destruction of her friends and partisans. At the same time, Mary wrote a letter to Cecil, praying him to second the application which she was making to the English queen through lord Herries.

Mary's instructions for France, given to lord Fleming, were dated on the 30th of May. He was to acquaint the French king with the state of her affairs since the departure of Monsieur de Beaumont, and to state that, as she had still hopes that Elizabeth would give her assistance against her rebellious subject, and as the English queen resisted warmly any attempt to bring a French army into Scotland, she wished him to reserve his assistance until it should be her last resource. She said that she was constrained to adopt this policy from the position in which she was then placed. Lord Fleming was to present himself at the court of Elizabeth on his way, and if he saw no hope of assistance there, he was to request the French king to send into Scotland two thousand foot soldiers, with wages for five hundred light horse, and a sufficient quantity of artillery and other munitions of war, to recover the fortresses which had been seized by Murray and his adherents. Mary further stated that, if Elizabeth refused her the assistance she required, it was her intention, if she was not hindered, to proceed immediately to France to lay her case before the king. At all events, she requested the French king immediately to



pay her her pension as queen-dowager of France, which was now three years in arrear, and to send as quickly as possible a supply of provision and munitions of war to Dumbarton castle, which was still in the hands of her friends. Mary stated further, that she had been treated in England with all respect and honour, except that she felt herself almost a prisoner, and she wished that the king of France should thank Elizabeth for her good treatment. She was anxious to stop the sale of her jewels, which she had been told were carried out of Scotland, and she suspected that they had been carried into France. She advised the king to have an eye upon his Scottish guards, some of whom she believed to be in communication with her enemies, and she requested him to allow no Scotchmen to enter France if not furnished with a passport from herself, or some one authorized by her. Finally, he was to represent especially to the French king, that Murray and his adherents were in intimate communication with the French Huguenots, and encouraged them to rebel against the royal authority. At the same time, lord Fleming received separate instructions for the cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he was to show his instructions for the king. Mary implored the cardinal not only to see that the money due to her was all paid, but to add to it for her service, as much as he could collect among her relations of the family of Guise. She warned him especially against treachery on the part of some of the Scots who were employed in France, and she told him that while she was in Lochleven, she had been shown copies of several of the letters which she had secretly sent to her kinsmen in France. He was requested to consult with M. d'Aumalle, who was best acquainted with Scotland, on the munitions of war, and other things necessary to be sent thither, and among the corslets and harness to be purchased for this purpose, he was especially to see that half-a-dozen suits of armour, gilt and richly ornamented, should be sent for presents to some of the lords. She further requested the cardinal to cause especial favour to be shown to some of the lords who were her friends, especially to the duke of Châtelherault and his son, and to send her a service of plate for her own use.

A letter from sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, written from Carlisle on the 11th of June, gives us the estimate he had now formed of

Mary's character, and of the difficulties of Elizabeth's position. "The strength of this queen in Scotland," he says, "saving what Frenchmen and French crowns may do there, doth depend, not upon herself, but upon the duke of Chatelherault, for his title, upon whom the lord Herries and many others do depend. And yet this lady and princess is a notable woman. She seemeth to regard no ceremonious honours beside the acknowledging of her estate regal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies; she showeth a readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory; she delighteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she commendeth no cowardness even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminish either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises and rewards of her purse, or by divisions and quarrels raised among themselves; so that, for victory's sake, pain and perils seem pleasant unto her; and, in respect of victory, wealth and all things seem to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment. If her highness [Elizabeth] think it good to stay the coming in of the French into Scotland, if her highness think any peril towards her, if her highness think any princes and potentates, or that any factious subjects may conspire against her, then I am sure she will think it good policy roundly and plainly to assist her own cause, without colours and cloaks that hide no men's eyes but those that are blind, and surely the plainest way is the most honourable, in my simple opinion. I take it an honourable quarrel for her highness to expel the French, and the safest way thereto is to aid and countenance the regent in time. And if the spots in this queen's coat be manifest, the plainer and the sooner that her highness doth reveal her discontentation therewith, the more honourable it will be, I suppose; and it is the readiest way to stop the mouths of factious murmuring subjects."

When this was written, Herries and



Fleming had reached the English court. Lord Herries was presented at the court, then at Greenwich, on the 4th of June, and delivered his letters and message. On the 8th, Elizabeth dispatched one of her attendants, Henry Middlemore, to Carlisle, with a letter to Mary, informing her that she had received assurances of her guilt from such high quarters, that it was inconsistent with her honour to receive her at her court, until she had cleared herself, assuring her at the same time of her sisterly affection, and of the great satisfaction she would have to be convinced of her innocence. Middlemore was to proceed afterwards to Scotland, to carry a message from Elizabeth to the regent. Elizabeth's messenger arrived on the 13th of June, and the same evening Knollys wrote to Cecil, acquainting him with his arrival, and with his presentation to the Scottish queen. "This day," writes Knollys, "at nine of the clock, my lord Scrope and I presented Mr. Middlemore to this queen, and as touching the discourse between them, I leave to Mr. Middlemore's declaration, lest I should disgrace his well-laboured speech, wherein he did very well observe his instructions. But to be plain with you, there is no fair semblance of speech that seemeth to win any credit with her, although she is content to take and allow of this message to my lord of Murray for abstinence from hostilities, because it makes for her purpose to stay her party from falling presently from her, yet she seeth that this cold dealing will not satisfy her fiery stomach, and surely it is a great vanity (in mine opinion,) to think that she will be staid by courtesy, or bridled by straw, from bringing in of the French into Scotland, or from employing all her force of money, men of war, and of friendship, to satisfy her bloody appetite to shed the blood of her enemies. As for imprisonment, she makes none account thereof, and unless she be removed as a prisoner, it seemeth she will not be removed further into the realm, to be detained from her highness' presence. She plainly affirmeth that, howsoever she be detained, the duke of Châtellherault, being heir apparent, shall prosecute her quarrel with the power of the French, and all the aid of her dowry, and even of money by any means to be levied and made for her. Now, she being thus desperately set, it is to be considered whether her highness defraying her here within her realm, shall not thereby able her to employ

twelve thousand pounds yearly, being her dowry in France, both against Scotland, and consequently against England, whereas, if she were at liberty, all her dowry would be spent upon her own finding, and the charges that her highness shall be at in defraying of her here will be well employed in Scotland, to the defending and expulping of the French from thence. But I speak like a blind buzzard, and will therefore leave these matters to you that have judgment."

Mary had written, on the 13th of June, a proud and indignant letter in reply to the last communication from Elizabeth. She protested against Elizabeth's determination not to receive her at her court until she had proved her innocence, which she expressed her confidence in being able to do, although she refused to allow her subjects to be her accusers, upon rather high-strained notions of royal indemnity, which had been on many occasions asserted by Elizabeth herself. She insisted on her right of accusing her subjects, but not of being accused by them; and she insisted that, if Elizabeth did not admit this doctrine, she would allow her to go to other princes who were less scrupulous. She contrasted the manner in which Elizabeth had received the bastard Murray, a rebel and a fugitive, with her treatment of herself, a royal princess in misfortune. She declared that she had rather die, than submit to be brought to a trial with her subjects for accusers and witnesses against her. She complained, above all, of the delay, which, by paralyzing her friends, was favourable to the designs of her enemies. Such was the spirit of Mary's letter, which, it must be confessed, does not show the feeling of conscious innocence which would have led a virtuous woman in Mary's position to desire to face her accusers without delay.

Mary still remained in Carlisle castle, with a certain degree of liberty, though it had, no doubt, been already resolved that she should be removed to some safer place farther in the interior of the kingdom. Knollys, in a letter to Cecil written on the 15th of June, gives the following account of her amusements, expressing at the same time his own apprehensions of an attempt to effect her escape. "Yesterday," says he, "her grace went out at a postern to walk on a playing-green towards Scotland, and we, with twenty-four halberdiers of master Read's band, with divers gentlemen and other servants, waited upon her, where about twenty of her retinue played at football before her



the space of two hours, very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning their fair play. And before yesterday, since our coming, she went but twice out of the town, once to the like play at football in the same place, and once she rode out a hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinuc being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubting that upon a set course some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden for to rescue and take her from us, we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused in that behalf."

The day after this Knollys wrote again to Cecil, "almost at midnight," to acquaint him with some embarrassment which he had experienced with regard to a proclamation relating to the ordering of the borders. "We have sent you here inclosed," Knollys writes, "the copy of the proclamation that was proclaimed this day at noone in this town. The ground and cause of the same my lord Scrope hath written at large. Whereof this queen hearing, was very much offended, and desiring to speak with us, at our first coming, she complained much that by this proclamation my lord Warden seemed to allow my lord of Murray to be regent of Scotland, contrary to the queen's highness' letters and message sent unto her by Mr. Middlemore. Whereunto we answered that her grace did much mistake the proclamation, for therein he was not called regent, by which name he claimed his authority, but he is therein only named governor of Scotland, by which name he claimeth no authority, and therefore this proclamation doth not allow any title or claim of his authority. But whether his title be good or evil, we said, that her grace did well perceive that he is in possession of the government, and that he doth govern. And because that he offereth to answer justice according to the law of the marches, the which being neglected at this present might be two thousand pounds hindrance to her majesty's subjects, besides the murders and robberies that thereupon might ensue, and also because no justice nor order would be answered or kept, nor any damage nor danger to her highness' subjects could well be avoided, until, according to the laws of the marches,

Englishmen should be forbidden to receive into this realm the person or good of any Scots fugitives now upon the coming of him that doth govern in Scotland to this border. Therefore, to the end that justice and order might be observed, and yet the allowance of the title and claim of the regent might be avoided, we devised to call him governor, because he doth govern, and to fly (*avoid*) the name of regent, whereby he claimeth his authority. Hereunto she answered, that by this means we should neither please her grace nor my lord of Murray, for neither would he be content to lose the name of regent, neither was she content he should be called governor. We answered that in this case we preferred justice and good order before the pleasing of any party. 'Well,' saith she, 'I see by this dealing that his party is countenanced and mine is disgraced.' 'Madame,' said we, 'he hath none other countenance, in this behalf, than the necessity of justice doth require.' And so we parted. But indeed, if we had not advised ourselves better, the name of regent had been in this proclamation, but I was troubled this last night withal in my bed, and in the morning we altered it to the name of governor, and some other things withal. I am marvellously sorry to hear of my lord Herries' return hither, whose wily head went beyond you, when he got Mr. Middlemore to come hither so soon; for it would cost the regent twenty days' work to finish his business to his advantage; the which being interrupted by Mr. Middlemore, I know not what evil may come thereon. And this lord Herries seeth the bottom both of your doings and ours, and he will stir coals at his coming hither accordingly, neither will there be any end of his perilous practices. But I am not guilty of his return hither."

On the 21st of June, sir Francis, still at Carlisle with the Scottish queen, gave Cecil the following account of another conversation with her, in consequence of her demand for immediate assistance. On this day, an ambassador from the French king, who had come to visit Mary, took his leave, and returned to London on his way back to France. Middlemore had proceeded into Scotland, and was expected soon to return by way of Carlisle. "Well," said Mary to Knollys on this occasion, as he reports the interview, "I will not detain this French ambassador until master Middlemore's coming, neither will I be any longer delayed; for I will require the queen, my good sister,



that either she will let me go into France, or that she will put me into Dumbarton, unless she will hold me as a prisoner. For I am sure,' saith she, 'that her highness will not of her honour put me into my lord of Murray's hands.' "Hereby," Knollys remarks, "we might gather that, although she would be put into Dumbarton, that she dare not well go thither of herself, if she were at liberty. And saith she, 'I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also.' And parting from us, she said that if we did detain her as a prisoner, we should have much ado with her. I omit our replies for brevity sake. And touching her prayer, I joined heartily with her that God of his mercy would defend this realm from such troubles, as through our tenderness by her attempts might arise, and her highness (Elizabeth) from such perils as thereof might ensue. But, alas! how can we be safe from troubles, as long as our tender halting on both legs before God and the world, doth hinder our friends that should be our strength, and strengthen our enemies that will be our perils, and doth weaken and unknit some limb or members of the body of our realm from us, and may provoke God's anger against us, that many ways hath been so merciful to us."

At this time, Mary was addressing letters in rapid succession, not only to Elizabeth, but to all her friends, either in Scotland or on the continent, on whom she could reckon for any assistance against the protestant party in Scotland. In more than one, she accused Elizabeth of favouring her enemies, and she insisted on being allowed to proceed to the continent to obtain assistance from the kings of France and Spain. She refused to allow her actions to be judged by Elizabeth's council, but demanded to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, that she might justify herself in her ears. She complained that the countess of Lenuox, Darnley's mother, was there as her accuser, and she offered to tell Elizabeth something which would destroy that lady's credit with her. This must have been something relating to the countess' intrigues to get Darnley into Scotland, when his marriage with Mary was contemplated. Mary said that it had been reported to her that Elizabeth intended to keep her a prisoner, but this she did not believe, as it would be an outrage to be resented by all sovereign princes. In speaking of her subjects, there

was a bitterness of feeling in all she said, which betrayed the fierce and unrelenting spirit of the Stuarts and the Guises. She could now only speak of the earl of Murray as the bastard, and she expressed her surprise that Elizabeth could for a moment listen to accusations against her, made by a man of illegitimate birth. The reason of this is evident. Mary, resting on the immunity of royalty, refused to admit as an accuser any of inferior blood, and as Murray was her brother by the same father, if he had not suffered under the stain of bastardy, he was capable in every respect of being her accuser. On the 21st of June, the day on which the letter of sir Francis Knollys, last quoted, was written, Mary addressed a long letter to Elizabeth, by the French ambassador, in which she told her that she had directed the bearer to inform the king of France of her treatment in England, which was far different from what she had expected. She would not even allow Elizabeth to hold any communication with the Scottish government, as it then existed, on international matters which affected English interests, because it was acknowledging her enemies. Like most of her other letters, this was filled with passionate declamation; she insisted that Elizabeth should at once attend to all her complaints, and that she should merely turn a deaf ear to all who spoke against her; she would be content with nothing short of Elizabeth's sending an army into Scotland, to reduce and destroy all who were opposed to her; and if this were not done, she threatened to call in the aid of the kings of France and Spain. And in conclusion, she demanded again that lord Fleming should be allowed to pass into France, upon urgent business. The same day, she wrote by the French ambassador to Charles IX., informing him briefly of the treatment to which she was exposed, and declaring that the cause in which she suffered was that of the ancient catholic faith. Another, written to Charles's brother, the duke of Anjou, urging him to exert himself in procuring assistance for her; and a third, addressed to her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, was in the same spirit, but longer. In the latter, she accuses Elizabeth more directly of encouraging and assisting her rebels, and of holding her in captivity that she might not be restored to her throne; and she insisted still more strongly on her devotion to the church of Rome, and on her sufferings in labouring



for its support. Next day she again wrote a passionate letter to Elizabeth, occasioned by some intelligence which she had received from Scotland, on the return of Middlemore. On the 26th, Mary wrote again to Elizabeth, expressing her great disappointment at not being introduced to her presence, and filled with bitter reproaches against all that queen's ministers and agents, for holding communication with her rebels. She sent word to Elizabeth by the bearer of this letter, lord Herries, that she would reply to no accusations, otherwise than in a personal interview with Elizabeth; and that she would not stir from Carlisle, to be carried any further into the interior of England. She desired now that lord Herries might be allowed to proceed to France, as that permission had been refused to the lord Fleming, and he was the bearer of letters to the French king, and to the queen-mother. The object of these letters was chiefly to recommend strongly to their favour and protection George Douglas, the same who had exerted himself so successfully for her deliverance from Lochleven, and who now, for some reason or other, was desirous of retiring into France.

It must be confessed, that Mary's letters during this period are very far from showing the conscious innocence of one who was able to clear herself from the dreadful charges which had been brought publicly against her. She refuses, on a plea of very false dignity, to allow accusations to be made against her, and she demands as a right that she should be exculpated on her own simple declaration. At the same time, her own statements are always exaggerated, and sometimes totally untrue; her language is in an extraordinary degree passionate and violent, and the only spirit she breathes is one of bitterest hatred, with an unquenchable desire for vengeance on all her opponents. Elizabeth had refused a passport to the lord Fleming, who, having possession of Dumbarton castle, might have delivered it to the French; and this Elizabeth states herself, in a letter written to Mary on the 30th of June, provoked by the angry letters she had recently received from the captive princess. "I am much astonished," the English queen writes on this occasion, "that you press me so much to let my lord Fleming go into France, and that you had not heard the reply by my lord Herries, which I gave him at his first coming, namely, that, though I don't know myself

to be wise, yet I would wish others to think me so; which would hardly be the case, if I permitted the keeper of such a place as he holds (Dumbarton castle) to go thither, it being too well known to be the only fort at this time where the French may enter, who have not been used to come so much to aid Scotland as to injure England, and who would be glad to use the shadow of your misery for that purpose. That made me declare the same reason to the ambassador of the king my good brother, praying you to have some good consideration of me, instead of thinking always of yourself." Elizabeth made a brief reply to Mary's complaints, concerning the mission of Middlemore, and then continued:—"After I had read your letters, my lord Herries came to say two things, which seemed to me very strange; one, that you would not answer [any accusations,] except in my presence; the other, that, unless force be used, you will not stir from the place where you now are, except you have licence to come to me. Your innocence being such as I hope, you have no need to refuse answering any noble personage whom I should send you; not to answer judiciously (which is not required,) but only to assure myself by your answers, not making them to your subjects (a thing which I should never think befitting,) but by communication to me, to tell me your defences, that I may testify them to everybody, and in the first place to satisfy myself, which is the thing I most desire." With respect to changing her place of residence, Elizabeth reminded the Scottish queen that when she first came into England, she left this entirely to her discretion. She told her that she had no intention of doing anything to injure her, and that it was her wish to keep lord Herries in England, as a convenient and useful medium of personal communication between them. This was an ingenious evasion of the demand to give him a passport for France. She promised, however, that the lord Fleming should be allowed to go into Scotland, on assurance being given of his speedy return to England.

On the 5th of July, after receiving this letter, Mary wrote another passionate appeal to Elizabeth's sympathy. She complained of the delay in rendering her assistance, and protested strongly against Elizabeth's determination to remove her into the interior of England. She refused to make any answer to the accusations of her enemies, or to justify herself in any way before any



commissioners sent by the English queen, although she was ready to justify herself in person to Elizabeth herself. She gave answer that lord Fleming should return from Scotland on the first summons from Elizabeth, but she begged that Elizabeth would send away lord Herries; and she threatened that if, in the cause between her and her subjects, Elizabeth did not at once yield to her just demand, she would make her appeal to foreign princes, and that no consideration, even if it were the risk of her own life, should hinder her from giving orders to the governor of Dumbarton to place that castle in the hands of her foreign allies. Lord Fleming, in the mean time, had returned to Carlisle, and he was sent thence by Mary to Scotland, with a letter to the earl of Argyle, written on the 7th of July, with whom he was to communicate as the leader of her party in Scotland.

It had now been resolved by Elizabeth and her council that Mary should be removed to Bolton castle, in Yorkshire. When this determination was first communicated to the Scottish queen, it led to a violent scene between her and her keepers. In the afternoon of the 7th of July, Knollys wrote to Cecil, acknowledging the receipt of another letter from Elizabeth to Mary. "I received," he says, "your letter of the 2nd of July, together with her highness' letter directed to this queen, this morning at four of the clock, whereby you may perceive that the posts make but slow speed, howsoever it chanceth. I could not deliver her highness' letter to this queen until it was almost eleven of the clock; and although she seemed at the first that this her highness' letter did not press her to remove, otherwise than the others afore had done, whereupon I thought we should have fallen into a new contention, yet in a while she seemed not greatly to repugn or deny to remove hence upon Monday or Tuesday next, before which time she looks to have answer to her last letter written to her highness, but how this mood will hold we know not. My lord Scrope, and divers of our company here, do think that our earnest contention in my last letters partly specified, and our determination of refraining of all intelligences from her unless she would remove, and our free offers in that behalf if she would remove, have made her more pliant herein than otherwise she would have been; so that we trust we shall remove her hence upon Tuesday next towards Bolton castle, according to her

highness' pleasure. We marvel that we hear not of Mr. Skipworth's coming with the horses, nor yet of the letter. Yesterday, this queen, among other words, fell into this speech, that although she were holden here as a prisoner, yet she had friends that would prosecute her cause; 'and,' saith she, 'I can sell my right, and there be that will buy it, and peradventure it hath been in hand already.' Whereby she made me to think of your information touching the cardinal of Lorraine's practice between her and the duke of Anjou. But whether she spake this *bonâ fide*, or to set a good countenance of the matter as though she could do great things, I cannot tell. She doth also give out to the followers of her part great assurances in words of aid out of France before the midst of this next August." Five days after the date of this letter, Mary drew up and signed a document appointing the duke of Chatelherault lieutenant-general of Scotland, and authorizing him to proceed against her rebels, and especially to revenge the death of her husband Darnley. To support this new stratagem for drawing sympathy to her party, she made the strange declaration, that it was her rebellious subjects who had murdered Darnley, and that they now held his and her son in captivity, in order to murder him when he had come of age.

After much trouble, and passionate remonstrance on her part, Mary was at length prevailed upon to quit Carlisle on the 13th of July, under the escort of sir George Bowes, and she reached Bolton on the 15th of the same month. On the 16th sir Francis Knollys wrote to Cecil as follows:—"We received your letter of the 12th hereof, on Wednesday night very late, at Wharton, and we arrived here at Bolton castle with this queen yester-night, one hour after sun-setting. And since our departure from Carlisle with her, she hath been very quiet, very tractable, and void of displeasing countenance, although she saith she will not remove any further into the realm without constraint. The which removing will easier be done, if it be taken in hand by better personages than we are. There hath been no repair unto her by the way, as might have been looked for; the which repair was abridged by our sharp dealing with one Christopher Lascelles, coming to Carlisle out of Yorkshire about three weeks past, of purpose to see this queen, and because we understood him to be a lewd practiser and



arrogant papist, and also to have been aforetime in displeasure for practising with this queen; therefore, after that he had confessed, that he came of purpose to see the queen, dwelling in Yorkshire, and that he had been in trouble for her cause, we first declared unto him that no subject of the queen's highness ought to honour another prince with his presence in form of visitation or welcoming the same, without commission or conduction of some of his superiors, and then we chose this ill man to disgrace for an example, in this sort. We appointed Mr. Morton to return with him to his lodging, and to accompany him until he had made him ready to ride with speed, and had seen him out of the town-gates homewards again, without seeing of this queen, as his intent was." Knollys then proceeds to state:—"This house appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately, after the old manner of building, and is the highest walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance thereunto; and half the number of these soldiers may better watch and ward the same than the whole number thereof could do Carlisle castle, where Mr. Read and his soldiers, and Mr. Morton and Mr. Wilford, took great pains, and my lord Scrope also was a late watcher. The band was divided into five parts, so that the watch and wards came about every fifth night and every fifth day, of the which watch and wards we had five governors; the first was Mr. Read, and William Knollys, for his learning, accompanied him; the second was Mr. Morton; the third was Mr. Wilford; the fourth was Barret, Mr. Read's lieutenant; and the fifth was West, his ensign-bearer, a very sufficient and careful man also. This queen's chamber at Carlisle had a window looking out towards Scotland, the bars whereof being filed asunder, out of the same she might have been let down, and then she had plain grounds before her to pass into Scotland. But near unto the same window we found an old postern-door, that was dammed up with a rampier of earth of the inner side, of twenty foot broad and thirty foot deep, between two walls; for the commodity of which postern for our sally to that window with ready watch and ward, we did cut into that rampier in form of stair with a turning about down to the said postern, and so opened the same, without the which device we could not have watched and warded this queen there so safely as we did. Although there was another window of her chamber

for passing into an orchard within the town wall, and so to have slipped over the town wall, that was very dangerous; but these matters I can better tell you at my return, upon a rude plat that I have made thereof. Now if you like well of our removing of this queen hither, then I pray you consider that your cold assistance in backing of us to the achieving of this enterprise, that had so many difficulties therein, is worthy of no praise at all; but, although a fool's bolt be soon shot, yet I dare not tell you all that I think herein. Now I trust you will return us home forthwith, because I see no reason nor grounds of my staying here any longer; for as touching the defraying of the charges, Vernon the clerk here being a sufficient careful and honest man, having his proportion set down almost certain (which will be partly abridged by my departing hence), will easily discharge his duty in that behalf. And so I pray your help, that either I may serve as a cypher in algrim (*arithmetic*) at the court, I mean, to occupy a place there, or that I may be dismissed to the cart, which is fitter for me." Sir Francis adds, in a postscript, "The charges of removing of this queen hither was somewhat the larger, because we were driven to hire four little cars, and twenty carriage-horses, and twenty-three saddle-horses, for her women and men; the which was well accomplished upon the sudden, to her commodity and satisfaction."

The strength of Mary's party consisted of wild borderers, who were ready to do anything for plunder, and were not very scrupulous as to whom they attacked. It seems that when they received her directions to make war on her enemies, they took the queen of England for one of them, and that the English border suffered in consequence. As the border had been unusually quiet under Murray's government, Elizabeth was especially offended at the hostility of Mary's friends, and she wrote a letter to that purpose to sir Francis Knollys. Later on the same day on which the preceding letter was dated, Knollys wrote again to Cecil as follows:—"I trussed up the packet herewith inclosed yesternight late, to have been sent away this morning, and after that, at one of the clock after midnight, came your packet of the 12th hereof; and according to her highness' letter, at nine of the clock this morning, before the queen was ready, having access unto her, I declared to her grace what offences her highness had conceived by



hostile enterprises of her party. Whereunto she answered, that her party was appointed to gather and assemble before my lord Herries' coming, to defend themselves and to impeach the parliament, and that my lord Herries' coming unto them was no assurance that my lord Murray would not by parliament confiscate them, and execute the prisoners that were in his hands, until her highness' letter came unto her grace, affirming that nothing should be done in that parliament prejudicial to her or her party. Immediately after the receipt of which letter, she saith that she sent a special man to my lord Herries, and to the rest of her party, for the due observation of her highness' pleasure; and saith, her party will be quiet according, notwithstanding their gathering of forces. But she saith her adversaries, namely, my lord of Morton's own servants (ten days since my lord Herries' coming home,) have spoiled the lord Skarling's brother of sixty head of beeves and of other cattle, the which my lord Herries warranted to be returned from the border to the said lord Skarling's brother's house, not far from Edinburgh, without spoil, since her highness has ordered hostilities to cease. And as touching the extract of Mr. Drury's letter, she saith she wrote from Carlisle to her borderers of Teviotdale and of the east marches, authorizing them to annoy her adversaries in Scotland only. And since my lord Herries' coming, she saith that she hath willed them to cease hostilities; but she saith it is hard for her to rule thieves at this present. She sendeth Borthwick now to her highness, and she hath written presently to my lord Herries again for stay of her party from all hostilities; and she hath desired me to write to him also. But my lord Scrope presently going to Carlisle (for the accomplishment of her highness' pleasure, as occasion serveth,) will admonish him sufficiently herein. As for the matters of Scotland, I refer them to God's providence, as too intricate matters for me to deal withal. But yet surely I must never command this queen's policy, her ready wit, and her constant courage in all seasons. At our first coming to Carlisle, she fed and comforted her party with hope of aid out of France, with familiar, loving, and hearty letters and messages, and with remembrances of her rewards to be gratefully bestowed to her assured friends, according to her accustomed liberality; and to the Hamiltons privately she did dedicate

herself, as in whom she had her whole delight and trust. And to such as she would fain have to be her friends, she made them believe they were her friends in heart, howsoever they were drawn away otherwise. And when she saw that her daily conferences and comfortings should cease by her coming from Carlisle, then she gave out that her coming thence was for the best, and that her highness would do for her, howsoever her council was disposed. And to make the Hamiltons sure unto her, she made an instrumental writing, assigning thereby the duke of Châtelherault to have her whole authority until her return unto Scotland. And in this mean time she plied her highness with thunderings and great countenances, although with grateful conditions and promises; and at the last my lord Herries' message hath been set forth with such a triumphant blast, that it hath shaken a great many in Scotland to her side, so that it seemeth the countenance of England swayeth the realm of Scotland at this day. Nevertheless this queen, like a wise prince, maketh semblance to her highness, and would persuade us how that this continuance and increase of her party in Scotland is of mere dutiful love they do bear unto her; but she knoweth all their humours and discovereth all the particular causes of such as have or do stand with her, and who be merely hers assured for her own sake, who for the French sake, who for the Hamiltons' title and cause, and who be observers and followers of time."

While Mary was still at Carlisle, she had drawn up a long appeal against her subjects, addressed to all the princes of Christendom. An Italian translation of this extraordinary document, found in the archives of the Medicis at Florence, was published by prince Labanoff, in his collection of Mary's letters; and the original, in French, preserved in the national library in Paris, has since been printed in the collection of M. Teulet. It is filled with statements that are contrary to the truth, and shows that Mary, in order to produce the effect she wanted, was not scrupulous in misrepresenting facts. The principal object of her animosity in this manifesto was the earl of Murray. She declared that her brother had never ceased from stirring up troubles in Scotland from the time he was merely prior of St. Andrews, before the death of her mother, the queen-regent, to that in which she was writing, and that his aim from the beginning was to usurp the autho-



city of the crown, "whatever hypocrisy or dissimulation he might use to colour his designs." She said that within eight months he had attempted three different times to obtain possession of her person, but having failed in them all, he had come each time to throw himself at her feet, and she had freely granted him pardon and remission. Finding that he could not succeed by force, he had determined to accomplish his design insidiously, and had employed his ministers to preach against her as an idolater, and thus to render her odious among her subjects. At length he invented a means of effecting her ruin. This was to murder her husband in such a strange fashion, that the crime might afterwards be thrown upon her, who, having no suspicion of their treasonable designs, "gave them express charge to inquire into the fact, in order to pursue the criminals by all means." It was not to be wondered at, Mary observes, "that they were so slow in pursuing the offenders. However, she goes on to state, they now became alarmed lest, in her eagerness to discover the murderers, their own guilt might be brought to light, and therefore they contrived another means for their own protection, which was, to ally themselves with Bothwell, whom they hated mortally, and to persuade him to carry her away, and force her to marry him, and then, when all this had been effected according to their desires, they took up arms against Bothwell, under pretence of rescuing her from him. A few, believing what they said was true, and that they really took up arms for her good, joined them, and they first attempted to surprise her with the earl in Borthwick castle, but she escaped thence to Dunbar. The earl of Murray's friends then gathered more forces, under pretence of delivering the queen's person from restraint; and she then called together a few of her subjects in arms, and went out to meet the rebels in the field. Anxious, however, to avoid any shedding of blood, she entered into a parley with her opponents, and upon their declaration that their only object was to procure her freedom, and that if she went among them they would receive her as their queen, she condescended to dismiss her own troops, and trusted herself to them. But they, instead of keeping their faith, threw her into prison in a castle in the midst of a lake, where they permitted none of her friends to visit her, alleging that she was guilty of the death of her husband. They then seized all the castles

and possessions of the crown, as well as her own goods and jewels, turning them to their own particular advantage, and to the establishment of their tyrannical usurpation, under cover of which they crowned her infant son king, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom. "By this act," says Mary, "they declared plainly that the queen, their sovereign lady and princess, is innocent of the crime for which they say they imprisoned her, inasmuch as, if she had committed treason (as they had the temerity to allege,) because of the murder of her husband, how could they make her son king? or by what means could he succeed her? since the kingdom could only appertain to him because of her, and not of his father, who, in this respect, would only be recognised for a foreigner, a natural Englishman, or else the subject of this lady, in consequence of her majesty having restored his father, the earl of Lennox. In this they were too wise to deceive themselves, and it must not be supposed that they are ignorant of what they are doing; for their object is merely to blind the people for a short time, and, after the queen shall be set aside, reject her child, alleging against him the crime pretended to have been committed by his mother, and then openly avow the designs they at present conceal." Having settled all this, the rebels threatened her with death, unless she signed her name to acts justifying and confirming all they had done, and they obtained her signature by force, against her will. The earl of Murray was at this time in France, where he had gone during the breaking out of the conspiracy, in order that he might seem to have no share in it; thus, by taking all suspicion from her mind, he imagined, that having no distrust in him, she would the more easily fall into his power, while he would make the people believe that he had no hand in the cruelty practised towards her, and that he accepted the regency only for the good of the kingdom. In order more effectually to palliate his conduct, he pretended, on his return, immediately after the deed had been accomplished, to make some difficulty in accepting the regency, until he had had an interview with her, to have her free consent from her own mouth. He accordingly visited her in Lochleven, and there, when she did all she could to call him to his duty and dissuade him from accepting the regency, he threw off the mask, and replied



that he had already accepted the office, and that it was too late for him to withdraw. "See," remarks Mary, "how by this second act they themselves declared her majesty innocent of the pretended crime. If she had committed the treason of which they impudently accused her, what value could there be in the subscription which they had extorted from her? And having, as they have, acknowledged her majesty innocent, they must not think by such subscription to authorize their proceedings, seeing that it was obtained by force, against the will of her majesty, and by fear of her life." Mary then goes on to give an equally untrue account of the meeting of the estates; she says that the attendance was very small, that the majority of the nobility kept away, and that most of those who were there were favourable to her, but they were overawed or deceived by her enemies. She had offered to make her defence before the assembly, but they had refused to hear her, and the consequence was, that they had confirmed their own authority, justified themselves, established "their religion," and abolished under pain of death "the ancient and catholic faith." "This fine parliament being finished," they pretended to seek and pursue diligently the murderers of her husband. If they had done this as they ought, they would have proceeded against not a few among themselves; conscious of which, they had only seized some five or six poor individuals, who, even on the scaffold, acquitted her majesty of all concern in the murder, and laid it to the charge of the rebellious nobles themselves, "which placed the innocence of her majesty entirely beyond doubt." Still they kept her in prison, and they had several times subsequently resolved to put her to death, but not daring to proceed to so great a crime, they had offered to restore her if she would relinquish the catholic religion, which she refused to do, even at the risk of losing crown and life. At length she made her escape, and then all her nobility flocked around her, and her enemies were left in very small number. She, having pity on their errors, and wishing by all means to spare the blood of her subjects, sent the French ambassador to them to offer them an unconditional pardon if they would submit and become faithful sub-

jects. This offer they refused, declaring that they would stand by the acts of the late parliament. Still wishing to avoid the effusion of blood, she determined to remove to the castle of Dumbarton, where she might remain in safety, until she had by peaceful means reduced her kingdom to order and obedience. "But being on her road, and having a river between her and her rebel subjects, they kept pace with her march on the other bank, with four hundred hagbutteers besides their other men of war, her majesty having but sixty, and killed several of her majesty's people, and at last put her to such a strait that she was obliged to change her design and take another road. And subsequently, seeing that she could not well gain a place to remain in safety within her realm, her majesty, with the advice of her council, thought that it would be most expedient that she should pass into England, in the expectation that the queen of the said country would give her support and favour, as well for the proximity of blood between their majesties, as for the unjust and cruel manner in which the said lady the queen of Scotland was treated by her rebel subjects, and that the example of such a thing regards not only the queen of England, but also all other christian princes."

Such is the unfaithful statement of events which Mary now made in order to obtain sympathy on the continent. In the sequel she told of her arrival in England, and of her disappointment in not receiving immediate assistance from Elizabeth; and she appealed to the hatred which all sovereign princes must feel towards rebellious subjects, to the alarm they must experience in beholding the example of successful insurrection in another country, to their zeal in support of the church of Rome, to their sympathy for the sufferings of an unfortunate princess, and to every other feeling which should excite them to take up arms and hasten to her assistance. Mary had entirely deceived herself with regard to the effect this appeal was likely to produce; most of those to whom it was addressed were acquainted with the facts, and though they would willingly have obtained her liberty, they were too well convinced of her imprudence to risk their interests for her.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH COURT; INTERFERENCE OF ELIZABETH.

It may not be uninteresting to review the conduct pursued by the court of France at this important period of Scottish history, as it is developed to us in the diplomatic correspondence published by M. Teulet. It is evident that, from the first, Mary had no right to count on any vigorous assistance from Charles IX.; and we have every reason to believe that he and the queen-mother gave no credit to her protestations of innocence. They were too well acquainted by their own agents with the events which had recently occurred in Scotland, to be deceived by the false colouring which she had given them in her statements, but still they seem to have been anxious to obtain her release from her detention in England. In several of her letters, Mary expresses a desire to know what had become of her jewels, which had been seized on her imprisonment in Lochleven. We find that they were carried to England, and it appears that they were purchased by Elizabeth. After the news of Mary's escape from Lochleven had reached France, Catherine de Medicis wrote to the ambassador in England, Monsieur de la Forest, directing him to buy for her at least a portion of these jewels; and in a subsequent letter, written on the 21st of May, she expressed her satisfaction at learning that they had been bought by Elizabeth; and told him that if she had obtained them herself, and supposed that Elizabeth wanted them, she would immediately have sent them to the English queen. On the 21st of May, the day when this last letter was written, M. de la Forest gave the French king the first information of the arrival of the queen of Scots in England, and stated his suspicions that she would be retained there as a prisoner. Next day he further informed the king that, when the first news of Mary's arrival in England reached London, Elizabeth had called together her council, and stated her wish to receive the fugitive in the most honourable manner and give her support, but finding that the great majority of the council were of a contrary opinion, she left the question to their further consideration, until some of the absent members of the council arrived, and she would have a

fuller meeting, having summoned especially the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel and Leceister. The ambassador at the same time seemed to think that the policy already advocated by the majority of the council would prevail. Two draughts of a letter from the French king to the earl of Murray at this time, which have been preserved among the state papers in the national library in Paris, show us the selfishness of the policy of the French court. The letter itself was a reply to one from the regent of Scotland, dated on the 22nd of April, and the king expressed to him the "very great pleasure" he had had "to hear of the king, my good brother, as well with regard to his health, as to the good and great hope you give me of his good bringing up, and of what, at his present age, he promises for the future. Wishing to advertise you on my part that I will diminish in nothing the alliance, good friendship, and confederation, which has existed so long between the king his predecessors and mine, and that, in what concerns the conservation of his crown and state, and the maintaining of our friendship, I will omit nothing of all that you can and ought to hope from me, and even for your own particular in what you would require of me, as I have given charge to the gentleman, the bearer of this, to tell you more particularly on my part." The second draught of this letter, which was no doubt the one sent, was written after Mary's escape from Lochleven, and perhaps after her flight to England, and is expressed with much more caution. The words, "the prince of Scotland," are substituted for "the king, my good brother," and "the kingdom of Scotland" for "his kingdom and state." In the first draught there is no allusion to Mary, but in the second the promise to grant anything required by the regent for his own "particular," is followed by the words, "praying you also not to forget to do for the queen, my good sister, what you promised me at your departure, and that she may experience the friendship and good will which I bear to her, procuring that she may be at liberty, and in all respect as she was before her detention; and in doing this



you will do a thing which I shall receive with singular pleasure." It will be seen at once, that even in the amended letter the intercession in favour of Mary is too cold to be sincere.

On the 3rd of June, the French king's envoy, Monsieur de Montmorin, arrived in London, and soon afterwards Elizabeth gave audience to him, and to M. de la Forest, when she appeared undecided in her intentions towards the royal fugitive, and promised them another audience in a few days. On the 12th, she again called the two ambassadors before her, and told them that it was her earnest desire to treat Mary in every respect as her good sister and old friend, and that "nothing displeased her so much as that she could not act in this matter according to her desire and affection, nor as the dignity of the said lady of Scotland and their relationship required. That she knew that at that moment she (Elizabeth) was regarded by all the eyes of Christendom, and that, if she should in this matter, exceed the necessary prudence, she should be calumniated by all; adding afterwards divers discourses concerning the said lady of Scotland, and more on the charges against her than on her defence, on which we replied, the said sieur de Montmorin and I, remonstrating what appeared to us most suitable in excusing of the said lady. Then she fell upon the means she had to restore her to her kingdom, saying that she thought she had then quite as great as any other prince in Christendom, and that already the regent caused it to be reported that he was willing to refer the matter to her, and that to that purpose she would employ all her power, but that nevertheless it was an affair which might take some length of time. In conclusion, sire, we were not able to obtain from this lady any final answer, or any one which could give us light or knowledge of what she intends to do with the queen of Scotland." On the 19th of June, M. de la Forest informed the French king that preparations were making for the ultimate reception of the queen of Scots at Tutbury, where she would be placed under the surveillance of the earl of Shrewsbury, and he announced the arrival in London of Mary's two agents, the lords Herries and Fleming, and gives an interesting description of the audience accorded to the former. Lord Herries spoke aside with Elizabeth, telling her that his mistress thought it strange that they should wish to take her to the castle

of Tutbury, at a distance from her country, and from all the high roads, where she could have no facility for obtaining news, either from her country, or from her relations or friends, and that this was not in accordance with the promises which Elizabeth had so often made in former times, on the strength of which she was come into England, "where if she had expected to have such treatment, she would rather have chosen to remain in Scotland, with all the worst fortune and condition in the world." Elizabeth, turning to her courtiers, beckoned Cecil, the marquis of Northampton, and other members of her privy council, to approach, and desired lord Herries to repeat in their presence what he had just said. When he had done so, she told him aloud, that it was her intention to take in hand the cause of the queen her sister, and that she was resolved to restore her to her country and to her former degree and royal authority, either by an appointment and reconciliation, which she would try to effect between her and her subjects, or by force. And for this purpose, she said, she would require the earl of Murray to send to the English court some one on his part, naming the lord Glencairn, and that in the same manner, the queen her sister might send whoever seemed good to her, who, as deputies, should state to her the differences on both sides, in order that she might the more easily reconcile them. Lord Herries thereupon replied, that he did not suppose Elizabeth would undertake to be judge between the queen his mistress and her subjects, seeing that his said mistress was a sovereign as much as Elizabeth. "But," said Elizabeth, "I think that the queen my sister will not be ill-advised in following my council and advice in this matter, which will only be for her good and utility." Lord Herries then proceeded to urge that the earl of Murray was neither a king nor a prince, that he should be permitted to send ambassadors, and he suggested that, as he and Morton had been the principal offenders against their sovereign, they should be required to take the trouble to come to England, and answer for themselves in person. "That will be much better," said Elizabeth, "and to-morrow I will write to them to that effect."

In the course of the conversation which followed, the lord Herries referred to the murder of the king, and said that the persons who now usurped the power in Scotland, were



the authors of it, and that Mary was ready to declare as much. Here Elizabeth took him up sharply, and asked lord Herries if he were willing to proceed against them for the murder. Lord Herries replied, in a spirit which certainly did not show a consciousness of innocence, that he was not prepared for this, but that if the others brought the matter forward, they should have an answer.

The French ambassador makes no remark on this conversation, but on the 24th of June, in a letter to Catherine de Medicis, he intimated an opinion that some sinister designs were concealed under the frequent changes of council at the English court, and at the same time he expressed suspicions of the fidelity of lord Herries, whom some of the English courtiers were trying to gain over to the party of the regent. On the 11th of July he informed his king of Mary's reluctance to leave Carlisle, and of her fruitless message to Elizabeth to obtain a delay; and he added that the English queen still professed her good and friendly intentions towards the fugitive princess. M. de la Forest expresses in this letter his own conviction that Elizabeth did mean well, and that it was her intention not to allow anything to be done or said to Mary's dishonour, but he thought that under one excuse or another she would keep her in her hands as long as she could, and that she would endeavour to fatigue and weary both parties by slow negotiations and delays. "I have," he says, "communicated to the said lady of Scotland freely what I judge here of her affairs, and that it was necessary that for a time she should have patience, waiting till so many troubles, as exist at this moment throughout Christendom, be somewhat calmed and composed. And, to say the truth, sire, she is here in greater safety for her person and with much less of indignity than she would be at present in the castle of Edinburgh, which they consider the better place, with all those who say they will fight for her, there is so little steadiness and trust in those of that nation." We can trace in this correspondence no wish to intercede or remonstrate vigorously in Mary's favour, and her partisans began to look for more assistance from Spain, and entered into correspondence with the duke of Alva.

Meanwhile the hostilities between the two parties had continued in Scotland. After the flight of the queen, and the entire

dispersion of her adherents at Langside, Murray marched with a considerable force to the north, and soon crushed all outward show of opposition. The castles of Hamilton and Draffen had fallen into his hands. On his return to Edinburgh, he made preparations for a parliament, which was soon to meet and proceed against the opponents of the government on the charge of treason. At the same time he turned his attention towards England, and, informed of the accusations made against him and his friends by Mary, he dispatched in all haste his confidential servant, Wood, to the court of Elizabeth, to declare his willingness to repair thither directly, in company with the earl of Morton, to make their defence, and he confidently offered to surrender himself as a prisoner in the Tower of London, if he did not prove satisfactorily that Mary was guilty of the murder of her husband.

This offer on the part of the regent was highly acceptable to Elizabeth. She was at this moment embarrassed as to the course she should pursue; it was evidently the interest of protestant England to support Murray's government, and to retain Mary in captivity, but to do this there was a necessity for some justification. On the other hand Mary was a sovereign princess, and Elizabeth's notions of royal prerogative were so high that she could with difficulty reconcile herself to any course which would seem to acknowledge that a sovereign was responsible for his personal conduct to his subjects. Mary herself had talked loud of vindicating herself to the English queen, but she understood by this that her vindication was to go no further than Elizabeth's ear, that her own statements were to be taken without subjecting them to examination, or admitting any counter-statement or evidence; she imagined at the worst that Elizabeth would restore her to her crown by an inquiry so regulated as to criminate her subjects, without permitting them to reply, and it was with this idea only that she had offered to submit to Elizabeth's judgment. Tytler, in spite of his strong prejudice against Elizabeth, has placed her position at this moment in, I think, a fair light, when he tells us that "it is impossible not to see the difficulties by which she was surrounded; the party which it was her interest to support, was that of Murray and the protestants; she looked with dread on France, and the resumption of French influence in Scotland; within her



own realm, the Roman catholics were unquiet and discontented, and in Ireland constantly on the eve of rebellion—if such a word can be used to the resistance of a system too grinding to be borne. All these impatient spirits looked to Mary as a point of union and strength. Had she been broken by her late reverses, had she manifested a sense of the imprudence by which she had been lately guided, or convinced any desire to reform her conduct, or forgive her subjects, who had risen against the murderer of her husband more than against herself, the queen might have been inclined to a more favourable course. But the very contrary was the case: her first step after her escape had been to resume her correspondence with Bothwell; his creatures, Hepburn of Riccarton and the two Ormiston, blotted as accomplices in his crime, had frequent access to her. In her communications with Knollys and Scrope, she could not repress her anticipations of victory and purposes of vengeance, if once again a free princess. She declared that, rather than have peace with Murray, she would submit to any extremity, and call help from Turkey before she gave up the contest; and she lamented bitterly that the delays of Elizabeth emboldened the traitors who had risen against her. Was the queen of England, at such a crisis, and having such a rival in her power, to dismiss her at her first request, and permit her to overwhelm her friends and her allies, to re-establish the Roman catholic party and possibly the Roman catholic religion in Scotland? After such conduct, could it be deemed unlooked for, or extraordinary, should she fall from the proud position she now held, as the head of the protestant party in Europe? So argued the far-sighted Cecil, and the queen his mistress followed, or, it is probable, in this instance anticipated, his counsel."

Elizabeth determined that there should be some sort of a trial, at least she took steps towards that object, perhaps, however, with the aim only of inducing Murray to bring forward the proofs of Mary's guilt, that she might use them as a justification of her policy. This was the object of Middlemore's mission, who was to induce both parties to cease from hostilities, and refer their differences to the judgment of Elizabeth. Elizabeth's plan was not to allow an accusation to be brought against Mary, but to pursue Mary's accusation against

Murray and his colleagues, and thus force them to bring their evidence of Mary's guilt in their own defence. Elizabeth's wish seems to have been to obtain sufficient evidence to justify herself, while she exposed Mary to as little degradation as possible; and it must be acknowledged that her plan was an artful one, though we have no reason to believe that any dishonest course was to be pursued. Middlemore had, as we before stated, an interview with Mary at Carlisle, who agreed to send directions to her friends in Scotland to cease hostilities, but she expressed great indignation at the notion of anything like a trial. She said that she had offered to tell her wrongs to Elizabeth in confidence, but she urged that none could compel her to accuse herself, and she refused to be accused by her subjects, declaring that she would rather suffer imprisonment or death than be put to such indignity. "Such conduct," Tytler observes, "was, no doubt, completely consonant to her feelings and her rights as a free princess, and may have been quite consistent with her entire guiltlessness of the charges brought against her; but it seems to me, that complete innocence would have embraced even the opportunities of an imperfect defence, rather than endure the atrocious aspersions with which she was now loaded."

Middlemore proceeded immediately from Carlisle to Scotland, bearing Elizabeth's letter to the earl of Murray, in which, after admonishing him to cease from further hostilities against Mary's friends, she acquainted him that he was accused of the grave crimes of rebelling against his sovereign, throwing her into prison, and afterwards driving her forcibly out of her kingdom, and as the latter had agreed to submit her cause to Elizabeth's impartial judgment, he was required to send his justification. The regent was at Dumfries, when Elizabeth's message reached him. He at once complied with that part of the queen's letter, which required him to suspend hostilities against the partisans of Mary, and he expressed his readiness to proceed to England with the earl of Morton, to contribute to their utmost towards a full investigation of the truth, but he required preliminary information on one or two important points. He desired to know what would be the consequences to himself if he became the accuser of his queen, and the accusation should not be allowed to be pursued to a



conviction, and he wished to know what was likely to follow in case the trial proceeded, and he should prove his allegations. He desired further to be informed whether, if, when he produced the originals of Mary's letters to Bothwell, they should be found to be in exact conformity with the translations he had already sent by Wood, they would be judged sufficient evidence of Mary's participation in the murder. Mary, in her interview with Middlemore, had absolutely declined all investigation; and now Elizabeth informed the regent, in her reply to his questions, that she never intended to promote any accusation of Mary, or proceed to judgment against her, but that her object was to hear the justification of himself and his friends, who had been accused of high crimes, and thereupon to labour for a reconciliation between the two parties.

In the midst of these multifarious intrigues between the three parties, Elizabeth, Mary, and the regent Murray, Scotland was threatened with new troubles. Many of those who were not in open rebellion were anxious to prevent the meeting of parliament, which they looked forward to as the signal for extensive forfeitures and confiscations, and these were supported by Lethington, and others of Murray's friends, who were now beginning to desert him. People said that he had forgotten his zeal against the king's murderers, in his eagerness for the spoil of the opponents of his own government, and his unpopularity was increased by the favour he showed towards the infamous sir James Balfour, notoriously implicated in the murder, yet now employed by the government in places of trust. The regent was threatened not only by the open insurrection of the partisans of the queen, but by conspiracies about his person, and it is said that Murray of Tullibardine, the comptroller, had entered into a plot to assassinate him. As the period for the meeting of parliament approached nearer, the more anxious were the barons of Mary's party to prevent it, and, on the 28th of July, the earls of Argyle and Huntley having united with the Hamiltons, held a convention at Largs, and determined on breaking with England, and calling upon the duke of Alva to assist them from the Low Countries. Having raised among them considerable forces, they overran the northern and western parts of the kingdom, and soon threatened the south, in which Murray's strength chiefly lay.

It was at this time that, by desire of Elizabeth, Mary wrote to her friends, desiring them to cease for the present from further hostilities, while Elizabeth herself wrote to Murray, requesting him to do the same, and to adjourn the meeting of parliament. Neither party trusted the other sufficiently, to obey the mandate fully. It was said that Mary gave her partisans secret orders contrary to her public directions. There was a pretence of accepting an armistice, and the confederates drew back their forces, upon which Murray seized the opportunity of meeting the parliament, which was opened on the 18th of August. As was expected, it began with confiscations of the queen's friends, and among the first victims were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the lord Claude Hamilton, and the bishop of Ross. The confederates now recommenced hostilities, of which it is difficult to trace the particular events, but we know that the regent was obliged to prorogue the parliament, in order that he might march against them. He had overrun Annandale and Galloway, and the display of his usual vigour was producing the full effect which might have been expected from it, when he received peremptory orders from Elizabeth to put a stop to all further hostilities, and send his commissioners to York, to answer the accusations brought against him by his sovereign. In the condition of his affairs, he did not dare to disobey.

Elizabeth had been anxiously endeavouring to induce Mary to consent to her acting as umpire between her and her subjects, and she professed to lord Herries, who was acting as Mary's confidential agent, her great regard for the fugitive princess, and her resolution to restore her, if she could do it consistently with her honour. Elizabeth even made a direct promise that, having first called before her the noblemen of Scotland, her adversaries, to make them give an account of their conduct towards her, she would restore her, by force if necessary, to her former regal state; but this was joined with some important conditions, namely, that Mary should formally renounce all claim to the crown of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her issue; that she should abandon the league with France, and that she should conform to the protestant religion. To understand Elizabeth's tenacity on the first of these points, we must bear in mind that the Roman catholics understood by Mary's claim not that of being next heir, but that



of being substituted in Elizabeth's place, who, the catholics pretended, was not a legitimate child of Henry VIII., as they refused to acknowledge the validity of his divorce from Catherine of Arragon; and this pretence could only be met by a distinct renunciation of the claim on Mary's part. The last of Elizabeth's conditions, that relating to her conversion to the protestant faith, appears to have been suggested by Mary's own behaviour at this moment, for she had admitted a protestant chaplain, and shewed some inclination to relinquish Romanism, perhaps a feint to gain on the confidence of Elizabeth. In a letter written to Elizabeth, on the 28th of July, Mary consented to Elizabeth's proposal that she should send two commissioners, and that Murray and Morton should be heard in their own defence. She stipulated, however, that nothing should be done derogatory to her prerogative as queen, and she declared at the same time that she would receive no assistance from France or Spain.

This commission would, in all probability, have been proceeded with immediately, but for the unsettled state of Scotland. The meeting of the Scottish parliament followed, and for several weeks Mary's letters to Elizabeth are filled entirely with complaints against the hostilities of the regent, and the violent proceedings of the parliament. She again urgently implored Elizabeth to admit her to her presence, and declared that she put all her trust in her. In the course of this correspondence, Mary repeated her declaration, that she had no intention of receiving assistance from France or Spain; and, when it was rumoured, towards the end of August, that the duke of Châtellerauld was on his way to Scotland with a body of Frenchmen, whom he had hired for her service, she assured Elizabeth, in the strongest terms, that if such were the case, it had been done entirely without her consent or knowledge. The letter in which she made this protest to Elizabeth, and in which she still declared that she entrusted her cause to her, was dated on the 27th of August, and the very same day she wrote to the earl of Argyle, in which she told him she distrusted Elizabeth's promises, and, referring to the letter in which Elizabeth had complained of the mission of Châtellerauld and his Frenchmen, Mary writes to the earl: "And seeing she has written to us of such news as we thought most needful to advertise you, would not fail to do the same; principally showing

amongst other heads, that there is a company of Frenchmen either on the sea to pass in Scotland, or else already arrived therein, at the which she is evil content. Always if so be that they come or are arrived, *ye know your force and ability, which our faithful subjects may use.*" On the 1st of September, Mary wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, again declaring that she put her cause entirely into her hands; yet, on the 9th, she wrote to one of her partisans in Scotland, a bishop, in the following words: "As to the Frenchmen's coming, we pray you right effectuously, that ineontinent (*immediately*) so soon as they are arrived, without any advertisement to us, ye cause all our nobility and their force pass forward with the Frenchmen in diligence towards our son, to see if he may be gotten in hands; or else to Edinburgh, destroying all the country thereabout, that our enemies get no vivres (*provisions*). And if it be possible or that ye may get any of their great men in hands, of our rebels (*i.e. if you can get any of the chiefs of our rebels into your hands*), spare them not, but dispatch them hastily, and specially \* \* \*"[the part of the letter containing the name or names is lost.]

It seems quite evident from these letters that Mary was not sincere in her transactions with Elizabeth at this time; but a letter which has been preserved, written by Mary on the 24th of September to the queen of Spain, shows still more distinctly her secret sentiments and views at this moment, and goes far towards justifying Elizabeth's precautions. After giving a brief account of what had happened to her since her escape from Lochleven, and complaining of her retention in England, she proceeds to say, "Don Guisman will be able to testify to you how little means I have either of sending any one to you, or of writing safely; for I am in the hands of those who watch me so closely that a small matter would serve them for an excuse to do me a worse turn than to retain me against my will; and but for that I should have been long ago in France. But she [Elizabeth] refused flatly to let me go thither, and has taken upon her to arrange my affairs, whether I will or not . . . . I will tell you a thing *en passant*, that, if the kings, your lord and brother, were at quiet, my disaster would be of service to Christendom, for my coming into this country has caused me to make acquaintance here, by which I have learnt so much of the state



here that, if I had ever so little hope of succour from elsewhere, I would put religion up, or I would die for it. All this quarter here is entirely devoted to the catholic faith; and for this respect, and for the right which I have here of my own, a very little thing would teach this queen to interfere to aid subjects against their princes. She is in so great fear of it, that that, and nothing else, will cause me to be restored to my country. But she would by all means make me bear the blame of that whereof I have been unjustly accused, as you will see shortly by a discourse of all the plots which have been formed against me since I was born, by these traitors to God and to me. It is not yet finished. Meanwhile I will tell you that they offer me many fair things to change my religion; which I will never do. But if I am obliged to yield some points which I have told your ambassador, you can judge that it will be as a prisoner." This no doubt refers to the conditions on which Elizabeth was to restore her to her crown. "But I assure you," Mary continues, "and I implore you to assure the king of it, that I will die in the Roman catholic religion, let them say what they will. I cannot exercise it here; for they will not permit me to do it, and, only for having spoken of it, they have threatened to retain me and to give me less credit. For the rest, you started a proposal in play which I will take in good earnest; it was about mesdames your daughters. Madame, I have a son. I hope that if the king, and the king your brother, to whom I implore you to write in my favour, will send an embassy to this queen, declaring the honour they do me in esteeming me their sister and ally, and that they will take me under their protection, requiring her, as she values their friendship, to restore me to my kingdom, and to aid me in punishing my rebels, or that they will strive to do it, and that they assure themselves that she will not side with subjects against princes, she would not dare to refuse, for she is in fear enough herself of some insurrections. For she is not much loved by any one of the religions, and, thank God, I think I have gained a good part of the hearts of the people of worth in this country since my coming, so far that they would risk what they have with me, and for my quarrel. If that were done, and some other necessary favours, of which I advertise your said ambassador, being in my country, and in friend-

ship with this queen, whom her people will not permit me to see, for fear that I should restore her to a better way, for they have the opinion that I should rule her, I should hope to nourish my son in devotion to you, and, with your aid, acquire for him what belongs to us [this must mean the crown of England]; and, in case God be not so merciful to me, I protest, that if you will give me one of your daughters for him, which you please, he shall be too happy. They offer me, as it were, to naturalize him, and that the queen will adopt him for her son; but I have no desire to give him up to them, and quit my right, which would be the cause to render him of their wicked religion; but rather, if I have him again, I would send him to you, and submit myself to all dangers to establish all this island in the ancient and good faith. I implore you keep this secret; for it would cost me my life; and, whatever you may hear say, be assured that I shall not change my opinion, although by force I may conform myself to the time."

On the same day this letter was written, Mary addressed one to Elizabeth, in which she assured the English queen that she was guilty of no dissimulation towards her, that she had confidence in her promises, that she had no thought of seeking succour elsewhere, and that she looked upon her as her only refuge, and her only hope.

The English queen had now drawn Mary into consenting to place herself in her hands, and appoint her commissioners to prosecute the charges against her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth, on her part, made all preparations for this important conference, which she determined should be held at York, and she appointed as her commissioners to conduct it, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler. The earl of Murray agreed to obey Elizabeth's summons to appear at York in person, choosing for his colleagues the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, lord Lindsay, and the commendator of Dunfermline, and taking as assistants Lethington, George Buchanan, and James Makgill. Mary still regarded the conference with a reluctance which did not indicate innocence. In a consultation with the bishop of Ross, he urged her to attempt an amicable arrangement with her subjects, without accusations on either side, as it was his opinion that Murray would bring forward all the evidence he could, whether it affected her honour or not; but she said she felt



assured of the favour of the English judges, and intimated a belief that they would not allow anything derogatory to her honour to be brought forward. The duke of Norfolk had assured her of his sincere attachment to her interests. Lethington was at this moment intriguing with Mary's party, and, having obtained copies of her letters to Bothwell, he sent them secretly to her by Robert Melville, assured her that Murray would bring them forward at York, and re-

quested her directions for his conduct. In her reply, she said not a word against the authenticity of the letters, but urged him to use every effort to stay Murray's accusations, to co-operate in her favour with the duke of Norfolk and with the bishop of Ross. She then appointed as her commissioners to proceed to York, the bishop of Ross, the lords Herries, Boyd, and Livingston, the abbot of Kilwinning, sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and sir James Cockburn of Skirling.

END OF VOL. I.











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